

588. d. 48

C. SÜETONII TRANQUILLI
XII CÆSARES,

Cum liberâ Versione, in quâ Idiomatis Anglici
ratio, quam maximè fieri potuit, habita est,

OR, THE

L I V E S

OF THE

Twelve First Roman Emperors,

W R I T B Y

C. SÜETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

W I T H A

*Free TRANSLATION, wherein due Regard has
been had to the Propriety of the English Tongue.*

By JOHN CLARKE,
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in HULL.*



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T H E P R E F A C E.

A S we have had already two or three several Translations of SÆTONIUS, it may perhaps be expected, I should apologise for troubling the World with another. But all I shall say as to that Matter is, that whoever will give themselves the Trouble of comparing this Translation of mine with those that have gone before it, will find a Difference up and down in the Sense; and if they are well skilled in the Language and Antiquities of the Romans, or if not, will but have Recourse to the best Commentators, they will, I flatter myself, find such a Reason for that Difference, as will make the Comparison turn to my Advantage in that Respect. And as to the Language, if the Reader cannot perceive mine to be more easy, smooth, concise and proper, than that of former Translations, it will be scarce possible for me, by any Words of mine, to make him sensible of it, or at least require a long and tedious Comparison for that purpose; which may look invidious in me to undertake; and therefore I shall save myself that Trouble; as being content to stand or fall by the Sentence that shall be pronounced by the most able Judges of the English Tongue, who may be disposed to undergo the Pains of making such a Comparison themselves, for their own or other People's Satisfaction. I shall only add, that I

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judged

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judged it requisite and useful to the Publick, upon several Accounts, to have a Translation of SÜETONIUS published together with the Original; and as that was a Freedom I could not take with the Translations of others, (had I liked them, which I did not) I was obliged to furnish out one of my own for the Purpose.

The Character of SÜETONIUS is that of a plain honest impartial Author, that appears to have writ with all possible Coolness, and without the least Byass upon his Mind at all; or any other Concern, than that of delivering to the World a faithful and just Account of the Behaviour and Conduct, both publick and private, of the several Emperours, whose Lives he has given us, so far as he himself could come at it. And it is a very just Observation made of him, that he has writ their Lives, with the same Freedom they led them. There is nothing in him like Flattery, Disguise or Concealment in the least. He has, as an honest Historian should do, given as well the foul, as the fair Side of them all; a thing very necessary and highly useful, in the compiling of History, whatever Court-Parasites, or other Admirers of the absolute Power of Princes, may pretend to the contrary.

As for the Language of SÜETONIUS, it is just and proper, perfectly clear of all Affectation. There are no Flights, no flourishing, or playing with Words at all in him. He is serious and grave, steddily pursues his Point of telling the naked Truth, drawing to the Life, and giving the just Characters of others, without any apparent Concern for his own as an Author, or what the Reader may think of his Talent for Writing. And I hope the Translation will be found pretty well adapted to this Character of the Original.

As for the Matter of his History, there is a great deal of Variety in it, which makes it entertaining enough; but for Pomp and Dignity, it must be own'd to come far short of that of the old Common-Wealth of Rome. That was one continued Series of the greatest and most important Events, that can come within the Compass of History, occasion'd by a long Struggle for Empire, made by a People, fired indeed too much with a View to Worldly Grandeur and Glory, but otherwise, virtuous, prudent, and brave to the last degree. The Romans, I say, were a very virtuous People for many Ages

THE PARTE FIA C E

Agos together, till at last their great Success corrupted their Manners, by the Introduction of Pride, Luxury, and Covetousness amongst them; which made way for that fatal Catastrophe which the Civil War betwixt Pompey and Cæsar ended in. The Glory of Rome was now no more; and the Story thereof is little else than a Scene of the wildest Extravagance, the most brutish Folly, Barbarity, Buryery, and Misery in all Shapes and Sizes, spread all over the Face of the Roman Empire. The Detail of this terrible Confusion and Distraction, the Reader may find in SUTTONIUS and TACITUS, with other ancient Historians. But if he has a Mind to have a Picture thereof in Miniature finely drawn, he may meet with it in those admirable Discourses, prefix'd to a late Translation of TACITUS, wherein the Author has, with a noble Spirit, suited to the Gravity and Importance of the Subject, described the miserable Condition the Romans were reduced to by the Loss of their Liberty.

But notwithstanding what has been said, the History of SUTTONIUS is very useful, and highly proper to be put into the Hands of our Youth at School and University. It is full of the dismal Effects of arbitrary Power lodged in the Hands of a single Person; the Reading whereof will make them more sensible of the Value of Liberty, and the Happiness they enjoy under the just and legal Government of their native Country; especially if they are assisted for that Purpose, by proper Remarks and Reflections from a Master or Tutor.

Besides, the great Variety of Matter in SUTTONIUS, occasions the like Variety of Language, and such a Mixture of the Antiquities or ancient Usages of the Romans, that there is more of both to be learnt from a careful Perusal of him, with proper Helps for the right Understanding of him, than by reading ten times as much of any other Authors whatever. He is, I grant, difficult to be understood; but then that is none of his Fault at all; it arises not in the least from any awkward, affected, improper way of wording himself, but from the Cause above-mentioned. What therefore renders him a difficult Author, is the greatest Commendation of him, and renders him at the same time, one of the fittest in the Language to be put into the Hands of our Youth at School, after they have been duly prepared for it, by the reading of easier Authors.

But notwithstanding this great and apparent Usefulness of Suetonius, he has, I think, got but little Footing in our Schools; which is owing, I presume, to the Difficulty just taken Notice of in him. But as that is now in a great measure removed, by thus publishing him with a Translation, I hope he may, for the future, meet with more respectful and favourable Usage from the Teachers of the Latin Tongue. I am sure they will find their own Account in a civil Reception of him in this Dress, with Regard to their Ease and Credit both. I do not indeed pretend to have cleared up all the Difficulties in him by my Translation; that is impossible to be done in such an Author, so full of Hints and Touches upon antient Rites and Customs: And therefore I was once minded to have given him to the Publick in a different Form, with large Notes and Reflections upon him. But considering that the Price of such a Book, would be a great Obstacle to its Admission into our Schools, to which I was desirous to recommend so useful an Author, I laid aside that Project, yet not so entirely, but that I may possibly resume it again some time or other, if I can find Leisure and suitable Encouragement for it. The Book, in its present Form, will, I hope, be found exceeding useful, not only in our Schools, but out of them too, to such Gentlemen as are desirous to improve themselves in the Language and History of the Romans together. With Respect to such Difficulties as no Translation can effectually and thoroughly clear up, the Reader may have Recourse to KENNET's or ROSINUS's Antiquities: One of which Books, if not both, all that meddle with the Study of the Latin Tongue, should be sure to be provided with. Nay, as KENNET's is but a compendious System, it would be proper for a Reader, that has little or no Knowledge of Antiquity, to give that Book a careful Perusal more than once, before he undertakes the Reading of Suetonius.

The great Usefulness of the Classick Authors, published with just and proper Translations, is so very apparent, that I wonder no Body has attempted any thing of this kind before me. English Translations indeed of many of them have been published by themselves, as being designed I suppose purely for the Use of such as are wholly ignorant of the Latin Tongue, by presenting them, for their Information or Amusement,

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ment, with that in English, which they could not come at in the Original, without any further View or Intention at all. But then such Translations may be of the greatest Use for other important Purposes, upon account of which it is highly convenient to have them published along with the Originals. As,

1. *Classick Authors* so published will be vastly serviceable for the easy and speedy Improvement of such, as having but a very small Acquaintance with the Latin Tongue, are desirous of attaining a competent Skill therein, so as to read *Authors* of all sorts freely and familiarly. I do not say that proper Translations, wherein a good deal of Freedom is taken of departing from the Letter, or Words of the Original, are at all for the purpose of such as are wholly ignorant of the Latin Tongue, to begin with, in order to the learning of that Language. No. Such ought in the first place to make use of *Literal Translations*, 'till they have got a pretty general Acquaintance with Words; after which they may proceed to such as are free and proper, by the Help whereof they will read an *Author* substantially over in a fourth part of the Time, they could do without, to speak within Compass. This I presume is too evident to admit of any Dispute amongst those that are not wilfully blind: And yet, as if some Insatiation had been upon the Minds of Men universally, this obvious Use of Translations, as well literal as proper, has been, 'till of late, wholly overlook'd in the teaching of the Latin Tongue; tho' the Advantage of Translations for the learning of the Greek has been as universally acknowledg'd: A thing monstrous and unaccountable, that in two Cases exactly parallel, the World should judge and practice so very differently and inconsistently.

2. The publishing of the *Classick Authors*, with proper handsome Translations, will be very convenient for those that are desirous to attain a Faculty of writing and speaking Latin with Propriety and Readiness. The Way will be for them to read the Original and Translation together, 'till they can readily render the latter into the Words of the Original Latin precisely and exactly. And I shall be bold to say, that this is far beyond every thing else that can be done, for the easy and ready Attainment of a good Latin Style. But having spoken to this Point in my *ESSAY UPON STUDY*, I forbear farther enlarging upon it here.

3. *Ano-*

THE PREFACE.

3. Another Use that may be made of the fine Latin Authors, published together with elegant Translations, is for the easy quick Attainment of a good English Style. And the way thereto is here again for a Person to compare the Original and Translation together, till he is able to render the Latin Text very readily into the precise Words of the Translation. This likewise is so apparently of the greatest and most excellent Use for the Purpose of Writing and Speaking good English with Ease and Fluency, that, in my Opinion, the Matter can admit of no Dispute amongst Persons of any Sense or Consideration.

The several Uses above-mentioned to be made of Classick Authors, published together with handsome elegant Translations, shew of what prodigious Advantage it would be to our Grammar-Schools to have some of the choicest among them so published. Half a Dozen such thrown into our Schools, and used there as they should be, would certainly work a wonderful Effect, such as would soon be very visible all the Nation over, by a much greater and quicker Improvement of our Youth in both the Languages of Latin and English together. Now the Way of exercising Boys in Classicks so published, would be, to make them get three or four Lessons in the Original to read exactly into the Translation; and when that is done, to make them go the same Lessons over again, and get the Translation to read as exactly back again into the Original Latin. This (I say it again, and desire the Reader would consider it) will, in my Judgment, be the most effectual expeditious Method to bring Youth to an easy elegant use of both Languages, that can possibly be taken with them; and if so, I hope I may be thought to have deserved well of my Country, by leading the Way to it, in publishing so useful an Author as SÜETONIUS, in this manner.

All I shall add, is, that if the present Translation of SÜETONIUS proves agreeable to the Publick, I may perhaps attempt that of the greatest of all the Latin Authors, LIVY.



C. SÜETONII



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XII CÆSARES.

DIVUS JVLIVS CÆSAR.

JVLIVS CÆSAR DIVVS
 annum agens
 sextumdecimum
 patrem amisit :
 sequentibusq; ne
 consulibus fla-
 men Dialis destinatus, dimis-
 sa Cossutia, quæ familia eque-
 stri, sed admodum dives, præ-
 textato desponsata fuerat, Cor-
 neliam Cinnæ quater consulis
 filiam duxit uxorem : ex qua
 illi mox Julia nata est : ne-
 que ut repudiaret compelli à
 Dictatore Sulla ullo modo po-
 ruit. Quare & sacerdotio, &
 uxoris dote, & gentilitiis hæ-
 reditatibus multatus, diversarum
 partium habebatur : ut
 etiam discedere è medio, &
 quamquam morbo quartanæ
 aggravante, prope per singu-
 las noctes commutare late-
 bras cogeretur, seq; ab inqui-
 sitoribus pecuniâ redimere :
 donec per virgines Vestales,
 perque Mamercum Æmilium

CÆSAR lost his father,
 when he was in the six-
 teenth year of his age ;
 and the year after was
 chosen priest of Jupiter,
 and divorced Cossutia, who
 was only of an equestrian
 family, but very rich, and had been
 contracted to him when under age : up-
 on which he married Cornelia the daugh-
 ter of Cinna, who was four times con-
 sul, by whom he had soon after his
 daughter Julia. Nor could the dictator
 Sulla by any means oblige him to part
 with her : for which reason he was pu-
 nished with the loss of his sacerdotal of-
 fice, his lady's fortune, and the estate of
 his ancestors : and was reckoned of the
 opposite party, insomuch that he was
 obliged to abscond ; and to change his
 quarters almost every night, (tho' he was
 at that time ill of a quartan ague)
 and also to redeem himself out of the
 hands of such as were upon the search
 for him, 'till by the intercession of the
 vestal Virgins, of Mamercus Æmilius,
 and Aurelius Cotta, gentlemen allied to
 him both by blood and marriage, he pro-

& Aurelium Cottam, propinquos & affines suos, veniam impetravit. Satis constat, Sullam, cum deprecantibus amicissimis & ornatissimis viris aliquamdiu denegasset, atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamasse (sive divinitur, sive aliqua conjectura) Vincerent, ac sibi haberent : dummodo scirent, eum, quem incolumem tantopere cuperent, quandoque optimatum partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum : nam Cæsari multos Marios inesse.

2. Stipendia prima in Asia fecit, M. Thermi Prætoris contubernio : à quo ad arcessendam classem in Bithyniam missus, defecit apud Nicomedem, non sine rumore prostratæ regi pudicitie : quem rumorem auxit, intra paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia, per causam exigendæ pecuniæ quæ deberetur cuidam libertino clienti suo. Reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit : & à Thermo in expugnatione Mitylenarum corona civica donatus est.

3. Meruit & sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia sed brevi tempore. Nam Sullæ morte comperta, simul spe novæ dissensionis, quæ per M. Lepidum movebatur, Romam propere rediit : & Lepidi quidem societate, quamquam magnis conditionibus inviraretur, abstinuit : cum ingenio ejus diffusus, rum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

4. Cæterum composita seditione civili, Cornelium Dolabellam, consularem & triumphalem virum, repundarum postulavit : absolute, Rhodum secedere statuit, & ad declinandam invi-

cured his pardon. It's very certain, that Sylla, after he had a long time withstood the importunity of his best friends, and persons of the highest rank, upon their persisting in their suit for him, was at last prevailed upon, but cried out, whether from a divine impulse upon his mind, or a meer conjecture of his own, They should have their desire, and might take him amongst them ; but bid them take notice, that the person they were so mightily concern'd to save, would one time or other be the ruin of the party of the nobility, which they had defended jointly with himself : for that Cæsar had a great many Marius's in him.

2. He first enter'd the service of his country in the wars, under the command of the prætor M. Thermus in Asia, as one of his retinue of gentlemen : by whom being dispatched into Bithynia to fetch from thence a fleet, he staid loitering so long in the court of Nicomedes, that it gave occasion to a report of a criminal familiarity betwixt him and that prince : which spread still more upon his hasty return into Bithynia, under colour of, exacting a debt due to a freed-man his client. His other behaviour in that service was without blemish, and upon the taking of Mitylene by storm, he was presented by Thermus with the civic crown.

3. He serv'd likewise in Cilicia under Servilius Isauricus, but for a short time. For upon Advice of Sylla's Death, having conceived hopes of some Advantage from a new Commotion that was attempted by M. Lepidus, he return'd in all haste to Rome, but would have no concern with Lepidus in his design, tho' he was tempted with very great offers made him, as well from a distrust of his abilities to go through with it, as also because he found the times less favourable to such a project than he had imagined.

4. However, after this Bufile was laid, he impeached Cornelius Dolabella, a consular gentleman, who had had the honour of a triumph, for extortion ; and upon his acquittal resolved to retire to Rhodes, as well to decline the publick odium this proceeding had brought

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diam, & ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Molonis clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. Huc dum Hibernis jam mensibus trajicit, circa Pharmacusam insulam à prædonibus captus est: mansitque apud eos non sine summa indignatione propè quadraginta dies, cum uno medico & cubiculariis duobus. Nam comites servosque cæteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias, quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. Numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis, expositus in litore, non distulit quin è vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntes: ac redactos in potestatem, supplicio, quod illis sæpe minatus inter jocum fuerat, afficeret. Vastante regiones proximas Mithridate, ne desidere in discrimine sociorum videretur, ab Rhodo, quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam: auxiliisque contractis, & præfecto regis provincia expulso, nuntanteis ac debias civitates retinuit in fide.

5. Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reverso per suffragia populi honor obtigit, auctores restituendæ tribunitiæ potestatis, cujus vim Sulla diminuerat, enixissime juvit. L. etiam Cinne, uxoris fratri, & qui cum eo civili discordia Lepidum securi, post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in civitatem rogatione Plotia confecit, habuitque & ipse super ea re concionem.

6. Quæstor Juliani amitam, uxoremque Corneliam, defunctas laudavit è more pro Rostris. Et in amicæ quidem laudatione, de ejus ac patris sui utraq; origine sic refert: *Amita mea Julie maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum Dis Immortalibus conjunctum est.*

upon him, as also for the more quiet prosecution of his studies, under that celebrated master of rhetorick Apollonius the Son of Molon. As he was sailing thither in the winter season, he was taken by Pirates near the Island of Pharmacuse, and continued with them, not without the utmost indignation for almost forty days, with only one physician, and two valets de chambre; for his friends that attended him, and his other servants he had immediately sent off to raise money for his ransom. Upon the payment of fifty talents he was set ashore, but forthwith drew out some ships, came up with the pirates, and after he had made them all prisoners, inflicted upon them the punishment, which he had often in raillery threatned them with. Mithridates at that time was wasting the neighbouring countries, and that he might not appear to lie idle in the danger that threatened the allies of Rome, he went over from Rhodes, where he arrived, into Asia; and having got together some troops, and driven the king's viceroy out of the province, he kept the cities, that were now wavering, and inclinable to a revolt, in their duty.

5. After he was made a military tribune, which was the first honour voted him by the people upon his return to Rome, he very zealously assisted the sticklers for the restoration of the tribunitian authority, which had been very much reduced by Sylla. He likewise recalled from banishment Lucius Cinna his wife's brother, and those who together with him, had in the late civil disturbance sided with Lepidus, by a bill which Plotius at his instigation preferred to the people, and made himself a speech upon the occasion.

6. In his quaestorship he pronounced funeral orations in praise of his aunt Julia, and his wife Cornelia, according to custom in the rostra. And in the commendation of his aunt, he gives this account of her's and his father's descent both by the father and mother's side. My aunt Julia was descended by the mother from kings, and by her father from the Gods.

Nam

Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater: à Venere Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere & sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent: & cerimonia Deorum quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges. In Corneliæ autem locum Pompejam duxit, Q. Pompeii filiam L. Sullæ neptem: cum qua deinde divortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus à P. Clodio: quem inter publicas ceremonias penetrasse ad eam muliebri veste tam constans fama erat, ut senatus quæstionem de pollutis sacris decreverit.

6. Quæstori ulterior Hispania obvenit: ubi cum mandatu prætoris jure dicundo conventus circumirer, Gadeis-que venisset, animadversa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit: & quasi pertæsus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum à se memorabile actum esset in ætate qua jam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitavit, ad captandas quam primum majorum rerum occasiones in urbe. Etiam confusum eura somnio proximæ noctis (nam visus erat per quietem matri stuprum intulisse) conjecteres ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt, arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi interpretantes: quando mater, quam subjectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra, quæ omnium parens haberetur.

8. Decedens ergo ante tempus, colonias Latinas de petenda civitate agitantes adiit: & ad audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi C O S S. conscriptas in Ciliciam legiones paulisper

For the Marcii Reges, of which family her mother was, derive their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii from Venus, of which family our's is a branch; so that we have in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the greatest among the sons of men, and the divine majesty of Gods, to whose authority kings themselves are subject. He married Pompeia the daughter of Q. Pompeius, and grand-daughter of L. Sylla, in the room of Cornelia; whom he afterwards put away, upon a suspicion of her having had an intreague with Publius Claudius: for it was so currently reported, that he had found means to come at her in women's habit, during the performance of a religious solemnity, that the senate ordered a commission of enquiry about it.

7. In his office of quæstor, Spain fell to his lot; where, when, by commission from the prætor, he was going the circuit of the province, for the administration of justice, and was arrived at Gades, upon sight of a statue of Alexander the Great, in the temple of Hercules, he fetched a sigh; and as if deeply concerned at his former inactivity, because nothing memorable had as yet been done by him, at an age, at which Alexander had conquered the world, he immediately sued for his discharge, in order to lay hold upon the first opportunity, that might present in the city, for greater achievements. And upon his being much disturbed at a dream the night after, wherein he fancied he laid with his mother, the interpreters of dreams fill'd him with mighty hopes, pretending that the empire of the world was thereby promised him; since the mother, he had seen thus subjected to him, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all men.

8. Wherefore quitting the province, before his time in it was up, he applied himself to the Latin colonies, at that time full of a design of soliciting for the freedom of Rome; and would have put them upon some bold attempt, had not the consuls, to prevent it, detained for some time the legi-

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ob idipsum retinissent : nec eo secius majora mox in urbe molitus est.

9. Siquidem ante paucos dies, quam ædilitatem iniret, venit in suspicionem conspirasse cum M. Crasso consulari, item P. Sulla & L. Autronio, post designationem consularis, ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur : & trucidatis quos placitum esset dictaturam Crassus invaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur, constitutaq; ad arbitrium rep. Sullæ & Autronio consularis restitueretur. Meminerunt hujus conjurationis Tanusius Geminus in historia, M. Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in Orationibus. De hac significare videtur & Cicero in quadam ad Axium epistola, referens, Cæsarem in consulari confirmasse regnum de quo Ædilis cogitabat. Tanusius adjicit, Crassum, poenitentia vel metu, diem cædi destinatum non obiisse, & iccirco ne Cæsarem quidem signum quod ab eo dari convenerat, dedisse. Convenisse autem Curio ait, ut togam de humero deiceret. Idem Curio, sed & M. Aetorius Naso, auctores sunt conspirasse eum etiam cum Cn. Pisone adolescente : cui ob suspicionem urbanæ conjurationis provincia Hispania ultro extraordinem data sit : pactumq; ut simul foris ille, ipse Romæ, ad res novas confurgerent, per Lambranos & Transpadanos : destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

10. Ædilis, præter comitium ac forum, basilicasque, etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extructis : in quibus

ons that had been raised for the service of Cilicia; and notwithstanding soon after he made a greater attempt in the city itself.

9. For a few days before he entered upon the ædileship, he fell under a suspicion of engaging in a conspiracy with M. Crassus a consular gentleman, Publius Sylla and L. Autronius, who, after they had been chosen consuls, were condemn'd for bribery, to fall upon the senate, in the beginning of the year, and murder as many of them as should be thought proper for their purpose, upon which Crassus was to have assumed the office of dictator, and appoint him his master of the horse; and then, after they had settled the commonwealth according to their pleasure, the consularship was to be restored to Sylla and Autronius. Tanusius Geminus has taken notice of this conspiracy in his history, as also M. Bibulus in his edicts, and C. Curio the father in his orations. Cicero too seems to hint at the same in a letter to Axius, wherein he says, that Cæsar had in his consularship secured to himself that arbitrary power, he had aspired after when he was Ædile. Tanusius adds, that Crassus, from remorse or fear, did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the senate; for which reason Cæsar did not give the signal, which it had been agreed amongst them he should. The agreement Curio says was, that he should slip his toga from his shoulder; the same Curio, nay and M. Aetorius Naso too write, that he was concern'd in another conspiracy with young Cn. Piso; to whom, upon a suspicion of some mischief a brewing in the city, the province of Spain was given out of course, by way of prevention. That however it was agreed betwixt them that Piso should make an insurrection against the government abroad, whilst the other did the same in the city, by the means of the people inhabiting the country lying along the river Lambrus, and beyond the Po; but that this design of their's was prevented by the death of Piso.

10. In his ædileship, he not only beautified the comitium, with the rest of the forum, and the courts adjacent, but the capitol too, with piazzas, for the time of his being in office

abundante

abundante rerum copia, pars apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem, ludosque, & cum collega & separacim, edidit: quo factum est ut communium quoque impensarum solus gratiam caperet: nec dissimularer collega ejus M. Bibulus evenisse sibi quod Polluci. Ut enim geminis fratribus ades in foro constituta, tantum Castoris vocaretur: ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam, unius Caesaris dici. Adjecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorum munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinaverat, paribus. Nam cum multiplici undique familia comparata inimicos exterruisset, tantum est de numero gladiatorum, quo ne majorem cuiquam habere Romæ liceret.

11. Conciliatio populi favore, tentavit per partem tribunorum ut sibi Ægyptus provincia plebiscito daretur: nactus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum, socium atque amicum à senatu appellatum, expulerant, resque vulgo improbatur, nec obtrivit, adversante optimatum factione, quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis invicem diminueret, tropæa C. Marii de Jugurtha, deque Cimbris atque Teutonibus, olim à Sulla disjecta, restituit: atque in exercenda de ficiariis questione, eos quoque ficiariorum numero habuit qui proscriptione ob relata civium Romanorum capita pecunias ex ærario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Corneliis legibus.

12. Subornavit etiam qui C. Rabirio perduelli-

only; that in them he might expose to view part of the vast preparations he was making for the diversion of the people, whom he entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and plays, both in conjunction with his colleague, and by himself; so that he alone run away with all the credit of the expence they were jointly at, insomuch that his colleague, M. Bibulus could not forbear taking notice, that he was served just like Pollux: for as the temple erected in the forum to the two brothers, was called Castor's only; so his and Caesar's munificence was imputed to Caesar alone. Over and above all the rest, Caesar added an entertainment of gladiators, but with fewer pairs than he had designed: for having alarmed his enemies with the numerous company of them, he had got together from all parts, an act past the senate, to limit the number of gladiators, which none for the future should be allowed to exceed.

11. Having thus gained the good graces of the people, he engaged a part of the tribunes in a design to procure for him the province of Ægypt by a decree of the commons; the pretence for such an extraordinary proceeding was, that the Alexandrians had by violence forced away their king, who had by the senate been complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman people, which was resented by the people in general; but he could not carry his point, by reason of the opposition from the party of the nobility. And therefore to lessen their authority, by all the ways and means in his power, he again set up the trophies erected in honour of C. Marius, upon account of his conquest of Jugurtha, the Cimbri and the Teutoni, that had formerly been demolished by Sylla; and in sitting as judge upon murder, he treated all those as murderers, who, in the late proscription, had received money out of the treasury, for bringing in the heads of such of their fellow-citizens as had been proscribed, tho' they had been excepted by Sylla's own laws.

12. He likewise procured one to impeach C. Rabirius for Treason, by
only

onis diem diceret : quo præcipuo adjutore, aliquot ante annos L. Saturnini sediciosum tribunatum senatus coercuerat : ac sone judex in reum ductus, tam cupide condemnavit, ut ad populum provocanti nihil æque ac judicis acerbitas profuerit.

13. Deposita provincie spe, Pontificatum maximum petiit, non sine profusissima largitione. In qua reputans magnitudinem æris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, prædixisse matri osculanti fertur, domum se nisi Pontificem non reversurum, atq; ira potentissimos duos competitores, multumque & ætate & dignitate antecedentes, superavit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia, quam uterque in omnibus, tulerit.

14. Prætor creatus, detecta conjuratione Catilinæ, senatuique universo in socios facinoris ultimam statuente poenam, solus municipatum dividendos, custodiendosq; publicatis bonis, censuit. Quia & tantum merum injecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum à plebe Romana maneret invidia, ut D. Silanum consulem designatum non pignerit, sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam : obtinissetque adeo, transductis ad se jam pluribus, & in his Ciceronis consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio. Ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoadusque manus equitum Romanorum, quæ armata

whose assistance chiefly, the senate had a few years before quashed the seditious designs of L. Saturninus the tribune. And being drawn by lot one of the judges for his trial, he discovered so much eagerness to procure sentence against him, that upon his appealing to the people, nothing did him so much service as the bitterness of his judge.

13. Having laid aside all hope of the province of Egypt, he stood candidate for the office of high-priest, notwithstanding the most profuse bribery imaginable ; upon which, considering the greatness of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have said to his mother, when she kissed him at his going out in the morning to the election, that he would never come home again, unless he was made high-priest. And he so baffled two competitors of the greatest power and interest in the city, and much superior to him both in age and dignity, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all together.

14. Upon his being chose prætor, Catiline's conspiracy, came out ; and tho' the whole senate inclined to inflict capital punishment upon all such, as should appear to be concern'd in that villany, he alone advis'd to confiscate their estates, and imprison their persons separately in the borough-towns of Italy. Nay, and struck so great a terror into those that advis'd to greater severities, by now and then representing to them, what a general odium they would in time bring upon themselves from the commonalty, by such a proceeding, that Decimus Silanus consul elect thought fit to qualify his advice, because it was not very honourable to change it, by a softening interpretation, as if it had been understood in a harsher sense than he designed it ; and Cæsar would certainly have carried his point, having now brought over a great many to side with him, and amongst them Cicero the consul's brother, had not a speech of M. Cato's spirited up the house with new vigor. But notwithstanding that, he still persisted to obstruct the business, till a body of the equestrian order, that stood under arms

præsidii

præsidii causa circumstabat, immoderatus perseveranti necem comminata est: etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint. Tunc plane detentus non modo cessit, sed etiam in reliquum anni tempus Curia abstinuit.

15. Primo Prætoræ die Q. Catulum de refectione Capirolii ad disquisitionem populi vocavit, rogatione promulgata, qua curationem eam in alium transferbat. Verum impar optimatum conspirationi, quos relicto statim novorum consulum officio, frequentes, obstinatosque ad resistendum concurrille cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

16. Cæterum Cæcilio Metello Tribun. pleb. turbulentissimas leges adversus collegarum intercessionem ferenti, auctorem propugnatoremque se pertinacissime præstitit: donec ambo administratione reipub. decreto patrum summoventur. Ac nihilo minus permanere in magistratu, & jus dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos, qui vi ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus, abiectaque prætexta, domum clam refugit, pro conditione temporum quieturus. Multitudinem quoque biduo post sponte & ultro confluentem, operamque sibi in asserenda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem, compescuit. Quod cum præter opinionem evenisset, senatus ob eundem coctum festinato coactus, gratias ei per primores viros egit: accitumque in Curiam, & amplissimis verbis collaudatum, in integrum restituit inducto priore decreto.

17. Recidit rursus in discrimen aliud, inter socios Cati,

as a Guard, upon his pursuing his point with eagerness, threatened him with Death, holding up their drawn swords at him insomuch that those that sat next him moved off, and a few friends with much ado protected him, by getting him in their arms, and holding their togas before him. At which being quite discouraged, he not only dropt the matter, but declined his attendance in the house for all the rest of that year.

15. Upon the first day of his prætorship, he called Q. Catulus to an account before the people about the repairs of the capitol, preferring at the same time a bill, for the grant of that commission to another; but not being able to stand the strong opposition made against him by the party of the quality, whom he perceived to quit their attendance upon the new consuls in great numbers, and fully resolved to oppose him, he dropt the design.

16. He likewise stood very resolutely by Cæcilius Metellus tribune of the commons, in his preferring some very seditious bills to the people, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, till they were both by a vote of the house displaced. He ventured notwithstanding to continue in his office, of administering justice; but finding some prepared to hinder him by force of arms, he dismissed his officers, threw off his gown, and got privately home with a resolution to be quiet, since the times run so strong against him. He likewise pacified the mob, that in two days after gathered about him, and in a riotous manner offered him their assistance, for the vindication of his honour. Which happening contrary to expectation, the senate, who had met in all haste upon occasion of this tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the house, sent for him, and after they had highly commended his behaviour, cancelled their former vote, and restored him to his place.

17. But he fell again into a fresh danger, being named amongst the ac-

lina

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linæ nominatus : & apud Novium Nigrum Quæstorem à L. Vettio indice, & in senatu à Q. Curio : cui, quod primus consilia conjuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice præmia. Curius è Catilina se cognovisse dicebat : Vettius etiã chirographum ejus Catilinæ datum pollicebatur. Id vero Cæsar nullo modo tolerandum existimans, cum implorato Ciceronis testimonio, quædam se de conjuratione ultro ad eum detulisse docuisset, ne Curio præmia darentur, effecit : Vettium pignoribus caris, & direpta suppellectile male multatum, ac pro Rostris in concione pæne discerptum, conjecit in carcerem : eodem Novium Quæstorem, quod compellari apud se majorem potestatem passus esset.

18. Ex prætura ulteriorem fortitus Hispaniam, retinentes creditores interventu sponсорum removit : ac neque more, neque jure, antequam provinciæ ornarentur, profectus est : incertum metune judicii, quod privato parabatur, an quò maturius sociis implorantibus subveniret. Pacataque provincia, pari festinatione, non expectato successore, ad triumphum simul consularumque decessit. Sed cum edictis jam comitiis ratio ejus haberi non posset, nisi privatus introisset urbem, & ambienti ut legibus solveretur, multi contradicerent, coactus est, triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

obliged to lay aside the thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be balk'd of the consulship.

19. E duobus consularibus competitoribus, L. Luceio, M. que Bibulo, Luceium sibi adjunxit : pactus ut is, quoniam inferior gratia esset, pe-

complices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the questor, by the informer L. Vettius, and in the senate by Q. Curius ; for whom rewards had been voted in consideration of his having first discovered the designs of the conspirators. Curius said he received his information from Catiline : Vettius likewise promised to produce his own hand writing in evidence against him, which he had given Catiline. Cæsar resenting this usage as intolerable, appealed to Cicero himself, if he had not voluntarily made a discovery to him of some particulars of the conspiracy, and so balked Curius of the rewards design'd him. Vettius he obliged to give pledges to answer for his behaviour, sold off his goods ; and after he had been sadly mauled, and almost torn in pieces, in an assembly of the people at the Rostra, threw him in prison : which he likewise d'd by Novius the questor, for presuming to take an information against a magistrate of superiour authority.

18. After his prætorship he got by lot the province of further Spain, and got rid of his creditors, that were for stopping him, by giving them security ; and contrary to both law and custom, went off, before the usual allowance from the treasury was made him for his equipage : whether from the apprehension of an impeachment, after the expiration of his office, which was intended ; or out of haste to relieve the allies, that earnestly desired his presence, is uncertain. And after he had brought the province to a peaceable settlement, did with the same haste, and without waiting for his successor, leave it, to sue for a triumph and the consulship. But as the day of election was already fixt by proclamation, and consequently he could not be admitted as a candidate, unless he enter'd the town as a private person, he sued hard for a suspension of the laws in his favour ; but as this was much opposed, he found himself obliged to lay aside the thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be balk'd of

19. Of the two competitors for the consulship, L. Luceius and M. Bibulus, he joined with Luceius, upon condition that he being a person of less interest, but longer purse, should in the name of them
C cuniasq;

cuniasq; polleret, nummos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret. Quia cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat, nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu, concordia & consentiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantumdem pollicendi: ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Carone quidem abeunte eam largitionem e Rep. fieri. Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatus est. Eandem ob causam opera optimatibus data est ut provinciae futuris anni minimi negotii, id est, silvarum callesque, decernerentur. Quia maxime injuria instinctus, omnibus officiis Cn. Pompejum assecutus est, offensum patribus, quod Mithridate rege victo, cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua: Pompejoque M. Crassum reconciliavit, veterem inimicum ex consulari, quem summa discordia simul gesserant: ac societatem cum

20. Inito honore, primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi divina acta conficerentur, & publicarentur. Antiquum etiam revulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum irer, lictores pone sequerentur. Lege autem agraria promulgata, obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit. Ac postero die in senatu conquestum, nec ququam reperit qui super tali consternatione referre, aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa saepe in levioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem, ut quoad potestare abiret, domo abiit, nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret. Unus ex eo tempore omnia in rep. & ad arbitrium administravit: ut

both promise the burgeses money. Upon which the party of the Nobility, fearing he would push at all in that high office, with a colleague of his own kidney, advised Bibulus to promise as much, and most of them contributed to raise the money; Cato himself acknowledging that bribery upon such an occasion was for the publick good. Accordingly he was made consul with Bibulus. For the same reason the noble party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new consuls, such as the care of woods and roads. At which affront being most highly incensed, he endeavoured by all imaginable civilities to gain Pompey, who was at that time out of humour with the senate, for the backwardness they shewed to confirm his acts, after the conquest of Mithridates. He likewise reconciled M. Crassus to Pompey: who had been his enemy from the time of their being consuls together, in which office they were continually clashing, and entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, that was displeasing to any one of the three.

utroque iniit, ne quid ageretur in Rep.

20. After he was entered upon his office, he ordered the acts of the senate and people too, to be daily committed to writing and published, which had never been done before: and revived an old custom, of having an accensus walk before him, and his lictors follow him, every other month that he had not the fasces. Upon his preferring a bill to the people for a division of some publick lands, he was opposed by his colleague, but drove him out of the forum. This he complained of the day after in the senate, but no body having the courage to move or advise the house upon such a consternation, which yet had been often done upon lesser disturbances, he was so discouraged, that till he quitted his office, he kept close at home, and only endeavoured to obstruct proceedings by his proclamations. From that time therefore Caesar had the sole management of all affairs in his hands, insomuch that some wags, when they signed any writ-
nonnulli

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nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per jocum testandi gratia signarent, non Cæsare & Bibulo, sed Julio & Cæsare cons. actum scriberent, his eundem præponentes, nomine atque cognomine: utque vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus:

*Non Bibulo quidquam nuper sed Cæsare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.*

Nothing was done in Bibulus's Year;

No; Cæsar only was late consul here.

Campum Stellatam majoribus consecratum, agrumque Campanum ad subsidia reip. vectigalem relictum, divisit extra sortem, ac xx. milibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent. Publicanos remissionem petentes, tertia mercedum parte relevavit: ac ne in locatione novorum vectigalium immoderatus liceretur, propalam monuit. Cætera item quæ cuiq; libuissent, dilargitus est, contradicente nullo, ac si conaretur quis, absterreo. M. Catonem interpellantem extrahi curia per licetorem, ducique in carcerem iussit. L. Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum injecit, ut ad genua ultro sibi acciteret. Cicerone in judicio quodam deplorante temporum statum, P. Clodium inimicum ejus frustra jam pridem à patribus ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die, horaque nona, traduxit. Postremo in universos diversæ factionis induxit Vettium præmiis, ut se de inferenda Pompejo nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur, productusq; pro Rostris auctores ex compacto nominaret: sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspitione fraudis nominatis, desperans tam præcipitis consilii eventum, interceptisse veneno iudicem creditur.

ing as witnesses, did not add in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, but of Julius and Cæsar; putting the same person down twice, under his name and surname. And the following verses too were in every body's mouth.

The land of Stella consecrated by our ancestors to the Gods, and some other land of Campania left liable to tribute, to support the expences of the government, he divided, but not by lot, to above twenty thousand freemen, that had each of them three or more children. He eased the publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum they had promised for that year's revenue; and publicly admonished them, not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion. All other things he disposed of at pleasure, without the least opposition from any body; or if any one did make an offer that way, he was soon discouraged. M. Cato that interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be pulled out of the senate-house by an officer, and carried to prison. L. Lucullus too that opposed him pretty warmly, he so terrified with the apprehension of false accusation, that he threw himself at his knees. And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day by nine a clock, brought over his enemy P. Claudius from the nobility to the commons, which he himself had a long time attempted in vain. At last, to strike a terror upon all those of the opposite party, he by great rewards persuaded Vettius to declare, that he had been solicited by certain gentlemen to assassinate Pompey; and when he was brought upon the rostra to name such as had been agreed on betwixt them, after he had named one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of foul play, Cæsar despairing of success in this rash enterprize, is supposed to have taken off his informer by poison.

21. Sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pisonis filiam, successuri sibi in consulatu; duxit uxorem: suamque Juliam Cn. Pompejo collocavit, repudiato priore sponso Servilio Cephione, cujus vel precipua opera paullo ante Bibulum impugnaverant. Ac post novam affinitatem, Pompejum primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum suaderet: essetque consuetudo ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul Kalend. Januariis instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret.

22. Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus, ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, cujus emolumento & opportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum. Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam, Illyrico adjecto, lege Vatinia accepit: mox per senatum, Comatam quoque; veritis patribus ne si ipsi negassent, populus & hanc daret. Quo gaudio elatus, non temperavit quin paucos post dies frequenti curia jactaret, in viris & gementibus adversariis, adeptum se quæ concupisset: proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus: ac negante quodam per contumeliam, *Facile hoc ulli femina fore, responderit, quali alludens, In Assyria quoque regnasse Semiramis, magnamque Asia partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.*

23. Functus consulatu, C. Memmio Lucioque Domitio prætoribus, de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem senatui derulit: nec illo suscipiente, triduoque per irritas altercationes absumto, in provinciam abiit: & statim quaestor ejus in præjudicium aliquot cri-

21. About the same time he married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, that was to succeed him in the consulship, and gave his own daughter Julia to Pompey: rejecting Servilius Cephio, whom she had before been contracted to, and by whose means chiefly, he had but a little before baffled Bibulus. After this new alliance he begun, upon any debates in the senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first; whereas he used before that to ask M. Crassus: and the way was for the consul to keep all the year through to the method of consulting the house, which he begun with the first of January.

22. Wherefore being now supported by the interest of his father and son-in-law, of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul, as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he had but Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyricum given him by a bill of Vatinus to the people: but soon after he obtained by the senate Gallia Comata too, the house being apprehensive if they did not give it him, the people would. Upon which being transported with joy, he could not forbear boasting in a full house a few days after, that he had, in spite of his enemies, and to their great mortification, got all he desired, and should for the future play upon them at pleasure; and some body smartly replying, That that would not be very easy for a woman to do, he merrily answered again, that Semiramis had formerly reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons been masters of a great part of Asia.

23. After he was out of his consulship, upon C. Memmius, and Lucius Domitius the prætors moving the senate, with relation to the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house; but they declining the business; after three days spent in vain wrangling, he went into his province: but immediately his quaestor was impeached for several misdemeanors, by way of prelude minibus

minibus arreptus est. Mox & ipse à L. Antistio tribuno plebis postularus, appellato demum collegio, obtinuit, cum reip. causa abesset, reus ne fieret. Ad securitatem ergo posterì temporis, in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, & è competitoribus, non alios adjuvare, aut ad honorem participare, quam qui sibi pepigissent, propugnatos absentiam suam: cuius pacti non dubitavit à quibusdam jusjurandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

24. Sed cum L. Domitius consularis candidatus palam minaretur, col. se effecturum quod prætor nequisset, adempturumque ei exercitum: Crassum Pompejumque in urbem provincie sue Lucan extractos compulit ut detrudendi Domitii causa consilium alterum peterent: & ut in quinquennium sibi Imperium propagaretur: perfecitque utrumque. Quia fiducia ad legiones quas à rep. acceperat, alias privato sumtu addidit: unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico (Alaude enim appellabatur:) quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam & ornata, postea universam civitate donavit. Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ne injusti quidem ac periculosi, abstinuit, tam fœderatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro laceratis: adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit, ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus consuerint. Sed prospere decedentibus rebus, & sæpius & plurium quam quisquam unquam dierum supplicationes impetravit.

25. Gessit autem novem annis, quibus in imperio fuit, hæc fere. Omnem Galliam,

to the future condemnation of Cæsar. And soon after he himself was prosecuted by L. Antistius tribune of the commons; but by making his appeal to the rest of the body he prevailed, since he was absent from town in the service of his country, to have his prosecution taken off. To secure himself therefore for the time to come, he made it his business always to oblige the magistrates of every year, and to assist none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffer any to be advanced to any post whatever, that would not undertake to stand by him in his absence, for which purpose he made no scruple to require of some an oath, and even a note under their hands.

24. But when L. Domitius stood for the consulship, and openly threatened that he would, when consul, effect what he could not, when he was prætor, and would take his armies from him, he sent for Crassus and Pompey to Luca, a city of his province, and obliged them to stand again for the consulship, in order to balk Domitius, and to continue him in his command for five years longer, and succeeded in both. Upon which he had the assurance to add, at his own private charge, more legions to those he had received from the government, one raised in transalpine Gaul, and called by a gallick name *Alaude*, which he trained and armed after the Roman fashion, and afterwards made the whole free of the city. After this he declined no occasion of war, tho' never so unjust and dangerous, attacking as well our allies, as the wild nations that were enemies to Rome: insomuch that the senate appointed commissioners to go and examine into the condition of Gaul: and some members of the house advised the delivering of him up to the enemy. But being successful in all his enterprizes, he had more days of thanksgiving appointed in his honour, and oftener than any before him ever had.

25. In the nine years of his command, he reduced all Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenean, the Alps, mountains

quæ à saltu Pyrenæo Alpibusque & monte Gebenna, fluminibus Rheno & Rhodano continetur, præterque circumitu ad bis & tricies centum millia passuum, præter socias ac bene meritas civitates, in provincie formam redegit: eique, quadringenties in singulos annos stipendiū nomine imposuit. Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato aggreffus, maximis affecit claudibus. Aggreffus est & Britannos, ignotos antea, superatq; pecunias & obsoles imperavit. Per tot successus ter, nec amplius, adversum casum expertus: in Britannia, classe vi tempestatis prope absumpta: & in Gallia, ad Gergoviam legione fusa: & in Germanorum finibus, Titurio cæsis.

26. Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo; deinde filiam, nec multo post neprem amisit. Inter quæ consternata P. Clodii cæde Rep. cum senatus unum cos. nominarimque Cn. Pompeium fieri censuisset, egit cum tribuniis plebis collegam se Pompejo destinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri cœpisset, petitiō secundi Consulatus daretur: ne ea causa maturius, & imperfecto adhuc bello decederet. Quod ut adeptus est, aliora jam meditans, & spei plenus, nullum largitionis, aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omisit. Forum de manubiis inſcævavit, cujus area super h. S. millies constitit. Munus populo, epulumque pronuntiavit in filiz memoriam, quod ante eum nemo. Quorum ut quam maxima expectatio esset, ea quæ ad epulum pertinerent, quamvis macella.

Gebenna, and the two rivers of the Rhine and Rhone, and being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only our allies, and such nations as had deserved well of him: and laid a yearly tax upon it of forty millions of sesterces. He first of all the Romans pass'd the Rhine by a Bridge against the Germans, and gave them several considerable defeats. He likewise invaded the Britons; and after he had overthrown them in battle, exacted contributions and hostages from them. Amidst so many successes he met with ill fortune but thrice, once in Britain, when his fleet was almost destroy'd by a storm: and in Gaul at Gergovia, where a legion of his was put to the rout; and in the country of the Germans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

& Aurunculeio legatis per insidias

26. During this time he lost his mother first, then his daughter, and not long after his grand-daughter. And in the mean while the government being alarmed with the murder of P. Clodius, and the senate with an eye to Pompey, passing a vote, that any one consul should be chosen for the year ensuing, he prevailed with the tribunes of the commons, who design'd to join him with Pompey, to propose a bill to the people, to enable him to stand candidate for a second consulship in his absence, when the time of his command should be near expiring, that he might not be obliged upon that account to quit his province too soon, and before the war was ended. After he had compass'd this point, carrying his views still higher, and big with the hopes of success, he let slip no opportunity of shewing his generosity, and obliging every body by all manner of good offices, both publicly and privately. He begun a new forum with money rais'd from the spoils of the war; the ground-plot of which cost him above a hundred millions of sesterces. He promised the people a publick entertainment of gladiators, and a feast in memory of his daughter, which he may ever did assure him,

riis oblocata, etiam domesticam apparabar. Gladiatores notos, sicubi infestis spectatorious dimicarent, vi rapiendos reservandosque mandabat. Tirones neque in ludo, neque per lanistas, sed in domibus per equites Romanos, ac etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat: precibus enitens, quod epistolis ejus ostenditur, ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent, ipsique dictata exercensibus darent. Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Frumentum, quoties copia esset, etiam sine modo mensuraque præbuit: ac singula interdum mancipia & prædia viritim dedit.

ted to every soldier in his army a slave, and a piece of land, or a house.

27. Adretinendam autem Pompeii necessitudinem ac voluntatem, Octaviam fororis suæ nepem, quæ C. Marcello nupta erat, conditione ei derulit, sibi que filiam ejus in matrimonium petiit, Fausto Sullæ destinatam. Omnibus vero circa eum, atque etiam parte magna senatus, gratuito, aut levi sœnore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoque ordinum genere vel invitatos, vel sponte ad se commeantes, uberrimo congiario prosequeretur: liberos insuper, servulosque cujusque prout domino patronove gratus quis esset. Tum reorum aut oblatorum, aut prodigæ juvenutis subsidium unicuique ac promptissimum erat: nulli quos gravior criminum, vel inopie luxuriae vis urgeret, quàm ut subveniri posset à se: his plane palam bello civili opus esse dicebat.

28. Nec minore studio reges atque provincias per terrarum orbem assiciebat: aliis captivorum millia dono offerens: aliis citra senatus populique auctoritatem quò vellent,

And to raise their expectations to the highest, tho' he had agreed with the victuallers of all denominations for his feast, yet he made further preparations in private houses, up and down the town. He gave order to have the most celebrated gladiators if at any time they fought under the disadvantage of the people's displeasure, to be carried off by force, and reserved for further use. Young gladiators he trained up not in the school, and by the masters of defence, but in gentlemen's houses, by Roman knights, and even senators, skilled in the use of arms, earnestly beseeching them, as appears from his letters, to take the trouble of instructing them upon them, and give them lessons themselves. He doubled the pay of the legions for ever, and allowed them corn, as oft as he had plenty, without stint or measure, and sometimes distributed

27. To keep up an alliance and a good understanding with Pompey, he offered him in marriage Octavia his sister's grand-daughter, who had been married, to C. Marcellus, and desired his daughter for himself, who had been contracted to Faustus Sylla. And took care to oblige all about him, and a great part of the senate too, by the loan of money upon low interest, or none at all: and was very free of his presents to all others, that came to wait upon him, either upon his invitation, or of their own accord, not neglecting even freedmen and slaves, that were favourites with their masters and patrons. And then he was a sure and never-failing succour to persons under prosecution, or in debt, or prodigal young gentlemen, unless those whose load of guilt, poverty, or luxury was such, that it was impossible for him effectually to relieve them. These he openly declared there was no help for, but from a civil war.

28. Nor did he with less application endeavour to engage in his interest princes, and provinces, all the world over, presenting some with thousands of prisoners, and sending troops to the assistance of others, without any authority

& quoties vellent, auxilia submittens: superque Italia, Gallia, tumque & Hispaniarum, Asia quoque & Græciæ potentissimas urbes præcipuis operibus exornans: donec ætonitis jam omnibus, & quorsum illa tenderent reputantibus, M. Claudius Marcellus cōs. edicto præfatus de summa se Rep. acturum, retulit ad senatum ut ei succederetur ante tempus: quoniam bello confecto pax esset, ac dimitti deberet victor exercitus: & ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebiscito Pompejus postea abrogasset. Acciderat autem ut is legem de jure magistratuum ferens, eo capite quo à petitione honorum absentes submovebat, ne Cæsarem quidem exciperet, per oblivionem: ac mox lege jam in æs incisa, & in ærarium condita, corrigeret errorem. Nec contentus Marcellus provincias Cæsari & privilegium eripere, retulit etiam ut colonis quos Rogatione Vatinia Novumcomum deduxisset, civitas adimeretur: quod per ambitionem & ultra præscriptum data esset.

been given them with an ambitious view, and contrary to the direction of the law.

29. Commotus his Cæsar, ac judicans, quod sæpe ex eo auditum ferunt, difficilior se Principem civitatis à primo ordine in secundum, quam ex secundo in novissimum detruendi, summa ope restitit, partim per intercessores tribunos, partim per Servium Sulpicium alterum consulem. Insequenti quoque anno, C. Marcello, qui fratri patrueli suo Marco in consulari successerat, eadem tentante, collegam ejus Æmiliū Paulum, Cæsumque Curionem violentissimum tribunorum ingenii mercede defensores paravit,

from the senate and people of Rome for it, whether they would, and as oft as they would, beautifying with extraordinary public buildings the most potent cities not only of Italy, Gaul and Spain, but Asia too and Greece: till all people being now astonished, and guessing at the design of these proceedings, Claudius Marcellus the consul declaring first by proclamation, that he design'd to go upon matters of the utmost concern to the publick, made a motion in the senate, that some body should be appointed to succeed Cæsar in his province, before his time in it was up, because the war was at an end, and all quiet there, and it was fit that the victorious army should be disbanded. He further moved that, as he was absent, his suit at the next election for consuls should not be allowed. Now Pompey in his law relating to the choice of magistrates had forgot to except Cæsar in the article wherein he declared all such as were not present incapable of being candidates for any post in the government; and soon after when the law was now inscribed upon a copper plate, and laid up in the treasury, corrected his mistake. Nor was Marcellus content with depriving Cæsar of his provinces, and the favour design'd him by Pompey, but he likewise moved the house, that the freedom of the city should be taken from those planters, he had by Vatinius's law settled at Novum Comum; because it had

29. Cæsar being alarmed at these proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to say, that it would be a more difficult matter to bring him down, now he was at the head of the government, from the first rank of citizens into the second, than from the second to the lowest of all, he made a vigorous opposition, partly by the tribunes, who interposed in his behalf, and partly by Ser. Sulpicius the other consul. And when C. Marcellus, who succeeded his cousin Mark in the consulship the year following, pursued the same measures, he engaged by a round-sum of money, his colleague Æmilius Paulus and C. Curio the hottest of all the tribunes, in his defence. But finding all things carried against him

Sed cum obstinatius omnia agi videret, et designatos etiam cos. è parte diversa, senatum literis deprecatus est, ne sibi beneficium Populi adimere-tur: aut ut cæteri quoque Imperatores ab Exercitibus discederent: confusus, ut putant, facilius se, simulacque libuisset, veteranos convocaturum, quam Pompejum novos milites. Cum adversariis autem pepigit ut dimissis octo legionibus, Transalpinæque Gallia, duæ sibi legiones, & Cisalpina provincia, vel etiam una legio cum Illyricum, concederetur quoad col. fieret.

30. Verum neque senatu interveniente, et adversariis negantibus ullam se de rep. facturos pactionem, transiit in citeriorem Galliam: conventibusque peractis, Ravennæ substitit, bello vindicaturus, si quid de Tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se gravius à senatu constitutum esset. Et prætextum quidem illi civilium armorum hoc fuit: causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Cn. Pompejus ita dictitabar, quod neque opera consummare quæ instituerat, neque populi exspectationem, quam de adventu suo fecerat, privatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia ac permiscere voluisse. Alii timuisse dicunt ne eorum quæ primo consulatu adversus auspicia legesque & intercessionem gessisset, rationem reddere cogeretur: cum M. Cato identidem, nec sine iurejurando, denuntiaret, delatorum se nomen ejus, simulac primum exercitum dimississet: cumque vulgo fore prædicarent ut si privatus rediisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam apud iudices diceret. Quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio, Pharsalica acie cæcos profligatosque adversarios prospicientem, hæc

with a high hand, and that the consul elect too were of the party, he wrote a letter to the senate, to beg of them, they would not deny him the kindness the people intended him; or else that other gentlemen at the head of the armies of the common wealth, should resign their several commands as well as himself; not doubting, as it's thought, but he could more easily call together his old soldiers, whenever he pleased, than Pompey could his new raised troops. He likewise made his adversaries an offer to part with eight of his legions and Transalpine Gaul, provided he might keep two legions, with the Cisalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, till he was made consul.

30. But as the senate did not think fit to interpose in the Affair, and his enemies declared, that they would not barter away the interests of their country, he advanced into hither Gaul, and, having gone the circuit of the province for the holding of assizes, he made a halt at Ravenna, resolving to avenge himself by War, if the senate came to any severe resolution against the tribunes that, in his behalf, interposed to stop their proceedings. And this was indeed his pretence for engaging in a war with his country; but it's supposed there were at bottom other reasons for it. Cn. Pompeius used frequently to say, that because he was not able with all the estate he was worth to finish the works he had begun, and answer the vast expectations he had raised in the people of mighty things from him at his return, he was resolved to throw all things into confusion. Others say, he was apprehensive of being called to an account for what he had done in his first consulship, contrary to the auspices, laws and authority of the tribunes, since M. Cato now and then declared, and with an oath too, that he would impeach him, as soon as he disbanded his army: and it was commonly talkt, that if he return'd a private person, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard to attend the court. Which Asinius Pollio renders highly probable, for he says that upon viewing the vanquished and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalia, he said these very

eum ad verbum dixisse referens, *Hoc voluerunt : tantis rebus gestis C. Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.* Quidam putant captum imperij consuetudine, pensatisque suis & inimicorum viribus, usum occasione rapiendæ dominationis, quam ætate prima concupisisset. Quod existimasse videbatur & Cicero, scribens De officiis tertio libro, semper Cæsarem in ore habuisse Euripidis versus, quos sic ipse conuertit :

*Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia;
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

Let nothing but the hopes of Royal Sway
Tempt Man the Rule of Right to disobey.

31. Cum ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem, ipsosque urbe cessisse nuntiatum est, præmissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio moveretur, & spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit, & formam, qua ludum gladiatorum erat ædificaturus consideravit, & ex consuetudine convivio se frequenter dedit. Dein post solis occasum, mulis è proximo pistrino ad vehiculum junctis, occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est : & cum luminibus extinctis decessisset via, dlu errabundus, tandem ad lucem duce reperto, per angustissimos tramites pedibus evasit : consecutusque cohortes ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provincie ejus finis erat, paulum constitit : ac reputans quantum moliretur, conversus ad proximos, *Etiā nunc, inquit, regredi possumus : quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.*

32. Cunctanti ostentum tale factum est. Quidam eximia magnitudine & forma, in proximo sedens, repente

words. This they design'd, I C. Caesar after all the great things I have performed, must have undergone a sentence of condemnation, had I not desired the assistance of my army. Some think that being grown fond of power, from his long continuance in it, and having weigh'd his own and his enemys strength, he laid hold of that occasion of seizing the government: of which opinion Cicero seem'd to be, who writes in his third book of offices, that Caesar us'd to have frequently in his mouth two verses of Euripides, which he translates in the following manner.

31. Wherefore when news was brought, that the interposition of the Tribunes in his favour had been utterly rejected, and that they themselves had fled out of the town, he forthwith privately dispatch'd away some battalions, and to prevent all suspicion of his design, he attended at a publick show, examin'd the model of a fencing school he was a going to build, and sat down to table with his friends about him as usual. But after sun-set, having clapt to his chaise mules from a neighbouring bake-house, he put himself upon his journey, with all possible privacy, and a small retinue. But his lights going out, he lost his way, and wandered about a long time, till by the help of a guide he light upon at break of Day, he got on foot through some narrow paths into the road again ; and coming up with his troops on the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood musing for some time upon the greatness of his attempt, and then turning to those about him, We may still retreat, says he ; but if we pass this little bridge, we must make our way by force of arms.

32. Whilst he was demurring upon the matter, there happened some thing very strange. A proper graceful person all on a sudden appear'd hard
apparuit

apparuit, arundine canens : ad quem audiendum, cum præter pastores, plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent, interque eos & æneatores, rapta ab uno tuba profiliuit ad flumen : & ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus perrendit ad alteram ripam. Tunc Cæsar, *Eatur*, inquit, *quo deorum offensa, & inimicorum iniquitas vocat : facta alea est*, inquit.

33. Atque ita trajecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis pleb. qui pulsati supervenerant, pro concione fidem militum flens, ac veste à pectore discissa, invocavit. Existimatur etiam equestres census pollicitus singulis : quod accidit opinione falsa. Nam cum alloquendo exhortandoque sæpius digitum lævæ manus ostentans, affirmavit se ad satisfaciendum omnibus, per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset, anulum quoque æquo animo detracturum sibi : extrema concio, cui facilius erat videre concionantem, quam audire, pro dicto accepit quod visu suspicabatur : promissumque jus anulorum cum millibus quadringenis fama distulit.

34. Ordo & summa rerum quas deinceps gessit, sic se habent. Picenum, Umbriam, Etruriam occupavit : & L. Domitio, qui per numulum successor ei nominatus, Corfinium præsidio tenebat, in deditionem redacto, atque dimisso, secundum superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quo COSS. Pompejusque confugerant, quam primum transfretaturi. Hos frustra per omnes moras exitu prohibere conatus, Romam iter convertit : appellatisque de rep. patribus, validissimas Pompeji

by, sitting and playing upon a pipe and a great many not only shepherds but soldiers too upon duty, and amongst them some trumpeters, flocking to hear him, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and sounding an alarm with a prodigious blast, advanced to the other side : upon which Cæsar cried out, Let us march whither divine prodigies, and the perverseness of our enemies call us. The die is now cast, says he.

33. And accordingly drawing his army over the river, and attended by the tribunes of the commons, who, upon their being forced from the city, were come up to him, he did at the head of his troops, with tears in his eyes, and his cloaths tore away from his breast, implore their protection. He is supposed too at that time to have promised every soldier a knight's estate, but that is founded on a mistake : for when in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that in order to requite those that should assist him, in the defence of his honour, he would willingly part even with his ring, the soldiers at a distance, that could more easily see, than hear him, as he spoke, took that to be said by him, which they only suspected so to be, from what they saw, and accordingly gave out, that they were every one to be advanced to the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and an estate of four hundred thousand sesterces.

34. I shall now give the reader the sum and substance of his exploits, in their order, as follows. He took possession of Picene, Umbria and Etruria ; and having obliged L. Domitius, who had in the late confusion, been nominated to succeed him, and kept Corfinium with a garrison, to surrender, and dismiss'd him, he march'd along the coast of the upper sea, to Brundisium, to which place the consuls and Pompey were fled with an intention to pass the sea as soon as possible. After he had by various means endeavoured to prevent their getting out of the harbour, but all in vain, he march'd for Rome, and having deli-

copias, quæ sub tribus legatis M. Petreio, & L. Afranio, & M. Varrone in Hispania erant, invasit: professus ante inter suos, ire se ad exercitum sine duce, & inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu. Et quamquam obsidione Massiliæ: quæ sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaq; frumentariæ rei penuria retardante, brevi tamen omnia subegit.

Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn; yet in a short time he bore down all before him.

35. Hinc urbe repetita, in Macedoniam transgressus, Pompejum per quatuor pæne menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico prælio fundit: & fugientem Alexandriam persecutur, ut occisum deprehendit, cum Ptolemæo rege, a quo sibi quoq; insidias tendi videbat, bellum fane difficillimum gessit: neque loco, neque tempore æquo, sed hyeme anni, & intra mœnia copiosissimi ac sollertissimi hostis, inops ipse rerum omnium, atque imparatus. Regnum Ægypti victor, Cleopatras fratrique ejus minori permisit: veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoq; violentiorem præsidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset. Ab Alexandria in Syriam, & inde Pontum transit, urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis: quem Mithridatis Magni filium, ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem, jamq; multiplici successu præferocem, intra quintum, quam adfuerat, diem, quatuor, quibus in conspectum venit, horis, una profligavit acie: crebro commemorans Pompeji felicitatem, cui præcipua militiæ laus de tam imbelli genere hostium contigisset. Dehinc Scipionem ac Jubam, reliquias partium in Africa resoventes, devicit: Pompeji liberos in Hispania.

vered his mind to the senate, upon the present situation of affairs, went for Spain, where Pompey had a very strong army, under the command of three Lieutenants, M. Petreius, L. Afranius, and M. Varro, declaring, before he set forward amongst his friends, that he was going against an army without a general, and should return from thence against a general without an army. And tho' his progress was retarded by the siege of Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn, and a very great

35. After this he return'd to the city, and passing from thence into Macedonia, he block'd Pompey up for almost four months together within a prodigious line, and at last routed him in the battle of Pharsalia. He pursued him in his flight to Alexandria, where he was inform'd of his murder, and presently found himself engaged with king Ptolemy, who, he saw, had a design upon his life, in a very dangerous war, under all the disadvantage of time and place that could be. It was winter, and he within the walls of a well provided subtle enemy, destitute of every thing; and wholly unprepared for such a rencounter. However he carried his point, and put the kingdom of Egypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother, being afraid to make it a province of the empire, lest under a hot headed governour, it might be a temptation to him to rebel against the Romans. He went from Alexandria to Syria, and from thence to Pontus, being obliged to it by the account he received of Pharnaces, who being the son of the great Mithridates, had laid hold of the opportunity the distraction of the times offered, for making war upon his neighbours, and was hugely elevated with his success. This prince he conquered five days after he came into his country, and within four hours after he came in sight of him, in one single battle: upon which he frequently took notice to those about him of Pompey's good fortune, who had raised his character for a soldier, chiefly from the conquest of

of so sorry an enemy. After this he defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain.

36. Omnibus civilibus bellis nullam cladem, nisi per legatos suos, passus est: quoniam C. Curius in Africa perit: C. Antonius in Illyrico in adversariorum devenit potestatem: P. Dolabella cladem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. Ipse prosperrime semper, ac ne ancipiti quidem unquam fortuna, præterquam his dimicavit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus, non instante Pompejo, negavit eum vincere scire: iterum in Hispania ultimo prælio, cum desperatis rebus etiam de consciscenda nece cogitavit.

37. Confectis bellis, quinque triumphavit; post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interjectis diebus: & rursus semel post superatos Pompeii liberos. Primum & excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, hunc proximum Africanum, novissimum Hispanensem, diverso quemque apparatu & instrumentis. Gallici triumphus die Velabrum prætervehens pæne curru excussus est, axe diffracto: ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina, quadraginta elephantis dextra atque sinistra lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompæ ferula trium verborum prætulit titulum, *VENI. VIDI. VICI*, non acta belli significantem, sicut cæteri, sed celeriter confecti notam.

was done, so much as the
38. Veteranis legionibus præde nominæ in pedites singulos super bina sestertia quæ initio civilis tumultus numeraverat, vicena millia nummum dedit: assignavit &

36. In all his civil wars he was never once baffled, unless in the person of his lieutenants, of whom C. Curia lost his life in Africa, C. Antonius was taken prisoner in Illyricum: P. Dolabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum, and Cneus Domitius Calvinus an army in Pontus. He constantly came off with success, and without any thing of hazard, unless twice, once at Dyrrachium, when being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said he knew not how to conquer, and again in his last battle in Spain, where in despair of success, he had thoughts of killing himself.

37. After the wars were over, he triumph'd five several times; after the defeat of Scipio four times in one month, but with a pause of a few days betwixt every two triumphs, and once again after the conquest of Pompey's sons. The first and most glorious triumph was for his victory obtained against the Gauls. The next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the last for that in Spain, all different from one another in their furniture and pomp. On the day of the Gallick triumph, as he was riding along the street call'd Velabrum, he had like to have been thrown out of his chariot by the breaking of the axle-tree, and mounted the capitol by torch-light, forty elephants carrying flambeaux on the right and left of him. Amongst the other pageantry of the Pontick triumph, this inscription was carried before him, I came, saw, and overcame; not signifying, as other mottoes on the like occasion, what dispatch with which it was done.

38. To every footman in his veteran legions, besides the two thousand sesterces paid them in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thousand more, under the name of plunder. He assigned them lands too, but not together,

agros,

agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur. Populo præter frumenti denos modios, ac totidem olei libras, trecenos quoque nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, viritum divisit: & hoc amplius, centenos pro mora. Annam etiam habitationem Romæ usque ad bina millia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sesterces remisit. Adiecit epulum ac viscerationem, & post Hispanensem victoriam duo prandia. Nam cum prius parce, neque pro liberalitate sua præbitum judicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum præbuit.

39. Edidit spectacula varii generis: munus gladiatorum, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota, & quidem per omnium linguarum histriones: item circenses, athletas, naumachiam. Munere in foro depugnavit Furius Leptinus, stirpe prætoris, & Q. Calpurnius senator quondam actorque causarum. Pyrricham saltaverunt Asiæ Bithyniæque principum liberi. Ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum suum egit: donatusque quingentis sesterciis, & annulo aureo, sessum in quatuordecim e scena per orchestram transiit. Circensibus, spatio circi ab utraq; parte producto, & in gyrum Euripo addito, quadrigas bigasque, & equos defultorios agitaverunt nobilissimi juvenes. Trojam lustrum turma duplex, majorum minorumque puerorum. Venationes editæ per dies quinque: ac novissime pugna divisa in duas acies, quingenis peditibus, elephantis vicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc & inde commissis. Nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublata

that the former owners might not be entirely dispossessed. He gave the people of Rome besides ten modius's of corn, and as many pounds of oil, three hundred sesterces a man, which he had formerly promised them, and a hundred a piece more, for delay. He likewise remitted a year's rent due to the treasury, for such houses in Rome, as did not pay above two thousand sesterces a year, and the like he did through the rest of Italy, for all whose yearly rent did not exceed five hundred sesterces. To all this he added a publick entertainment, and a distribution of flesh, and after his Spanish victory, two dinners. For looking upon the first as too mean, and not agreeable to his generosity, he five days after added another very plentiful one.

39. He entertained the people with shows of various kinds, as a fight of gladiators, and stage plays in the several wards of the town, and in several languages; Circensian games too, wrestlers and the representation of a sea-fight. And in the fight of gladiators presented in the forum, Furius Leptinus a gentleman of a prætorian family fought amongst them, as also Q. Calpurnius formerly a senator, and a pleader of causes. The Pyrrick was danced by some young gentlemen, that were sons to persons of the greatest figure in Asia and Bithynia. Decimus Laberius acted a mimick piece of his own, and being immediately presented with five hundred thousand sesterces, and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the Orchestra, into the seats assigned the equestrian order. In the Circensian games, the Circus being enlarged at each end, and a canal sunk round it, some young gentlemen of the first quality rid the races in chariots drawn some by four, and some by two horses, as also on single horses. The Trojan game was acted by two several companies of bigger and lesser boys. The hunting of wild beasts was presented for five days together, and at last a battle fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side. To make room for which, the goals were taken away, and in their room two camps

metæ, inque earum locum bina castra ex adverso constituta erant. Athletæ, stadio ad tempus extructo in regione Martii campi certaverunt per triduum. Navali prælio in minore Codeta defosso lacu, biremes ac triremes; quadriremesque Tyriæ & Egyptiæ classes, magno pugnatorum numero conflixerunt. Ad quæ omnia spectacula tantum undique confluit hominum, ut plerique advenæ aut inter vicos aut inter vias tabernaculis positis manerent: ac sæpe præ turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi, & in his duo senatores.

40. Conversus hinc ad ordinandum Reip. statum, fastos correxit, jam pridem vitio Pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos; ut neque messium ferriæ æstati, neq; vindemiarum autumno competerent. Annumque ad cursum Solis accommodavit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset: & intercalario mense sublato, unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem, interjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus, quo hæc constituebantur, xv mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

41. Senatum supplevit, patricios allegit: prætorum, ædilium, quæstorum, minorum etiam magistratuum numerum ampliavit: nudatos opere censorio, aut sententia iudicum de ambitu condemnatos, restituit. Comitibus cum populo paritus est: ut exceptis consulatus competitoribus,

pitched over against one another. Wrestlers too perform'd for three days together in a stadium provided for the purpose in the field of Mars, and in a lake sunk in the lesser Codeta. Tyrian, and Egyptian fleets, consisting of ships of two, three, and four banks of oars, and with a good many fighting men on board, entertained the people with the representation of a sea-fight. To the sight of these diversions, such vast crowds of people flock'd from all parts, that most of them were obliged to lodge in tents erected in the streets, or the roads near the town. And several in the throng were squeezed to death, and amongst them two senators.

40. After this turning his thoughts to the regulation of the common-wealth, he corrected the calendar, which was become sadly confus'd by the fault of the high-priests, in the strange liberty they took in the business of intercalation; which was come to such a height, that neither the holidays designed for harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, ordering that it should for the future consist of three hundred and sixty five days, without any intercalatory month, and that every fourth year an intercalatory day should be inserted. And that for the future the year might run regularly from the first of January, he inserted two months betwixt november and december; so that the year, in which this regulation was made, consisted of fifteen months, with the month of intercalation, which happened that year in course.

41. He filled up the vacancies in the senate, advanced several commoners to the dignity of patricians, enlarged the number of prætors, ædiles, quæstors, and inferiour magistrates too; and restored such as had been disgraced by the censors, or condemned for bribery in elections. The choice of magistrates he so divided with the people, that excepting only the competitors for the consulship, they chose one half of them, and

de cætero numero candidato-
rum, pro parte dimidia, quos
populus vellet, pronuntiaren-
tur : pro parte altera, quos
ipse edidisset. Et edebat per
libellos circum tribus missos
scriptura brevi, *Cæsar dictator
illi tribui. Commendo vobis il-
lum, & illum, ut vestro suf-
fragio suam dignitatem tene-
ant.* Admisit ad honores &
proscriptorum liberos. Judicia
ad duo genera judicium re-
degit, equestris ordinis ac se-
natorii : tribunos ærarios,
quod erat tertium, sustulit.
Recensum populi, nec more,
nec loco solio, sed vicatim
per dominos insularum egit :
atque ex viginti trecentisq;
millibus accipientium fru-
mentum e publico, ad cen-
tum quinquaginta retraxit.
Ac ne qui novi cæsus recen-
sionis causa moveri quandoq;
posset, instituit, quotannis
in demortuorum locum ex
his qui recensiti non essent,
subsortitio à prætorè fieret.

42. Octoginta autem civi-
um millibus in transmarinas
colonias distributis, ut ex-
haustæ quoque urbis frequen-
tia suppeteret, sancit, Ne quis
civis major annis viginti,
minorve xl. qui sacramento
non teneretur, plus triennio
continuo Italia abesset : ne
quis senatoris filius, nisi con-
tubernalis, aut comes magis-
tratus, peregrè proficisceretur :
nevehi qui pecuariam facerent
minus tertia parte puberum
ingenuorum inter pastores ha-
berent. Omnesque medicinam
Romæ professos, & liberalium
artium doctores, quo liben-
tius & ipsi urbem incolerent,
& cæteri appeterent, civita-
te donavit. De pecuniis
mutuis, disjecta novarum
tabularum expectatione, quæ
crebro movebatur, decrevit
tandem, ut debitores credi-
toribus satisfacerent, per

he the other. And his way was to re-
commend such as he had pitched upon,
by billets dispersed thro' the several
tribes to this effect, *Cæsar the dictator*
to such a tribe, I recommend to you
such and such persons, that by the
favour of your votes they may at-
tain to the respective honours they
sue for. He likewise admitted to of-
fices the sons of such as had been pro-
scribed. He restrained the trial of
causes to two ranks of judges, those of
the equestrian and senatorian order,
laying aside the commissioners of the
treasury, who had before made a third
class. The survey of the people he took,
neither after the usual manner, nor in
the usual place, but in the several
streets by the principal inhabitants, and
reduced the number of those that re-
ceived corn from the publick, from three
hundred and twenty thousand to a hun-
dred and fifty; and to prevent all riots
upon account of the survey, he ordered
that every year a choice should be made
by lot by the prætor, in the room of
such as died, out of those that were
not enrolled for the receipt of corn.

42. Having disposed of fourscore thou-
sand citizens in foreign colonies, to sup-
ply the want of them, he enacted that,
no freeman of the city above twenty,
and under forty, that was not in the
service of his country in the wars,
should be above three years together ab-
sent from Italy : and that no senator's
son should go into foreign parts, unless in
the retinue of some governour of a pro-
vince : and that those who followed
grazing should have no less than a
third part of their shepherds free-born :
He likewise made all such as practis'd
physick in Rome, and all masters of the
liberal art, free of the city, in order
to fix them in it, and invite others to
the own. As for debts, he balk'd the
expectation people had, that they would
be universally cancelled; a thing that
was frequently mov'd for, and ordered,
that the debtors should satisfy their
creditors, according to an estimate of
their estates, at the rates they were
purchased at, before the commencement
of the civil war, deducting from the
estima;

destimationem possessionum, quanti qualque ante civile bellum comparassent, deducto summæ æris alieni, si quid usuræ nomine numeratum, aut perscriptum fuisset: qua conditione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. Cuncta collegia, præter antiquitus constituta, distraxit. Poenas facinorum auxit: & cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent, quod integris patrimoniiis exulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, lonis multavit.

43. Jus laboriosissime ac severissime dixit. Repetundarum convictos etiam ordine senatorio movit. Diremit nuptias prætorii viri, qui digressam à marito post biduum statim duxerat, quamvis sine probri suspitione. Peregrinarum mercium portoria instituit. Læticarum usum, item conchyliatæ vestis, & margaritarum, nisi certis personis, & ætatibus, perque certos dies, ademit. Legem præcipue sumtuariam exercuit: dispositis circa macellum custodibus, qui obsonia contra vetitum retinerent, deportarentque ad se, submissis nonnumquam lictoribus atque militibus, qui si qua custodes sefellissent, jam apposita è triclinio auferrent.

44. Jam de ornanda instruendaq; urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio, plura ac majora in dies destinabat. In primis Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere, repleto & complanato lacu, in quo naumachisæ spectaculum ediderat: theatrumque summæ magnitudinis Tarpejo monti accubans. Jus civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusæque legum copia, optima quæque & necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros. Bib.

debt, what interest had been paid, either by money or bills, by virtue of which order, about a fourth part of the debt was lost. He likewise broke up all companies of artificers, but such as were of ancient establishment. And encreased the punishments of crimes beyond what the law had ordained; and because the rich were the more easily induced to transgress, by reason they were only punished with banishment, but saved their estates, he stript parricides, as Cicero writes, of their whole estates, and others of one half.

43. He was mighty industrious and strict in the administration of justice. He turn'd such as were convicted of bribery out of the senate, dissolved the marriage of a prætorian gentleman, who had married a gentlewoman two days after her divorce from a former husband, tho' there was no suspicion of any former unlawful commerce betwixt them. He laid duties upon foreign goods imported. To the use of chairs, deep scarlet and jewels, he would not allow, but to certain persons of such an age, and for certain days. He put the sumptuary law in strict execution, planting spies about the shew-bles, to seize upon all victuals exposed to sale contrary to law, and bring them to him, sometimes sending his serjeants and soldiers to fetch off such victuals as had escaped the observation of his spies, even when they were upon the table.

44. And now his thoughts were daily taken up with many and mighty projects for advancing the beauty and convenience of the city, as also for securing and enlarging the empire. In the first place he design'd a temple for the God Mars, that for grandeur should outdo every thing in the world besides of that kind: for which purpose he intend'd to fill up and level the lake, in which he had entertain'd the people with a sea-fight, as also to build a most spacious theatre close by the Tarpeian mountain; to reduce the civil law into reasonable compass, and out of that immense and extravagant multiplicity of laws, to draw together the best and

liothecas Græcas & Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum. Siccare Pomptinas paludes : emittere Fucinum lacum : viam munire à mari supero per Appenini dorsum ad Tiberim usque : perfodere Isthmum : Dacos, qui se in Pontum & Thraciam effuderant, coercere : mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem, nec nisi ante expertos aggredi prælio. Talia agentem atque meditantem mors prævenit : de qua prius quam dicam, ea quæ ad formam & habitum, & cultum & mores, nec minus quæ ad civilia & bellica ejus studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

inclinations with respect to matters, both civil and military.

45. Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paullo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis, valetudine prospera : nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linq̃ui, atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est. Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter, ac raderetur, sed velletur etiam ; ut quidam exprobraverunt : calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, sæpe obtrektorum jocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoque & deficientem capillum revocare à vertice assueverat : & ex omnibus decretis sibi à senatu populoque honoribus, non aliud aut recepit aut usurpavit libentius quam jus laureæ perpetuo gestandæ. Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt. Utum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur, & quidem fluxiore cinctura. Unde ema-

most necessary things into a few books. To make as large a collection as possible of the finest authors in the two languages of Greek and Latin, for public use ; having assigned M. Varro the province of providing and putting them in proper order. He intended too to drain the Pomptine marsh, to discharge the lake Fucinus, to make a causey from the upper sea, through the ridge of the Appenine, to the Tiber, to make a cut through the Isthmus of Cerineth, to reduce the Dacians within their proper limits, who had over-run Pontus and Thrace, and then to make war upon the Parthians, through the Lesser Armenia, but not to come to a general engagement with them, till he had some little tryal of them. But he was cut short in the midst of all his projects by death; before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give a brief account of his person, his management of himself, dress, manners, his views and

45. He is said to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round limb'd, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively, and very healthy, except that towards the latter end of his life he would suddenly swoon away, and be frighted in his sleep. He was twice too seized with the falling-sickness in the time of battle. He was so very nice in the care of his person, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, and his face shaved very exactly, but likewise had the hair in other parts of his body taken up by the roots, as some upbraidingly charged him. His baldness gave him a great deal of uneasiness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the drollery of his enemies, and therefore he used to bring his hair from about the crown of his head forward. And of all the honours conferred upon him by the senate and people, he accepted or made use of none more gladly than the right of perpetually wearing a laurel crown. They say too he was particular in his dress. For he used the lato clavus with fringes about his hands, and always had it girded about him, but loosely, which was the occasion of that advice of Sylla's to the noble party, to have a care of the loose-coated boy.

nasse

nasse Sullæ dictum, optimates sæpius admonentis, ut male præcinctum puerum caverent.

46. Habitavit primo in Suburra modicis ædibus : post autem pontificatum maximum, in Sacra via domo publica. Munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prædiderunt. Villam in Nemoensi à fundamentis inchoatam, magnoque sumtu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tennem adhuc & obæratum. In expeditionibus tessellata & sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse.

47. Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus. Gemmas, torcumata, signa tabulas operis antiqui semper animosissime comparasse : servitia recentiora politioraque, immenso pretio, & cujus ipsum etiam puderet, sic ut rationibus veraret inferri.

48. Convivatum assidue per provincias duobus tricliniis ; uno, quo sagati palliative ; altero, quo rogati cum illustrioribus provinciarum discumbere. Domesticam disciplinam in parvis ac majoribus rebus diligenter adeo severeque rexit, ut pistorem, alium quam sibi panem convivis subjicientem, compedibus vinxerit : libertum gratissimum ob adulteratam equitis Romani uxorem, quamvis nullo querente, capitali pœna attecerit.

49. Pudicitie ejus famam nihil quidem præter Nicomedis contubernium læsit, gravi tamen & perenni opprobrio, & ad omnium convitia exposito. Omitto Calvi Licinii notissimos versus,

46. He first lived in Suburra in a small house ; but after his advancement to the pontificate, in a house belonging to the state, in the sacred way. Many writers say that he affected neatness in his person, and niceness in his entertainments. That he took down again entirely a country-seat, in the neighbourhood of the grove of Aricia, which he had raised from the foundation, and finished at a vast expence, because it had not exactly suited his fancy, tho' he was at that time poor and in debt ; and that he carried about in his expeditions marble parvers for his tent.

47. They tell you too, that he invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls there, the bigness of which he would compare together, and examine the weight of them by pissing them in his hand : that he would buy at any rate gems, carved work, pictures done by the fine hands of antiquity ; and that he would purchase handsome young slaves at a price so very extravagant, that he was ashamed to have it book'd in the diary of his expences.

48. The same authors tell us, that he constantly kept two tables in the provinces, one for the officers of the army, or the gentlemen of the provinces, and the other for such of the roman gentry as had no commission in the troops, and provincials of the highest quality. He was so very exact in the management of his domestick affairs both small and great, that he clapped a baker of his in fetters, for serving him with a finer sort of bread, than his guests : and put to death a freed-man of his, and a particular favourite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, tho' no complaint had been made to him of the matter.

49. The only blot upon his chastity was his behaviour in the court of Nicomedes ; and that indeed stuck close to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to a great deal of bitter railery. Not to insist upon those well-known verses of Calvus Licinius.

C. S U E T. T R A N Q.

*Bithynia quicquid & pädicator Cæsaris
Unquam habuit.*

..... Whate'er Bithynia,
And Cæsar's foul Debaucher ever had.

Præterea actiones Dolabellæ & Curionis patris: in quibus cum Dolabella pellicem reginæ, spondam interiorem regis lecticæ, ac Curio stabulum Nicomedis, & Bithynicum fornicem Jicunt. Missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit collegam suum, Bithynicam Reginam: eique regem antea fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum. Quo tempore, ut M. Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam valitudine mentis liberius dicax, conventu maximo cum Pompejum regem appellasset, ipsum reginam salutavit. Sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum & vinum Nicomedi sterisse objecit, cum reliquis exoletis pleno convivio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert nomina. Cicero verb non contentus in quibusdam epistolis scripsisse, a satellitibus eum in cubiculum regium eductum, in aureo lecto, veste purpurea decubuisse, florèmq; ætatis à venere orti, in Bithynia contaminatum: quondam etiam in senatu defendenti Nyssæ causam, filiæ Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti, Remove, inquit, istæc oro te: quando notum est & quid ille tibi, & quid illi tu dederis. Gallico denique triumpho milites ejus inter cætera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes joculariter canunt, etiam vulgatissimum illud pronunciaverunt:

*Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem:
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias:
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.*

Cæsar subdu'd the Gauls, Bithynia's king
Made him turn tail: yet now the haughty thing
That conquer'd Gaul, in lofty triumph rides,
But not poor Nicomed,

Nor the speeches of Dolabella, and Curio the father, in which Dolabella calls him the queen's rival, and the back side of the royal couch, and Curio the brothel of Nicomedes, and the Bithynian itew. I pass by likewise the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaim'a his colleague under the name of the queen of Bithynia, and tells him, he had formerly been in love with a king, but was now with a kingdom. At which time, as M. Brutus informs us, one Octavius, a Man of a crazy brain, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a great assembly saluted Pompey by the name of king, saluted him under the title of queen. And C. Memmius too charged him with serving the king at table, amongst the rest of his lusty catamites, with wine, in the face of a great deal of company, and some merchants from Rome, whose names he subj.ys. But Cicero not thinking it sufficient to write in some of his letters, that he was conducted by some of the guards into the king's bed-chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of scarlet, and that the bloom of this descendent of Venus had been polluted in Bithynia: upon Cæsar's pleading the cause of Nyssa Nicomedes's daughter before the senate, and recounting the king's kinanesses to him, he reply'd, Prithce man no more of that, for it's well known what he gave you, and you gave him. To conclude, his soldiers in the gallick triumph, amongst other verses, such as they are used jocularly to sing, in their attendance upon the General's chariot, on these occasions, had these up, since that time very much taken notice of.

50. Pronum & sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est, plurimasque & illustres foeminas corrupisse: in quibus Postumiam Servii Sulpicii, Lolliam Auli Gabinii, Tertullam M. Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompeji Muciam. Nam certe Pompejo, & à Curionibus patre & filio, & à multis exprobratum est, quod *cujus causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem, & quem gemens Ægisthum appellare consueisset, ejus postea filiam potentia cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset.* Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam: cui & proximo suo consulatu sexagies HS. margaritam mercatus est: & bello civili super alias donationes, amplissima prædia ex auctionibus hastæ nummo addixit. Cum quidem plerisque vilitatem mirantibus, facetissime Cicero, Quo melius, inquit, emptum sciatis, Tertia deducta est: existimabatur enim Servilia, etiam filiam suam Tertiam Cæsari conciliare.

51. Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse vel hoc disticho apparet, jactato æquè à militibus per Gallicum triumphum.

*Urbani servate uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus :
Aurum in Gallia effutuiſti : heic sumpsiſti mutuum.*

Look to your wives, ye Cits, we bring a blade,
A bald-pate master of the wenching trade.
Thy gold thou spent on many a Gallick whore,
And when 'twas gone, came here to borrow more,

52. Dilexit & reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram, Bogudis uxorem: cui maritoque ejus, plurima & immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit: sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua & convivia in primam lucem sæpe protraxit, & eadem nave thalamego pæne Æthiopia tenus Ægyptum

50. It is agreed by all that he was much addicted to women, and very expensive in his intrigues with them; amongst which were ladies of the highest quality, as Posthumia the wife of Servius Sulpicius, Lollia the lady of Aulus Gabinus, Tertulla M. Crassus's, and Mucia Cn. Pompey's. For it's certain Pompey was upbraided by the Curio's father and son, and many others, That he had, to gratify his ambition, married the daughter of a man, upon whose account he had divorced his wife, after he had had three children by her, and whom he used with a heavy sigh to call Ægisthus. But above all the rest of his mistresses, he was fond of Servilia M. Brutus's Mother, for whom he purchased, in the consulship next after his intrigue with her, a pearl that cost 6000000 of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, consigned to her, upon a very slight consideration, some considerable estates in land, that were exposed to publick sale; and when many people wondered at the lowness of the price, Cicero very wittily said, to let you know how much a better purchase this is than you imagine, Tertia deducta est; for Servilia was supposed to prostitute her daughter Tertia to Cæsar.

51. He made free with the wives of several gentlemen in the provinces, as appears by this distich, which was as much used by the soldiers in the Gallick triumph as the former.

52. He had amongst his mistresses some queens too, as Eunoë the moor, the wife of Bogudes, to whom and her husband too he made a great many immense presents, as Naso says: but his darling mistress was Cleopatra, with whom he would revel all night till day break, and would have gone with her up Ægypt in a pleasure-boat as far as Ethiopia, had not the army pene-

penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset. Quam denique accitam in urbem, non nisi maximis honoribus præmiisque auctam remisit. Filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. Quem quidem nonnulli Græcorum similem quoque Cæsaris & forma & incessu tradiderunt. M. Antoninus agnitiū etiam ab eo senatui affirmavit : quæ scire C. Matium, & C. Oppium, reliquosque Cæsaris amicos : quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, *Non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat.* Helvius Cinna Trib. pleb. plerisque confessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre iussisset, cum ipse abesset, ut uxores liberorum querendorum causa, quas & quot veller, ducere liceret. Ac ne cui dubium omnino sit, & impuditiæ eum, & adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione, *virorum mulierem* appellat.

53. Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt. Verbum M. Catonis est, *Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam Remp. sobrium accessisse.* Nam circa victum C. Oppius adeo indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum, pro viridi appositum, aspernantibus cæteris, solum etiam largius dicat appetisse : ne hospitem aut negligentiam, aut rusticitatis videretur arguere.

54. Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus præstitit. Ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania a proconsule, & à focis pecunias accepit, emendicatas in auxilium æris alieni : & Lusitanorum

refused to follow him. At last he invited her to Rome, and sent her back again laden with honours and presents, and permitted her to call a son she had, by his name, which some of your Greek historians say was like Cæsar too, both in his person and gate. M. Anthony avowed to the senate, that he was owned by him as his; and that C. Matius, C. Oppius, and the rest of Cæsar's friends knew it to be true : of which, C. Oppius, as if it was an aspersion that required a vindication from him, published a Book to shew, that that was none of Cæsar's son which Cleopatra pretended to be. Helvius Cinna tribuns of the commons owned to several people, that he had a bill ready drawn up, which Cæsar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, that, in order to have issue, he might marry what women he pleased, and as many as he pleased, and to leave no room for doubt of his passing under an infamous character for unnatural uncleanness and adultery, Curio the Father in a speech of his, says, he was every woman's man, and every man's woman.

omnium mulierum virum, & omnium

53. His very enemys allow he was not at all addicted to wine. There goes a saying of M. Cato's, that he was the only sober man of all the whole tribe engaged in a design to subvert the Government. For as to his diet C. Oppius tells us he was so indifferent for his own part, that when a person, in whose house he was entertained, had served him instead of fresh oil, with oil that had some sort of seasoning in it; and the rest of the company would not touch it, he alone eat very heartily of it, that he might not seem to tax his friend with negligence, or want of elegance.

54. He never shewed any great regard to justice, either in his command of the army, or civil offices. For as some have left upon record, he begged money of the proconsul his predecessor in Spain, and the Roman allies there, for the discharge of his debts, and some towns of the Lusitanians, tho' they

quædam

quædam oppida, quamquam
imperia detrectarent, &
advenienti portas patefacerent,
irripuit hostiliter. In Gallia
ana templaque Deum donis
referta expilavit: urbes diru-
it, sæpius ob prædam quam
ob delictum: unde factum
ut auro abundaret, ternisque
millibus nummum in libras
promerciale, per Italiam pro-
vinciasque divideret. In pri-
mo consulatu tria millia
pondo auri furatus è Capito-
lio, tantundem inaurati æris
reposuit. Societates ac regna
pretio dedit: ut qui uni
Ptolemæo prope sex millia
talentorum suo Pompeijq;
nomine abstulerit. Postea ve-
ro evidentissimis rapinis ac
sacrilégiis, & onera bellorum
civilium, & triumphorum ac
munerum sustinuit impendia.
*entertainment of the people,
sacrilege imaginable.*

55. Eloquentia militariq;
ne aut æquavit præstantis-
simorum gloriam, aut excessit.
Post accusationem Dolabellæ,
haud dubie principibus patro-
nis annumeratus est. Certe
Cicero ad Brutum oratores
enumerans, negat, se videre
cui Cæsar debeat cedere: atque
eum elegantem, splendidam
quoque, ac etiam magnificam
ac generosam quodammodo ra-
tionem dicendi tenere. & ad
Cornelium Nepotem de eodem
ita scripsit: *Quid? oratorum
quem huic antepones eorum qui
nihil aliud egerunt? Quis
sententiis aut acutior, aut cre-
brior? Quis verbis aut orna-
tior, aut elegantior? Genus
eloquentiæ duntaxat adole-
scens adhuc Strabonis Cæsar
seculus videtur: cujus etiam
ex oratione, quæ inscribitur
Pro Sardis, ad verbum non-
nulla transtulit in Divinatio-
nem suam. Pronuntiassè au-
tem dicitur voce acuta, ar-
denti motu gestuque, non*

*complied with his commands, and o-
pened their gates to him, upon his ar-
rival before them, he plundered in a
hostile manner. In Gaul he rifled the
chappels and temples of the Gods, fill'd
with rich presents; and demolish'd citys
more for plunder, than any fault they
had committed: by which means gold
became so plentiful with him, that he
exchang'd it through Italy and the
provinces of the empire for three thou-
sana sesterces the pound. In his first
consulship he stole three thousand pound
weight of gold out of the capitol. and
substituted in the room of it, the like
weight of gilt brass. He sold likewise
to foreign nations and princes, the
titles of allies and kings, for their
gold; and squeezed out of Ptolomy alone
near six thousand talents, in his own
and Pompey's name together: and af-
terwards supported the burthen of his
civil wars, and the expences of his
triumphs and publick shows, for the
by the most flagrant rapine and*

55. For eloquence and military at-
chievements he equalled at least, if he
did not excell the greatest. After his
prosecution of Dolabella, he was indis-
putably reckoned amongst the finest
pleaders. And Cicero, in reckoning up
the famous Orators to Brutus, declares,
that he does not see that he was in-
feriour to any of them; that he was
got into a neat, shining, grand and
noble vein of eloquence. And in a
letter to C. Nepos, he writes of him in
the following words. What? which
of all the orators, that have all their
lives been doing nothing else, can
you prefer before him? which of
them is smarter in his periods, or
more neat and elegant in the choice
of words? Whilst he was young, he
seems to have proposed Strabo Cæ-
sar as his model: out of whose ora-
tion for the Sardinians he has tran-
scribed some things word for word into
his Divinatio. He is said to have
delivered himself with a shrill voice,
and a quickness of action, that was
very graceful. He has left some speeches
behind him, amongst which are in-
serted some that are none of his, as that

fine

sine venustate. Orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas remere quædam feruntur: ut *Pro Q. Metello*: quam non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab ætuariis exceptam, male subsequenter verba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam. Nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio, ne inscriptam quidem *Pro Metello*, sed, quam scripsit *Metello*, cum ex personâ Cæsaris sermo sit, Metellum sequæ adversus communium obtreptatorum criminationes purgantis. Apud milites quoque in Hispania, idem Augustus orationem esse vix ipsius putat: quæ tamen duplex fertur; una quasi priore habita prælio; altera posteriore; quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem concionand habuisse eum dicit, subita hostium incursione.

56. Reliquit & rerum suarum Commentarios, Gallici civilisq; belli Pompejani. Nam Alexandrini, Africique & Hispaniensis, incertus auctor est. Alij enim Oppium putant, alij Hirtium: qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit. De commentariis Cæsaris Cicero in eodem libro sic refert. Commentarios scripsit valde quidem probandos: nudi sunt, recti, & venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tamquam veste detracta: sed dum voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui illa volunt calamistris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit. De eisdem commentariis Hirtius ita prædicat, Adeo probantur omnium iudicio, ut præcepta, non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur. Cujus tamen rei major nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio. Ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos

for *Q. Metellus*: which Augustus supposes, and with reason, to have been a blundered copy, taken by writers of short hand, that were not able to keep pace with him in the delivery, rather than any thing published by himself: for I find in some copies the title is not for Metellus, but what he writ for Metellus; whereas the speech runs in the name of Cæsar, vindicating Metellus and himself against the aspersions cast upon them by their common defamers. The speech to his soldiers in Spain, the same Augustus too looks upon to be none of his. There are indeed two of them, one made, as is pretended, in the first battle, and the other in the latter, at which time Asinius Pollio says, he had not time to speak to the soldiers, by reason of the sudden assault of the enemy.

56. He has likewise left memoirs of his own transactions both in the Gallick and civil war with Pompey: for the author of the Alexandrian, African and Spanish war, is not certainly known. Some will have Oppius, and some Hirtius, to be the author of them, which Hirtius made a supplement to the Gallick war, but imperfect. Of these memoirs of Cæsar, Cicero in his Brutus writes thus. He writ his own memoirs admirably well; they are plain, just, and neat, without any thing of ornament or dress. In thus preparing materials for such as might have a mind to write his history, he has perhaps encouraged some silly creatures so to do, that will needs be dressing up his actions in fustian and bombast, but he has discouraged wise men from meddling at all. Hirtius gives his opinion of the said memoirs too as follows. They are in the judgement of all people so much approved of, that he does not seem to have given the writers of history an advantage for the writing of his, but to have prevented them indeed. And yet as to this matter we have more reason to admire him than others: for they only know how well and correctly he has writ, but we know

scripserit, scimus. Pollio
 inius parum diligenter, pa-
 que integra veritate com-
 itos purat : cum Cæsar
 raq; & quæ per alios erant
 ita, temere crediderit : &
 e per se, vel consulto,
 etiam memoria lap-
 , perperam ediderit ; exis-
 marq; rescripturum & cor-
 turum fuisse. Reliquit &
 analogia libros duos, &
 ationes toridem, ac præte-
 poema quod inferbitur
 . Quorum librorum pri-
 os, in transitu Alpium,
 in ex citiore Gallia, con-
 tibus peractis, ad exer-
 tum rediret : sequentes, sub
 pus Mundenfis prælij fe-
 : novissimum, dum ab
 e in Hispaniam ulterio-
 in iv & xx die perve-
 . Epistolæ quoque ejus ad
 atum exstant, quas pri-
 am videtur ad paginas &
 nam memorialis libelli
 avertisse, cum antea Coss.
 duces nonnisi transversa
 rta scriptas mitterent.
 stant & ad Ciceronem, item
 familiares domesticis de-
 us : in quibus si qua oc-
 tius perferenda erant, per
 as scripsit, id est, sic
 ucto litterarum ordine, ut
 illum verbum effici posset :
 e si quis investigare &
 sequi veller, quartam ele-
 entorum litteram, id est,
 pro a, & perinde reliquas
 mmutet. Feruntur & a pu-
 o, & ab adolescentulo,
 zdam scripta : ut *Laudes*
erculis, tragoedia *Oedipus* :
 em *Dicta collectanea* : quos
 nnes libellos vetuit Augus-
 s publicari, in epistola
 am brevem admodum ac
 mplicem, ad Pompejum
 actum, cui ordinandas bib-
 othecas delegaverat, misit.
 57. *Armorum & equitandi*
eritissimus, laboris ultra
idem patiens erat, in agmine

too how easily and quickly he did it.
 Pollio Asinius thinks they were not very
 carefully compiled, or with a due regard
 to truth : for Cæsar, as he will have it,
 was a little too hasty of belief with
 respect to what was done by others
 under him ; and what he himself tran-
 sacted in person, he has given no very just
 account of, either with design, or through
 a defect of memory : and he is of opi-
 nion that he intended a new and more
 correct draught of them. He has left
 behind him likewise two books of ana-
 logy, and as many under the title of
 Annicato, and a poem too entituled
 the Journey. Of which he compiled the
 first two, in his passage of the Alps, as
 he was returning from holding the as-
 sises in hither Gaul to his Army : and
 the other about the time of the battle of
 Munda: and the last during the four and
 twenty days he was upon his expedition
 from Rome to further Spain. There
 are exstant some letters of his to the se-
 nate, writ in a manner never used by
 any before him i. e. distinguished into
 pages, in the form of a pocket-book,
 whereas the consuls and generals till
 then used constantly in their letters to
 continue the line quite across the sheet,
 without any folding or distinction of
 pages. There are exstant too some let-
 ters of his to Cicero, as also to his friends
 concerning his domestick affairs, in
 which if there was occasion for secrecy,
 he used to put the letters together in
 such a manner, that not a single word
 could be made out : the way to de-
 cipher, which was to substitute a, d, for
 an a, and, and so of the rest. Some-
 things likewise pass under his name,
 said to have been writ by him when a
 boy, or but a very young man, as the
 Encomium of Hercules, a tragedy en-
 tituled *Oedipus*, and a collection of
 apophthegms ; all which Augustus for-
 bid to be publish'd, in a short and
 plain letter to Pompeius Macer, whom
 he had appointed to put his librarys
 in order.

57. He was a perfect master of his
 weapons, a compleat horse-man, and
 able to endure fatigue, beyond all be-

nonnunquam equo sæpius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset. Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus, meritoria rheda, centem passuum millia in singulos dies; si flumina morarentur, nando trajiciens, vel innixus inflatis uribus, ut persæpe nuntios de se præveniret.

58. In obeundis expeditionibus, dubium, caucior an audentior. Exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit unquam, nisi perspeculatus locorum situs: neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus & navigationem & accessum ad insulam explorasset. At idem obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata, per stationes hostium Gallico habitu penetravit ad suos. A Brundisio Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hyeme transmisit. Cessantibusq; copiis, quas subsequi iusserat, cum ad arcessendas frustra sæpe misisset novissime ipse clam noctu parvulum navigium solus obvoluto capite conscendit: neque aut quis esset ante detexit, aut gubernatorem cedere adversæ tempestati passus est, quam pæne obrutus fluctibus.

59. Ne religione quidem ulla à quoquam incepto absteritis unquam vel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem & Juham non distulit. Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis, verso ad melius omine, teneo te, inquit, Africa. Ad eludendas autem vaticinationes, quibus felix & invictum in ea provincia fataliter Scipionum nomen ferebatur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium vitæ Silurioni cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

lief. Upon a march, he used to go at the head of his troops, sometimes on horse-back, but often on foot, and bare headed too, whether it was fair or foul weather. He would travel in a post-chaise at the rate of an hundred miles a day, and pass rivers in his way by swimming, or supported with leathern bags filled with wind, so that he oftentimes prevented all intelligence of his approach.

58. In his expeditions, it's hard to say, whether he was more cautious or more daring. He never marched his army where he was liable to any ambush of the enemy, without taking all possible precaution by his scouts. Nor did he pass over into Britain, till he had made due enquiry into the harbours, and what convenience there was for landing his troops. But when advice was brought him of the siege of a camp of his in Germany, he made his way to his men in a Gallic habit, through the enemy's guards. He went over from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, in the winter, amidst the enemy's fleets. And the troops he had ordered to follow him not making that haste he expected, after he had several times sent for them to no purpose, he at last went privately aboard a small vessel, in the night time, and alone, with his head muffled up: nor did he discover who he was, or suffer the master to turn with the wind, that was very strong against them, till they were ready to sink.

59. He was never discouraged from any enterprise, or retarded in the prosecution of it, by any ill omen. Tho' a victim he was about to offer in sacrifice got away from him, he did not defer his expedition against Scipio and Juba. And chancing to fall upon his landing, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by crying out, I have thee fast, Africa. And to banter the prophecies that were given out, as tho' the name of the Scipios was by the decrees of fate lucky and invincible in that province, he kept with him in the camp, a sorry wretch of the family of the Cornelii, who for his scandalous life was surnamed Salurio.

60. Prælia non tantum destinato sed ex occasione sumebat: ac sæpe ab itinere statim, interdum spurcissimis tempestatibus cum minime quis moturum putaret: nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctantior factus est. Quo sæpius vicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans: nihilque se tantum acquisitum victoria, quantum auferre calamitas posset. Nulum unquam hostem fudit, quin castris quoque exueret: ira nullum spacium perterritis dabat. Ancipiti prælio equos dimittebat, & in primis suum, quo major permanendi necessitas imponeretur, auxilio fugæ erepto.

first place his own, that being deprived of that convenience for running away, they might be under the stronger obligation to stand their ground.

61. Utelatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis, & in modum digitorum ungulis fissis: quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terræ significare domino pronuntiasent, magna cura aluit: nec patientem sessoris alterius, primus adscendit: cujus etiam instar pro æde Veneris genitricis postea dedicavit.

62. Inclinatam aciem solus sæpe restituit, oblitens fugientibus, retinensque singulos, & contortis faucibus convertens in hostem: & quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifer moranti cuspide sit comminatus: alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

63. Non minora illa constantiæ ejus, immo majora etiam indicia fuerunt: Post aciem Pharsalicam, cum præmissis in Asiam copiis, per angustias Hellepontæ vectoria navicula trajiceret, L. Cassium partis adversæ

60. He engaged in battle, not only upon long previous deliberation, but upon the sudden, when occasion offered, and oftentimes immediately after a march, and sometimes in dismal weather, when no body could imagine he would stir. Nor was he ever backward of fighting, till about the latter end of his life. He then supposed the offer he had come off with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards; and that he could never acquire so much by any victory, as he might loose by a miscarriage. He never defeated an enemy, that he did not at the same time beat out of their camp: so warmly did he pursue his advantage, that he gave them no time to recover their courage. Where the success of a battle proved dubious, he sent off all the officers horses, and in the

61. He had a very remarkable horse, with feet almost like those of a man, his hoofs being divided so, as to have some resemblance of toes. This horse he had bred himself, and took a particular care of; because the soothsayers gave it as their opinion, that the master of him would be master of the world too. He backed him too himself, for the horse would suffer no other rider. And afterwards erected a statue of him, before the temple of mother Venus.

62. He oftentimes alone put new life into his army, when they were ready to run for it, opposing and stopping such as fled and turning them by the jaws upon the enemy: this so frightened many of them, that an Eagle-bearer, upon his stopping him made a pass at him, with the sharp end of his standard; and another upon the like occasion lost his in his hand.

63. The following instances of his resolution are no less, nay more remarkable. After the battle of Pharsalia having sent his Troops before him into Asia, as he was passing the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with L. Cassius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war, but was so far from

cum decem rostratis navibus obvium sibi, neque refugit : & cominus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

64. Alexandria, circa oppugnationem pontis, eruptione hostium subita compulsus in scapham, pluribus eodem precipitantibus, cum defilisset in mare, nando per co passus, evasit ad proximam navem, elata læva, ne libelli, quos tenebat, madefierent : paludamentum mordicus trahens, ne spolio potiretur hostis.

65. Militem neque à moribus neque à fortuna probabat, sed tantum a viribus : tractabatque pari severitate atque indulgentia. Non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercerat : tum maxime exactor gravissimus disciplinæ, ut neque itineris, neque prælii tempus denuntiaret : sed paratum & intentum momentis omnibus, quo vellet, subito educeret. Quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, præcipue pluviis, & festis diebus. Ac subinde observandum se admonens, repente interdiu vel nocte subtrahebat : augebatque iter, ut serius subsequentes defatigaret.

66. Fama vero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando, minuendove, sed insuper amplificando, ementiendoque confirmabat. Itaque cum expectatio adventus Jubbæ terribilis esset, convocatis ad concionem militibus, Scitote, inquit, paucissimis his diebus regem affuturum cum & legionibus, equitum xxx, levis armatura c millibus, elephantis ccc. Proinde desinant quidam querere ultra, aut opinari, mihi que qui compertum habeo credant : aut quidem reticentissima nave impositos,

finching, that he advanced close up with him, and advised him to surrender, and upon his compliance took him into the boat to him.

64. At Alexandria, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden sally of the enemy into a boat, and several hurrying in along with him, he jumped into the sea, and saved himself by swimming to the next ship, which was two hundred paces off : holding up his left hand out of the water, for fear of wetting some papers he had in it ; and pulling his general's cloak after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands.

65. He valued not a soldier either for his manners or his fortune, but for his strength only : and treated them with equal severity and indulgence ; for he did not every where and always keep a strict hand over them, but only when an enemy was near. Then indeed he was a rigorous exactor of discipline. So that he would give no notice of march or battle, till the moment he was to enter upon them ; that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden motion ; and he would frequently draw them out of the camp, without any necessity for it, especially in rainy weather, and upon holy-days. And sometimes giving them warning to watch him, he would suddenly withdraw himself, by day or by night ; and would oblige them to long marches, on purpose to tire them, if they were tardy.

66. And if at any time his soldiers were disheartened with reports of the force of the enemy ; he recovered them, not by denying the truth of what was said, or mincing the matter, but by enlarging and improving upon it. And accordingly when his army were under terrible apprehensions of the arrival of King Juba ; he called them together and said, You are to understand, that in a few days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light armed foot, and three hundred elephants. And therefore let none presume to trouble their heads with further enquiry, or giving their sentiments upon

quocumque vento, in quascumque terras jubebo arvi.

very good intelligence; otherwise I shall put them aboard a crazy old vessel, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds.

67. *Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exsequebatur; sed desertorum ac seditionum & inquisitor & punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris. Ac nonnunquam post magnam pugnam atque victoriam, remisso officiorum munere licentiam omnem passim lasciviendi permittebat: jactare solitus, milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse: nec milites eos pro concione, sed blandiori nomine commilitones appellabat: habebatque tam cultos, ut argento & auro politis armis ornaret: simul & ad speciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent, metu damni. Diligebat quoque usque adeo, ut audita clade Tituriana barbaram capillumque summisserit; nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset. Quibus rebus & devotissimos sibi, & fortissimos reddidit.*

68. Ingresso civile bellum, centuriones cujusque legionis singulos equites & viatico suo oblulerunt, & universi milites gratuitam & sine frumento stipendioque operam, cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. Neque in tam diuturno spatio quicquam omnino descendit: plerique capri concessam sibi sub conditione viram; si militare adversus eum vellent, recusarunt. Famem & cæteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo, sed & si alios ipsi obsiderent, rantopere tolerabant, ut Dyrachina munitione Pompejus, viso genere panis ex herba, quo sustinebantur, cum feris sibi rem esse, dixerit: amoverique oculus, ne cuiquam ostendi, jussit:

the matter, but take my word for what I say; which I have upon

67. He neither took notice of all their faults, nor proportioned his punishments to the nature of them. But deserters and mutineers he would be sure to find out, if possible, and punish severely; others he would connive at; and sometimes after a successful battle, he would excuse them from all manner of duty, and leave them to revel at pleasure, being used to boast, that his soldiers fought ne'er the worse for being perfum'd. In his speeches to them he called them not soldiers, but by the softer name of fellow soldiers, and kept them so fine that their arms were trimmed with silver and gold, as well to make the finer appearance, as also to render them the more tenacious of them in battle, from their value. And he loved them to that degree, that when he heard of the disaster of his troops under Titurius, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, 'till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he made them infinitely fond of him, and brave to the last degree.

68 Upon his engaging in the civil war, the centurions of every legion offered each of them to maintain a horseman at their own expence, and the whole Army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay; the rich taking upon them the maintenance of the poor. Nor did any one of them in all that time go over to the enemy, and most of those that were taken prisoners, tho' they were offered their lives, upon the condition of bearing arms against him, refused. They bore want, and other hardships, not only when they were besieged themselves, but when they besieged others, to that degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they lived upon, said, he had to do with wild beasts, and ordered it immediately to be taken away; and that no body should see it; lest the spirits of his men should be broke by seeing the hardness,

ne patientia & pertinacia hostis, animi suorum frangerentur. Quanta fortitudine dimicaverint, testimonio est, quod adverso semel apud Dyrrachium prælio pœnam in se ultro depoposcerunt: ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. Cæteris præliis innumeras adversariorum copias multis partibus ipsi pauciores facile superaverunt. Denique una sextæ legionis cohors præposita castello, quatuor Pompeij legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit, pæne omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta millia intra valum reperta sunt. Nec mirum, si quis singulorum facta respiciat, vel Cassii Scævæ centurionis, vel C. Acilii militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scæva excusso oculo, transfixus femore & humero, centum & viginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portæ commissi castelli tenuit. Acilius navali ad Massillam prælio, injecta in puppem hostium dextra, & abscissa, memorabile illud apud Græcos Cynægiri exemplum imitatus, transilivit in navem umbone obvius agens.

69. Seditionem per x annos Gallicis bellis nullam omnino moverunt, civilibus aliquas; sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. Non enim cessit unquam tumultuantibus, atque etiam obviam semper iit. Et nonnam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quamquam adhuc in armis Pompejus esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit: ægreque post multas & supplices preces, nec nisi exacta de suntuibus pœna, restituit.

and desperate resolution of the enemy. With what bravery they fought, this is proof enough, that after an unsuccessful rencounter at Dyrrachium, they desired him to punish them: insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than punish them. In the other battles they defeated with ease vast armies of the enemy, tho' they were much inferior to them in number. To conclude, one battalion of the sixth legion, held out a fort against four legions of Pompey's for several hours, being almost every man of them wounded, by the vast number of arrows poured in upon them, of which there were found a hundred and thirty thousand within the rampart. And no wonder, if one does but consider the behaviour of some single men amongst them, as of the centurion Cassius Scæva, or C. Acilius a common soldier. Scæva, after he had an eye struck out, was run through the thigh, and the shoulder, and had his shield bored in an hundred and twenty places, still maintained the guard of a gate, in a fort he was entrusted with the command of. And Acilius in the sea-fight at Marseilles, having seiz'd a ship of the enemy with his right hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable instance of resolution in Cynægirus amongst the Greeks, jump'd into the ship, bearing down all before him, with the boss of his shield.

69. They never so much as once mutinied, during all the ten years of the Gallick war, but were sometimes a little guilty that way in the civil war; but so that they quickly returned to their duty again, which was effected, not so much by the compliance, as the authority of their general. For he never gave ground to them one jot upon those occasions, but constantly stood buff. The ninth legion he dismissed entirely with ignominy at Placentia, tho' Pompey was at that time in arms; and would not receive them again into his service, but with much ado, after the most humble submission and entreaty, and not 'till the ring-leaders in the mutiny were all punished.

70. Decumanos autem Romæ cum ingentibus minis, summoque etiam urbis periculo, missionem & præmia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere: sed una voce, qua Quirites eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit & flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint, & quamvis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti: ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque & prædæ & agri delicti tertia parte multavit.

of a third of their share in the plunder, and the land designed for them.

71. Studium & fides erga clientes, ne juveni quidem defuerunt. Masinatham nobilem juvenem, cum adversus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset ut Jubæ regis filio in altercatione barbaram invaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronunciatum, & abstrahentibus statim eripuit, occultavitque apud se diu: & mox ex prætura proficiscens in Hispaniam, inter officia prosequentium, fascesque lictorum, lectica sua avexit.

his serjeants, and others that

72. Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiæque tractavit, ut C. Oppio comitanti se per sylvestre iter, correptoque subita valitudine & in diversorio loco, quod unum erat, cesserit: ac ipse humi ac sub divo cubuerit. Jam autem rerum potens, quosdam, etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores provexit. Cum ob id culpa retur, professus est palam, si grassatorum & sicariorum opem tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.

70. And when the soldiers of the tenth legion at Rome demanded their discharge, and rewards for their service, with huge threats, and no small danger to the city, tho' the war at that time was warmly carried on against him in Africa, and his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from it, he immediately came up to them, and disbanded them; but at the same time so easily turn'd and fetch'd them about with a single word, calling them Quirites, instead of soldiers, that they immediately replied, they were his soldiers, and followed him into Africa, notwithstanding he refused their service; yet nevertheless he punish'd the most seditious of them, with the loss

71. He was wonderful zealous and faithful, in the service of his clients, even whilst he was yet but a young man. He defended the cause of a noble youth, by name Masintha, against king Hiempsal, with that keenness, that in a wrangle that happened upon the occasion, he seized Juba the king's son by the beard, and upon his being declared tributary to Hiempsal, he immediately took him by force, from those that were carrying him off, and kept him concealed in his house a long time; and when he went at the expiration of his prætorship for Spain, carried him off in his chair, amidst

came to attend and take leave of him.
72. He always treated his friends with that good nature and kindness, that when C. Oppius in travelling along with him through a forest was suddenly taken ill, he quitted to him the only place there was to lodge in at night, and laid upon the ground, and in the open air. And when he came to have the whole power of the commonwealth in his hands, he advanced some of his friends tho' of very mean extraction, to the highest posts in the government. And when he was reflected upon for it, openly declared, That had he been assisted by robbers and cut-throats in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the same requital.

73. Simulacres contra nullos tam graves excepit unquam, ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. C. Memmii, cujus asperissimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. C. Calvo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agentis, ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, à quo sibi versuculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satisficientem, eadem die adhibuit coenæ: hospitioque patris ejus, sicut consueverat, uti perseveravit.

same day, and continued to take up his lodging with his father, upon occasion, as he had been used to do.

74. Sed & in ulciscendo natura lenissimus. Piratas, à quibus captus est, cum in deditionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante juraverat, jugulari prius jussit, deinde suffigi. Cornelio Phagita, cujus quondam nocturnas insidias ager ac latens ne perduceretur ad Sullam, vix præmio dato evaserat, nunquam nocere sulkinit. Philemonem à manu servum, qui necem suam per venenum inimicis promiserat, non gravius quam simplici morte puniit. In P. Clodium Pompejæ uxoris suæ adulterum, atque eadem de causa pollutarum ceremoniarum reum, testis citatus, negavit se quidquam comperisse: quamvis & mater Aurelia, & soror Julia, apud eosdem judices, omnia ex fide retulissent: Interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem, Quoniam, inquit, meos tam suspitione quam crimine judico carere oportere.

75. Moderationem vero clementiamque, tum in administratione, tum in victoria belli civilis, admirabilem exhibuit. Denuntiante Pom-

73. He never in any quarrel carried his resentment so far, as not very willingly to lay it down upon any fair occasion offered: Tho' C. Memmius had published some very abusive speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal sharpness, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest when he stood for the consulship. And when C. Calvus, after the publishing of some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he writ the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself could not forbear to take notice, in his verses upon Mamurra, put a slur upon his character never to be wiped off, begged his pardon, he invited him to supper the

same day, and continued to take up his lodging with his father, upon occasion, as he had been used to do.

74. He had a natural abhorrence of severity. After he had made the pirates, by whom he had been taken, prisoners, because he had sworn he would crucify them, he did so indeed; but ordered their throats to be cut first. He could never find in his heart, to do any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, notwithstanding he had, not without difficulty and a good bribe too, got out of his clutches, after he had in the night trepanned him, with a design to carry him to Sylla. Philemon, his secretary, who had promised his enemys to poison him, he put to death only, without torture. And when he was summoned as a witness against P. Clodius his lady's gallant, who was prosecuted for a scandalous affront upon the religion of his country, he declared he knew nothing of the matter, tho' his mother Aurelia, and his sister Julia, gave the court an exact and full account of what they knew of the affair. And being asked why then he had divorced his wife? Because, says he, I would have those of my family not only clear of all crime, but suspicion too.

75. He shewed a wonderful moderation and clemency in the administration of the government, as well as his behaviour towards the conquered party in the civil war. And whilst Pompey de-

sejo, pro hostibus se habiturum, qui Reip. defuissent: ipse medios & neutrius partis, suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit. Quibus autem ex commendatione Pompeji, ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. Motis apud Ilerdam deditionis conditionibus, cum assiduo inter utraq; partes usu atque commercio, Afranius ac Petrejus deprehensos intra castra Julianos subita poenitentia interfecissent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari. Acie Pharsalica proclamavit ut civibus parceretur: deincepsque nemini non suorum quem vellet unum partis adversæ servare concessit: nec ulli periisse, nisi in prælio reperiuntur, exceptis duntaxat Afranio & Fausto & L. Cæsare juvene: ac ne hos quidem voluntate ipsius interemptos putant: quorum tamen & priores post impetratam veniam rebellaverant: & Cæsar libertis servisque ejus ferro & igni crudelem in modum enectis, bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas contrucidaverat. Denique tempore extremo etiam quibus nondum ignoverat, cunctis in Italiam redire permisit, magistratusque & imperia capere. Sed & statuas L. Sullæ atque Pompeii à plebe disjectas, reposit: Ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur gravius adversus se, aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam vindicare. Itaque & detectas conjurationes, conventusque nocturnos, non ultra arguit, quam ut edicto ostenderet esse sibi notas: & acerbè loquentibus satis habuit pro concione denuntiare ne perseverarent. Antiquè Cæcinnæ criminossimo libro, & Pi-

clared, that he would treat all those as enemies, that did not rise in defence of the government, he declared he should look upon all those that stood neuter as his friends. And as for all those, to whom he had at the instance of Pompey given compaigns, he granted them leave to go over to him, if they would. And when some proposals were made at Ilerda, in order to a surrender, that occasioned a pretty free communication betwixt the two camps, and Afranius and Petreius upon a sudden alteration of mind, had put to the sword all Cæsar's men that they found in their camp, he scorn'd to imitate the vile treachery they had practiced against himself. In the field of Pharsalia he called out to his soldiers to spare their fellow-citizens, and afterwards gave liberty to every man in his army to save an enemy. Nor did any of them indeed lose their lives but in battle, excepting only Afranius, Faustus, and young Lucius Cæsar; and it's thought too, they were put to death without his consent. The two former of which had bore a ms against him, after their pardon had been granted them, and Cæsar had not only in the most cruel manner destroyed his freed-men and slaves with fire and sword, but cut to pieces too the wild beasts, he had prepared for the entertainment of the people. And finally a little before his death, he gave liberty for all he had not yet pardoned, to return into Italy, and admitted them to a capacity of bearing offices, both civil and military. Nay, he moreover erected again the statues of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down by the mob. And any contrivances against him, or reflections upon him, he chose rather to put a stop to, than punish; and accordingly with regard to any conspiracies against him that came to light, or nightly cabals, he went no further than only to signify by a proclamation, that he knew of them. And with respect to such as took the liberty to reflect upon him with great severity, he only warned them in a publick speech, not to persist in their folly. And bore with a great deal of moderation a libel of Aulus Cæcinnæ against him full of the most bitter invectives,

tholai carminibus maledicentissimis, laceratam existimationem suam, civili animo tolir.

76. Prægravant tamen cætera facta dictaque ejus, ut & abusus dominatione, & jure cæsus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam præfecturamque morum, insuper prænomen imperatoris, cognomen patris patriæ, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra: sed & ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia & pro tribunali, thensam & ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra juxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, luperco, appellationem mensis è suo nomine. Ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit, & dedit. Tertium & quartum consulatum titulo tenuis gessit, contentus dictaturæ potestate decretæ cum consulatibus simul: atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses: ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit, præter tribunorum & ædilium plebis: præfectoque pro prætoribus constituerit, qui præsentem se res urbanas administrarent. Prædie autem Kal. Januarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas perenti dedit. Eadem licentia spreto patriæ more, magistratus in plures annos ordinavit. Decem prætoribus viris consularia ornamenta tribuit. Civitate donatos, & quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. Præterea monetæ, publicisq; vectigalibus, peculiares servos præposuit. Trium legionum, quas Alexandria

and the scandalous lampoons of Pitholaus, most highly reflecting upon his honour.

76. Yet his other actions and declarations with regard to the publick, so far outweigh all his good qualities, that it is thought he abused his Power, and was very justly taken off. For he not only accepted of excessive honours, as the consulship every year successively, the dictatorship for life, the superintendency of the publick manners; moreover the prænomen of imperator, the title of father of his country, a statue amongst the kings, and a throne in the place assigned the senators in the theatre; but he likewise suffered some things to be decreed for him, much too great for the greatest of the sons of men; as a golden chair in the senate house, and upon the bench when he sat for the tryal of causes, a stately chariot in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, images near the gods, a bed of state in the temples, a peculiar priest, and a college of priests, like those appointed in honour of Pan; and that one of the months should be called by his name. He did indeed both assume to himself, and grant to others all manner of honours at pleasure. In his third and fourth consulship, he had but the title of the office, being well contented with the power of dictator, which was conferred upon him at the same time; and in both the years, he substituted other consuls in his room, for the three last months; so that in the mean while he held no assemblies of the people, for the choice of magistrates, excepting only tribunes and ædiles of the commons, and appointed officers under the name of præfects, instead of the prætors, to manage the affairs of the city in his absence. And he conferred the honour of the consulship, which was vacant by the sudden death of one of the consuls, the day before the first of January, upon a gentleman, that made suit to him for it, for a few hours. And with the same licentious freedom, in defiance to the constant usage of his country, he nominated the magistrates for several years to come. He granted the distinguishing badges of the consular dignity to ten prætorian gentlemen; and chose into the senate, some relin-

elinquebat, curam, & Imperium Rufini liberti sui filio, exoleto suo, demandavit.

revenue of the state to his own servants; and entrusted the command of three legions he left at Alexandria, to an old Catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

77. Nec minoris impotentiae voces propalam edebat, ut T. Ampius scribit: Nihil esse remp. appellationem modò, sine corpore, ac specie. Nullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit. Debere homines consideratius jam loqui secum, ac pro legibus habere quæ dicat. Eoque arrogantiae progressus est, ut hauspice tristitia & sine corde extra sacro quodam nuntiante futura diceret letiora, cum vellet: nec pro ostento ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset.

be look'd upon as any ill omen,

78. Verùm præcipuam & inextinguibilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit: adeuntes se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis, universos patres conscriptos sedens pro æde Veneris genitricis excepit. Quidam putant reatum à Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere: aliis ne conatum quidem omnino sed etiam admonentem C. Trebatium, ut assurgeret, minus familiari vultu respexisse. Idque factum ejus tanto intolerabilius est visum, quod ipse triumphantis, & suffragia tribunitia prætervehenti sibi, unum à collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit, ut proclamaverit, Repete. ergo à me Aquila Remp. tribunus: & nec destiterit per continuos dies quidquam cuiquam, nisi sub exceptione polliceri: si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.

79. Adjecit ad tam insignem despectu senatus contumeliam, multo arrogantius factum. Nam cum sacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter immodicas ac novas

that had been made free of the city, even of the Gauls, little better than meer Barbarians. He likewise committed the management of the mint, and the publick

revenue of the state to his own servants; and entrusted the command of three legions he left at Alexandria, to an old Catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

77. He was guilty of the like extravagance in his publick conversation, as T. Ampius informs us, he said the commonwealth was nothing but a name, without substance, or so much as the appearance of any; that Sylla was an illiterate fellow to lay down the dictatorship. That men ought to be more cautious in their converse with him, and look upon what he said as a law. And he proceeded to that height of arrogance, that when a sooth-sayer brought him word, that the entrails of a victim opened for sacrifice were without a heart, he said the entrails would be more favourable when he pleased, and that it ought not to be if a beast did want a heart.

78. But what brought upon him the greatest and the most invincible odium, was his receiving the whole body of the senate sitting, when they came to wait upon him before the temple of mother Venus, with a great many very honourable decrees in his favour. Some say he was held down, as he attempted to rise up, by Corn. Balbus. Others say he did not attempt it at all, but looked somewhat angrily at C. Trebatius, who put him in mind of standing up. And this behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him, because when one of the tribunes of the commons Pontius Aquila, would not rise up to him, as in his triumph he passed by the place where they sat, he was so angry with him, that he cried out, Well then master tribune take the government out of my hands. And for some days after, he never promised any thing, but with this proviso, that Pontius Aquila would allow of it.

79. To this notable affront upon the senate. he added a much more insolent action: for when, after the sacrifice of the Latin festival, he was returning home, amidst the incessant and unusual acclamations of the people, one of

populi acclamationes, quidam e turba statuæ ejus coronam lauream candida fasciâ præligatam imposuisset : & tribunus plebis Epidius Marullus Cæsetiusque Flavius coronæ fasciam detrahi, hominemque duci in vincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem, sive, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpitos potestate privavit : necque ex eo infumiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere valuit; quanquam & plebei regem se salutanti, Cæsarem se, non Regem esse responderit : & Lupercalibus, pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum sæpius capiri suo diadema repulerit, atque in capitolum Jovi Op. Max. miserit. Quin etiam varia fama percrebuit, migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii, exhaustaque Italia delectibus & procuratione urbis amicis permissa : proximo autem senatu L. Cottam quindécim-virum sententiam dicturam : ut, quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos nisi à rege, non posse vinci, Cæsar rex appellaretur.

80. Quæ causa conjuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Consilia igitur dispersim antea habita, & quæ sæpe bini ternive ceperant, in unum omnes contulerunt: ne populo quidem jam presenti istum luto : sed clam palamque detra tante dominationem, atque assertores, flagitante. Peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est : Bonum factum : Ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit, & illa vulgo canebantur.

the crowd put upon a statue of his a laurel crown, with a white ribbon tied about it, and the tribunes of the commons Epidius Marullus, and Cæsetius Flavius, ordered the ribbon to be taken from the crown, and the man to be carried to prison : being much concerned either that the mention of his advancement to a kingly power, had been so unluckily made, or, as he pretended, that the glory of refusing it had been thus taken from him, he chid the tribunes very severely, and turn'd them both out of their office. And from that day forward he was never able to wipe off the scandal of affecting the name of king ; altho' he replied to the people when they saluted him by the title of king, that his name was Cæsar not Rex : and in the feast of the Lupercalia, when the consul Anthony in the rostra put a diadem upon his head several times, he as often put it away ; and sent it into the Capitol to Jupiter. There was a strong report too that he design'd to remove to Alexandria or Ilium, and in order to it, to transfer thither the strength of the empire, to drain Italy by new levys, and leave the government of the city to his friends. And that in the next meeting of the senate L. Cotta, one of the fifteen commissioners entrusted with the Care of the Sybils books, would move the house that, since there was in those books a prophecy, that the Parthians should never be subdued but by a king, Cæsar should have that title conferred upon him.

80. This was the reason why the conspirators against his life hastened the execution of their design. lest they should be obliged to comply with that proposal; wherefore, instead of caballing any longer separately by two or three together, they now united their counsels, the people themselves being not at all satisfied with the present state of affairs, but privately and publickly declaring against the tyranny they were under, and calling out again for some to assert their cause against the usurper. Upon the admission of foreigners into the senate, a libel was pressed up in these words, A good deed. That no one should shew a new senator the way to the house. And these verses were commonly sung.

Gallos

D. JULIUS CÆSAR.

45

*Gallus Cæsar in triumphum ducit, iidem in curia
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.*

The Gauls in triumph here by Cæsar led,
Put off their Breeches straight, and in their stead
The Senatorian Tunick took.

*Q. Maximo suffecto trime-
strique consule theatrum in-
troeunte, cum lictor animad-
verti ex more jussisset, ab
universis conclamatum est :
Non esse consulem eum. Post
remotos Cæletium & Marul-
lum tribunos, reperta sunt
proximis comitiis complura
suffragia, consules eos de-
clarantium. Subscripsere qui-
dam L. Bruti statuæ, Uinam
viveres. Item ipsius Cæsaris
statuæ :*

*When Q. Maximus deputed by him for
the three last months of his consulship,
entered the theatre, and his officer, accor-
ding to custom, bid the people take notice
who was coming, they all cried out, that
he was no consul. After the removal
of Cæletius and Marullus from their of-
fice, they were found to have a great ma-
ny votes in the next election of consuls.
Some writ under the statue of L. Brutus,
Would you were alive. As also un-
der a statue of Cæsar himself.*

*Brutus, quia reges ejecit, consul primus factus est :
Hic, quia consules ejecit, rex postremo factus est.*

Brutus, because he drove the royal race
From Rome, was first made consul in their place.
This Man, because he turn'd the consuls out,
Was made a king at last, for that good bout.

Conspiratum est in eum à lx
amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoque
& D. Bruto principibus con-
spirationis. Qui primum cunc-
tati, utrumne illum in cam-
po per comitia tribus ad suf-
fragia vocantem partibus di-
visis è ponte deicerent, at-
que exceptum trucidarent :
an in Sacra via vel in aditu
theatri adorirentur : post-
quam senatus Idibus Martiis
in Pompeji curiam editus
est, facile tempus & locum
prætulērunt.

81. Sed Cæsari futura cæ-
des evidentibus prodigiis de-
nuntiata est. Paucos ante
menses cum in colonia Capua
deducti lege Julia coloni, ad
extruendas villas sepulcra ve-
tustissima disjicerent, idq; eo
studiosius facerent, quod ali-
quantum vasculorum operis
antiqui scrutantes reperiebant:

*Above sixty persons were engaged in the
conspiracy against him, the principal
whereof were C. Cassius, M. and Decimus
Brutus, who at first had some debate,
whether they should attack him in the
field of Mars, as he was summoning the
tribes to vote, and some of them throw
him off the bridge, whilst others below
should stab him upon his fall ; or else in
the sacred way, or in the entrance of the
theatre. But after publick notice was gi-
ven by proclamation for the senate to as-
semble upon the ides of March, in the
senate house built by Pompey, they ap-
proved both of the time and the place, as
most proper for their purpose.*

81. But Cæsar had warning given
him of his approaching fate by several
plain prodigies. A few months before,
when some of the Colony settled, by vir-
tue of a law of his own preferring, at
Capua, were pulling down some old Se-
pulchres, for the building of country
houses, and were the busier in that work,
because they found some vessels of antick
workmanship, a table of brass was found
tabula

tabula aenea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuæ sepultus, inventa est, conscripta literis verbisque Græcis, hac sententia. *Quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Iulus prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur, magnisque mox Italia cladibus vindicaretur.* Cujus rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commentitiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Cæsaris. Proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in trajicendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat, ac vagos & sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere, ubertimque flere. Et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit, caveret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur. Pridie autem eisdem Idus, avem regaliolum, cum laureo ramulo Pompejanæ curiæ se inferentem, volucres variis generis ex proximo nemore persecutæ, ibidem discerperunt. Ea vero nocte cui illuxit dies cædis, & ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Jove dextram jungere. Et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est, collabi fastigium domus, maritumque in gremio suo confodiri: ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt. Ob hæc simul & ob infirmam valetudinem diu cunctatus, an se continere & quæ a patre senatum proposuerat, agere differret: tandem D. Bruto adhortante, ne frequentes ac jamdudum opperientes destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est: libellumque insidiarum indicem, ab obvio quodam porrectum, libellis cæteris, quos sinistra manu tenebat, quasi mox lecturus, commiscuit. Deum pluribus hostiis cæsis, cum litare non posset, in-

in a monument, wherein Capys the founder of Capua was said to be buried, with an inscription, the letters and words of which were both greek, to this effect. That when ever the bones of Capys came to be uncovered, a descendent from Iulus would be slain by the hands of his relations, and his death revenged by dreadful devastations throughout all Italy. And this account, lest any one should think it an idle story, comes from C. Balbus an intimate friend of Cæsar's. A few days too before his death, some horses, which upon his passing the Rubicon, he had consecrated, and let loose to graze without any keeper, he was informed, refrained eating entirely, and wept plentifully. And the sooth-sayer Spurinna, upon the foundation of some ominous appearances in a sacrifice he was offering, advised him to look to himself, otherwise some mischief would befall him, before the ides of March were over. And the day before the ides, birds of several kinds from a neighbouring grove pursuing a wren, that flew into Pompey's senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in its bill, tore it there all to pieces. The night too before the day of his being slain, he dream'd that he was got above the clouds, and shaking hands with Jupiter. And his lady Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the top of the house was coming down, and her husband stabb'd in her bosom, immediately upon which, the Chamber-doors flew open. Being in some doubt with himself, as well upon account of these omens, as his ill state of health, whether he should keep at home, and put off to some other time the business he intended to propose to the senate; at last prevailed upon by the persuasions of Decimus Brutus, who advised him by no means to balk the senators who were met in a full house, and waited his coming, he set forward about five a clock. In his way, a paper was put into his hands, containing an account of the plot, which he mixed with some others he held in his left hand, as if he would read it by and by. After this, tho' victim upon victim was slain without any favourable appearances in the en-

troit

troiit curiam, spreta religione, Spurinnamque irrident, & ut fallum arguens, quod sine ulla noxa Idus Martiæ adessent : quamquam is *venisse quidem eas diceret. sed non præterisse.*

82. Assidentem conspirati, specie officii circumsteterunt : illicoque Cimber Tullius, qui primas partes susceperat, quasi aliquid rogaturus, propius accessit : renuentiq; & gestu in aliud tempus differenti, ab utroque humero togam apprehendit : deinde clamantem, *Ista quidem vis est*, alter Cassius adversum vulnerat paulum infra jugulum. Cæsar Cassii brachium arreptum graphio trajecit : conatusque proflire, alio vulnere rardatus est. Utq; animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit : simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet, etiam inferiore corporis parte velata. Atque ita tribus & viginti plagis confusus est, uno modo ad primum ictum gemit sine voce edito. Etsi tradiderunt quidam, M. Bruto irruenti dixisse, *Καὶ σὺ εἰ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ σὺ τέκνον;* Exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu jacuit, donec lecticæ impositum, dependente brachio, tres servuli domum retulerunt. Nec in tot vulneribus, ut Aristius medicus existimabat, lethale ulum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat. Fuerat animus conjuratis, corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere : sed metu M. Antonij consulis, & magistri equitum Lepidi, destiterunt.

trails, yet in defiance of all that, he entered the house, laughing at Spurinna as a false prophet, because the ides of March were now come without any harm at all. To which he reply'd, They were come indeed, but not past.

82. After he was sat down, the conspirators gathered about him under colour of paying their complements ; and immediately Cimber Tullius, who had taken upon him to make the first onset, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request of him, he made signs to him to let it alone to some other time : upon which he seized him by the toga, upon both shoulders ; at which he crying out, This is plain violence, one of the Cassius's wounded him a little below the throat. Cæsar seized upon his arm, and run it through with his style : and endeavouring to rush forward, was stopped by another wound. And then finding himself attacked on all hands with drawn swords, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and at the same time drew the lap of it over his legs, that he might fall the more decently, with the lower part of his body covered : and so was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, fetching a groan only upon the first wound, without saying so much as one word ; tho' some writers relate, that when M. Brutus came upon him, he said, What, art thou one of them too, thou my Son ! Upon this the conspirators making off some one way, and some another, he laid for some time after he was dead, till three of his slaves put him into a chair, and carried him home, with one of the chair-poles hanging lower than the rest, for want of a fourth man to bear it. And amongst so many wounds, as the surgeon Aristius thought, there was ne'er a one mortal, but the second which he received in his breast. The conspirators had a design to drag his body, after they had killed him, into the Tiber ; to confiscate his estate, and cancel all that he had done ; but for fear of the consul M. Anthony, and Lepidus master of the horse to Cæsar as dictator, they forbore.

83. Postulante ergo L. Pisonē socero, testamentum ejus aperitur, recitaturque in Antonii domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat, demandaveratque virgini Vestali maximæ. Q. Tubero tradit, hæredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo, usque ad initium civilis belli, Cn. Pompejum : idque militibus pro concione recitatum. Sed novissimo testamento tres instituit hæredes sororum nepotes, C. Octaviū ex dodrante, & L. Pinarium, & Q. Pedium ex quadrante, reliquos in ima cera. C. Octaviū etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit pluresq; percussorum in tutoribus filii, si quis sibi nasceretur, nominavit : D. Brutum etiam in secundis hæredibus. Populo hortos circa Tiberim publicæ, & viritim trecentos festerios, legavit.

84. Funere indicto, rogus extractus est in Martio campo juxta Juliæ tumulum : & pro Rostris aurata ædes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genitricis, collocata : intraque lectus eburneus, auro ac purpura stratus : & ad caput tropæum, cum veste in qua fuerat occisus. Præferentibus munera quia suffecturus dies non videbatur, præceptum est ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque vellet itineribus urbis, portaret in campum. Inter ludos cantata sunt quædam ad miserationem & invidiam cædis ejus accommodata ex Pacuvii *Armorem* judicio.

the occasion, were sung to raise pity and indignation at his death.

Men' me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent ?

That ever I unhappy man should save

Wretches, that thus have brought me to the grave !

Et ex Electra Attii alia ad similem sententiam. Lau-

83. *At the instance of L. Piso his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in M. Anthony's house, which he had made the ides of September before, in a country seat of his near Lavicum, and had committed to the custody of the eldest of the vestal virgins. Q. Tubero tells us, that in all his wills, made from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cn. Pompey was his heir, and the same publicly signified to the army. But in his last he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters, C. Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius for the other fourth ; such as were to succeed them in case they died before him, he placed towards the conclusion of his will. He likewise adopted C. Octavius into his family, with an intention he should bear his name. And most of those that were concerned in his death, he named amongst the guardians of his Son, if he should have any, and D. Brutus amongst the second heirs. He left as a legacy to the people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces a man.*

84. *The time for his funeral being fixed by proclamation, a pile was erected in the Field of Mars, nigh the tomb of his daughter Julia, and a gilt tabernacle, in form of the Temple of Venus Genitrix, before the rostra, within which was an Ivory bed, covered with scarlet, and cloth of gold ; at the head was a Trophy, with the garment, in which he was slain. And because it was thought the whole day would not be sufficient for carrying in solemn procession before the corps the funeral oblations, directions were given for every one, without regard to order, to carry them into the field, what way they pleased. In the plays acted at the funeral, several things out of Pacuvius's Tragedy, entitled, The tryal for arms, suited to*

And some passages too out of Attilius's tragedy, called Electra, to the same edifications

dationis loco consul Antonius per præconem pronuntiavit Senatusconsultum quo omnia ei divina simul atque humana decreverat: item iusjurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius adstrinxerant: quibus perpauca à se verba addidit. Lectum pro Rostris in Forum magistratus & honoribus functi detulerunt. Quem cum pars in Capitolini Jovis cella cremare, pars in curia Pompeji, destinarer, repente duo quidam gladii succincti, ac bina jacula gestantes, ardentibus cereis succenderunt: confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida, & cum subsceliis tribunalia, quidquid præterea ad manum aderat, congestit: deinde tibicines & scenici artifices vestem, quam ex instrumento triumphorum ad præsentem usum induerant detractam sibi, atque discissam, iniecere flammæ; & veteranorum militum legionarii, arma sua, quibus exulci finis celebrabant. Matronæ etiam pleræque ornamenta sua quæ gerebant, & liberorum bullas atque prætextas. In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circumlatam suo quæque more lamenata est: præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuè bustum frequentarunt.

85. Plebs statim à funere ad domum Bruti & Cassii cum facibus tetendit: atque ægre repulsa, obvium sibi Helvium Cinnam, per errorem nominis quasi Cornelius is esset, quem graviter pridie concionatum de Cæsare requirebat, occidit: caputque ejus præfixum hastæ circumtulit. Postea solidam columnam prope xx pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque, PARENTI PATRIÆ. Apud eandem longo tempore, sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias

fact. Instead of a funeral panegyrick, the consul Anthony ordered a cryer to read aloud to the company, the decree of the senate, wherein all honours divine and humane had been heaped upon him, and the oath by which they had all engaged themselves for the defence of his person. To which he added but a very few words of his own. The magistrates, and others that had been so, carried the bed from the rostra into the forum. And whilst some were for having the body burnt in the most sacred apartment of Jupiter Capitolinus's temple, and others in Pompey's senate-house, on a sudden two men with swords by their sides, and each a couple of lances in their hands, set fire to the bed with lighted torches. Upon which immediately the whole company present, threw in dry faggots, the tribunals, and benches of the adjacent courts, and whatsoever came to hand: And then the musicians, and players, stripped off the cloaths they had from the furniture of his triumphs for the present occasion, tore them and threw them into the flame. His veteran soldiers too cast in the arms, they had put on, to attend his funeral. And the ladies most of them did the same by their ornaments, with the bullæ and coats of of their children. In this publick mourning joyned a great number of foreigners, expressing their sorrow, according to the fashion of their respective countrys; but more especially the Jews, who for several nights, together frequented the place where his body was burnt.

85. After the funeral, the commonalty run immediately with torches, to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and were with much ado obliged to retire. They murdered Helvius Cinna, that chanced to fall into their hands, supposing him to be Cornelius Cinna, who had the day before in a speech of his reflected very severely upon Cæsar, and whom for that reason they were in quest of; and when they had done, carried his head about toxon upon the point of a spear. Afterwards they erected a column of Numidian marble, consisting of but one stone near twenty foot high, with this inscription upon it. To

quasdam interposito per Cæsarem iurejurando distrahere, perseveravit.

before it, making use of an oath

THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, and continued for a long time to sacrifice, make vows, and decide controversies for that purpose, by the name of Cæsar.

86. Suspicionem Cæsar quibusdam suorum reliquit, neque voluisse se diutius vivere, neque curasse, quod valetudine minus prospera uteretur: ideoque & quæ religiones monerent, & quæ renuntiarent amici, neglexisse. Sunt qui putent consilium cum novissimo illo Senatus consulto ac iurejurando, etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis secrantium se, removisse. Alii è diverso opinantur, insidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum satius esse, quam cavere semper. Alii ferunt dicere solitum, non tam sua quam Reip. interesse uti salvus esset: se jampridem potentia Gloriamque abunde adeptum: Remp. si quid sibi eveniret, neque quietam fore, & aliquanto deteriore

86. Cæsar gave occasion to some of his friends to imagine, that he neither desired, nor cared to live any longer, because of his bad state of health, and for that reason slighted all the prognosticks of his death, and the information of his friends. Others think that supposing himself secure in the last decree of the senate, and their oath, he dismissed his Spanish guard that attended him with their swords. Others again are of opinion, that he judged it better at once to expose himself to the plots that threatened him on all hands, than to be always upon his guard. Some tell us, he used to say, that the publick had a greater concern in the safety of his person than himself, for that he had for some time been satiated with power and glory; but that the common-wealth, if any thing should befall him, would not be quiet, and would engage in another civil war upon worse terms than before.

conditione civilia bella subitaram.

87. Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit, talem ei mortem pæne ex sententia obtigisse. Nam & quondam cum apud Xenophontem legisset, Cyrum ultima valetudine mandasse quendam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus, subitam sibi celeremque optaverat. Ex pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super cœnam, apud M. Lepidum, quisnam esset finis vitæ commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque prætulera.

87. This however was generally agreed, that his death was much such a one as he desired. For upon reading the account that Xenophon gives, how Cyrus in his last illness gave orders about his funeral, not liking so lingering a death, he wished he might have a sudden and a quick one. And the day before he dyed, some discourse happening at table in M. Lepidus's house upon that subject, which was the most commodious way of dying: he gave his opinion for what is sudden and unexpected.

88. Perit sexto & quinquagesimo ætatis anno: atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed & persuasione vulgi. Si quidem ludis, quos primo consecratos ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem dies continuos fulsit, exorians circa undecimam horam. Creditumque est, animam esse Cæsaris in cælum recepti: &

88. He dyed in the fifty sixth year of his age, and was ranked amongst the Gods, not only by the words of a decree, but in the real persuasion of the vulgar. For during the games, which his heir Augustus gave in honour of his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven a clock, and it was supposed to be the soul of Cæsar, now received into heaven; for which reason too a star

hac

hac de causa simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella. Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit: Idusque Martias parricidium nominari: ac ne unquam eo die senatus ageretur.

89. Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius supervixit, neque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes, alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio, pars prælio, nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione quo Cæsarem violaverant, interemerunt.

was fixed upon the crown of his statue. The senate-house in which he was slain was ordered to be kept close shut, and a decree made, that the Ides of March should be called the parricide, and the senate should never more assemble upon that day.

89. Hardly any of those that had had a hand in his death lived above three years after him, or dyed a natural death. They were all condemned by the senate, and some were taken off by one misfortune, some by another: some perished at sea, others fell in battle; and some slew themselves with the same poyard, they had slain Cæsar with.



C. SÜETONII TRANQUILLI

D. OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.



CHAPTER I.

I. QUANTUM OCTAVIAM Velitris præcipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant. Nam & vicus celeberrima parte oppidi jam pridem Octavius vocabatur: & ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata: qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione, semicruda extra rapta foco prosecuit: atque ita prælium ingressus, victor rediit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo extra Marti redderentur, reliquæque ad Octavios referrentur.

WHAT the family of the Octavii was of the first rank in Velitra, is many ways apparent. For besides a street named Octavius in the most frequented part of the town, there was to be seen not long since an altar consecrated to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbours, and alarmed with advice of the sudden inroad of the enemy, as he was sacrificing to the God Mars, he snatched the entrails of the victim immediately from off the fire, and offered them half raw upon the altar, and then marching out to battle returned victorious. Which gave occasion to a law, whereby it was enacted, that the entrails should for ever after be offered to Mars in the same manner, and the rest of the sacrifice be carried to the Octavii.

2. Ea gens à Tarquinio Prisco rege, inter Romanas gentes allecta, in senatum mox à Ser. Tullio in patricias transducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno intervallo per D. Julium in patriciatum rediit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quæstorius Cn. & C. procreavit: à quibus duplex Octavionum familia defluxit, conditione diversa. Siquidem Cn. & deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Cajus ejusque posterii, seu fortuna, seu voluntate, in equestri ordine consistere, usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello, stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit, Æmilio Pappo imperatore. Avus municipalibus magistratibus contentus, abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senescit. Sed hæc alii. Ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit, vetere ac locuplere, & in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei proavum exprobrat restionem, è pago Thurino: avum argentarium: Nec quidquam ultra de paternis Augusti majoribus reperi.

concerning the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side.

3. C. Octavius pater à principio ætatis, & re & ætimatione magna fuit: ut equidem mirer, hunc quoque à nonnullis argentarium, atque etiam inter divitiores operasque campestris, prodium. Amplis enim nutritus omnibus honores & adeptus est facile, & egregie administravit. Ex prætura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci & Cutilinæ manum, Thurinum agrum tenentes, in itinere delevit, negotio

2. This family was by Tarquinius Priscus, amongst several other Roman families, taken into the senate, and soon after advanced by Servius Tullius amongst the Patricians, but in time returned again to the commons, and a long time after that, was again raised by Julius Cæsar to the patrician dignity. The first person of the family advanced by the choice of the people to any post in the government, was C. Rufus. He came to the quæstorship, and had two sons Cneius and Caius. From whom the two branches of that family are descended, very different in their circumstances. For Cneius and his descendants in an uninterrupted succession bore all the great offices of state. But Caius and his posterity, whether through chance or choice, continued in the equestrian order, till the father of Augustus. His great grandfather served in quality of a tribune in the second Carthaginian war in Sicily, under the command of Æmilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the publick offices of his borough, and grew old in the quiet enjoyment of a very plentiful estate. But this account is given by others. As for Augustus himself, he says no more, but that he was descended of an equestrian family, that was both antient and rich, and in which his father was the first that was a senator. Mark Anthony upbraidingly tells him, that his great grandfather was a freed-man of the territory of Thurii, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a banker. And this is all I have any where met with,

3. His father C. Octavius was, even at his first setting out in the world, a person of a very considerable estate and figure, that I wonder indeed, should pretend to say, that he was a banker too, and one that was employ'd to distribute money amongst the citizens for the candidates at elections, and upon other the like occasions, in the field of Mars. For being bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he did with ease attain to very considerable posts, and behaved as well in them. After his prætorship, he got by lot the province of Macedonia, and in
sibi

fili in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciarum præfuit, non minore justitia quam fortitudine : Namque, Bessis ac Thracibus magno prælio fufis, ita socios tractavit, ut epistolarum M. Tullii Ciceronis existent, quibus Q. fratrem, eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiæ administrantem, hortatur & monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium.

consul of Asia, and under no very good character, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome.

4. Decedens Macedonia, priusquam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, morte obiit repentina, superstitionibus liberis, Octavia majore, quam ex Ancharia, & Octavia minore; item Augusto quos ex Atia rulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo, & Julia sorore C. Cæsaris, genita est. Balbus paternæ stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis imaginibus, à matre Magnum Pompejum arctissimo contingebat gradu : functusque honore præturæ, inter xx viros agrum Campanum plebi Julia lege divisit. Verum M. Antonius despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum ejus Afri generis fuisse, & modo unguentariam tabernam, modo pistrinum Ariciæ exercuisse, objicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola, non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummularii nepotem, sic taxat Augustum, *Materna tibi farina : siquidem ex crudissimo Ariciæ pistrino hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonenfis mensarius.*

5. Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone, & Antonio co. ix. Kal. Octob. paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palatii

his way thither, he cut off some fugitive rascals, the relics of Spartacus and Cataline's army, that had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurii, having received an extraordinary commission from the senate for that purpose. In his government of the province, he behaved with equal justice and resolution : for he overthrew the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated our allies in such a manner, that there are some letters of M. Tully Cicero's extant, wherein he exhorts and advises his brother Quintus, who was at the same time pro-

4. After his quitting of Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the consulship, he died suddenly, leaving behind him one daughter, which he had by Ancharia, and a younger daughter with Augustus, whom he had by Atia, which Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Julia sister to C. Cæsar. Balbus was originally by the father's side of Aricia, of a family that had many of them been in the senate. By the mother's side he was nearly allied to Pompey the Great, and after he had bore the office of prætor was one of the twenty commissioners, appointed by the Julian law, to divide the land in Campania amongst the commonalty. But M. Anthony, in contempt of Augustus's descent by the mother's side, says his great grandfather was an African, and one while kept a perfumer's shop, and another while a bakehouse in Aricia. And Cassius of Parma runs upon him, not only as the grandson of a baker, but a banker too. in these words. Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer of Nerulum taking from a late bakehouse of Aricia, kneaded up into some shape, with his hands all discoloured with the fingering of money.

5. Augustus was born in the consulship of M. Tully Cicero and Anthony, upon the ninth of the kalends of October, a little before sun-rise, in the ward

ad Capita bubula : ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit, constitutum. Nam ut senatus Actis conscriberetur, cum C. Lectorius adolescens patricii generis, inoleptecanda graviore adulterii poena, præter ætatem atque natales, hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, se esse possessorem, ac velut ædium soli, quod primum M. Augustus nascens attigisset : peteretque donari quasi proprio suo, ac peculiari Deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur.

6. Nutrimentorum ejus ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano, iuxta Velitras permodicus, & cellæ penuriz instar : tenetque vicinitatem opinio, tamquam & natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario & caste, religio est : concepta opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam & metus objiciatur : sed & mox confirmata est. Nam cum possessor villæ novus, seu forte, seu tentandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi, & incerta, præne senianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur. *was found but half alive, together with his bed, before the chamber-door.*

7. Infanti cognomen THURINO inditum est, in memoriam majorum originis : vel quod in regione Thurina, recens eo nato, pater Octavius adversus fugitivos, rem proficere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum, satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam ejus æream veterem, ferreis ac pane jam exolecentibus litteris, hoc nomine inscriptam : quæ dono à me Principi data inter cubicularis colitur.

of the Palatium, at the sign of the Ox-heads, where he now has a chapel, built a little after his death. For as it is upon record in the acts of the senate, when C. Lectorius, a young man of a noble family, found guilty of adultery, to prevail with the senate for his pardon, alledged, besides his youth and quality, he was the possessor, and as it were a warden of the ground, that Augustus first touched, after his being born into the world ; and begged he might find favour, for the sake of that God, who was in a peculiar manner his : an act of the senate was pass'd upon it, for the consecration of that part of his house, where Augustus was born.

6. The place of his nursery is to this day shewn in a seat belonging to the family nigh Velitra, being but a poor little hole like a pantry. And the neighbourhood will have it, that he was born there too. And this place no body presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a persuasion, that has a long time prevailed, that such as carelessly enter there are seized with great horror and consternation of mind, which not long since received a notable confirmation. For when a person, upon his first coming to live in the house, had either by meer accident, or in order to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that room, he was a few hours after thrown out again, by a sudden violence, he knew not how, and

7. When he was an infant, he had the fir-name of Thurinus given him in memory of the original of his family ; or because just upon his birth, his father Octavius, had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near Thuri. That he was fir-named Thurinus, I can pretend to assure the reader, upon very good grounds, having had a little old brazen image of him whilst but a boy, with that name upon it, in iron letters, but almost worn out ; which I made a present of to the emperor, by whom it is now worshipped amongst other tutelar deities.

Sed

Sed & à M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam sæpe *Thurinus* appellatur : & ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, *Pro opprobrio nomen prius sibi obijci*. Postea C. CÆSARIS, & deinde AUGUSTI cognomen assumpsit : alterum testamento majoris avunculi : alterum, *Munatii Planci* sententia : cum quibusdam censentibus, *Romulum* appellari oportere, quasi & ipsum conditorem urbis, prævaluisset ut *Augustus* potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine : quod loca quoque religiosa, & in quibus augurato quid consecratur, *Augusta* dicantur, ab *auctu*, vel ab *avium* gestu, *gustuve*, sicut etiam *Ennius* docet, scribens,

in his bet-chamber. He is oftentimes too, by way of reproach, called *Thurinus* by M. Anthony, in his letters. To which he makes no other reply but only, that he wonders, he should be imbraided with a former name of his, as matter of scandal. Afterwards he assumed the name of C. Cæsar, and then of Augustus, the former from the will of his great uncle, and the latter upon a motion of *Munatius Plancus* to the senate ; when some proposing to confer the name of *Romulus* upon him, being as it were a second founder of the city ; it was carried, that he should rather be called *Augustus*, a name that was not only new, but much more considerable, because religious places, and those wherein any thing is consecrated by *Augury*, are called *Augusti*, either from the word *auctu*, or ab *avium* gestu *gustuve*, from the motion and feeding of birds, as appears from this line of *Ennius*.

Augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est.

By august *Augury* when Rome was built.

S. *Quadrinus*, patrem amisit : duodecimum annum agens, *aviam* *Juliam* defunctam pro concione laudavit. *Quadriennio* post virili toga sumta, *militaribus* donis triumpho *Cæsaris* *Africano* donatus est, quamquam expertus belli propter ætatem. Profectum mox avunculum in *Hispanias*, adversus *Cn. Pompeii* liberos, vix tum firmus a gravi valetudine, per infestas hostibus vias, paucissimis comitibus, naufragio etiam facto, subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam. *Cæsare* post receptas *Hispanias* expeditionem in *Dacos*, & inde in *Parthos*, destinante, præmissus *Apolloniam*, studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum, heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus, an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut præcepit

S. He lost his father when he was but four years of age, and in his twelfth year pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grand-mother *Julia*. Four years after he took upon him the manly habit, and was honoured with several military presents by *Cæsar*, in his *African* triumph, tho' he was too young to be any ways concerned in the war. Afterwards when his uncle went for *Spain* against the *Sons of Pompey*, tho' he was then scarce recovered of a dangerous fit of sickness, yet he followed him, and after he had been shipwrecked at sea, got up with him through roads that were beset by the enemy, and with very few attendants : whereby he very much won upon the affections of his uncle : But besides the mettle he shewed upon this occasion, he became still dearer to him for the tokens he gave of a considerable genius. After the reduction of *Spain*, whilst *Cæsar* was designing an expedition against the *Dacians* and *Parthians*, he was sent before him to *Apollonia*, where he followed his studies, till finding his uncle was slain, and himself left his heir, he

imi-

immaturumque omisit: cæterum, urbe repetita, hæreditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitiis comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio, Marcôque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor & quadraginta solus Rempublicam tenuit.

for twelve years, and at the

9. Proposita vitæ ejus velut summa, partes sigillatim, neque per tempora, sed per species, exequar: quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint. Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philipense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum. Ex quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium: secundum adversum Brutum & Cassium: tertium adversum L. Antonium Triumviri fratrem: quartum adversus Sextum Pompejum, Cnæi filium.

10. Omnium bellorum initium & causam hinc sumfir, nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare, tuerique acta. Confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque, & vi nec opinantes, & quia prævisum periculum subterfugerant, legibus aggredi, eosque cædis absentes deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsaris non audentibus facere quibus obtrigerat id munus ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cætera quoque exsequeretur, in locum Trib. plebis sorte demortui candidatum se ostendit: quamquam patricius nec dum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel præcipuum adiutorem speraverat: ac ne publicum quidem & trans-

was for some time dubious, whether he should desire the assistance of the legions nearest hand, but at last dropt that design as rash and unseasonable. However he returned to town, and entered upon the estate, tho' his mother was in some doubt whether it would be safe for him so to do, and his step-father M. Philippus a consular gentleman very much dissuaded him from it. After that drawing together several armies, he first held the government in conjunction with M. Anthony and M. Lepidus, and then with Anthony alone last by himself for four and forty.

9. Having thus laid before the reader a very short summary of his life, I shall run through the several parts of it distinctly, not in order of time, but throwing things of like nature together, to avoid confusion. He was engaged in five civil wars, that of Modena, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily and Actium. Of which the first and last were against M. Anthony, the second against Brutus and Cassius. The third against Luke Anthony brother to the triumvir: the fourth against Sextus Pompey, Cn. Pompey's son.

10. What gave the rise and occasion to all these wars, was an opinion that he was obliged in honour and interest to revenge his uncle's death, and maintain his establishments. Immediately upon his return from Apollonia, he intended to have trepanned Brutus and Cassius by surprize. But they having smelt the design, and got out of the way, he resolved to proceed against them in a legal way, and prosecute them for murder in their absence. And because those whose province it was to exhibit the publick diversions design'd upon account of Cæsar's success in the civil war, durst not do it, he did it himself. And in order to execute his other purposes the more resolutely, he declared himself a candidate in the room of a tribune of the commons that chanced to dye at that time, tho' he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate. But the consul M. Anthony opposing him in it (from whom he expected the utmost assistance) and

laticium his ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimæ mercedis impertiente, ad optimates se contulit: quibus eum invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinæ, provincia à Cæsare data, & per senatum confirmata, expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaq; nonnullis, percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, periculum invicem metuens, veteranos simul in sinum ac Reip. auxilium, quanta potuit largitione, contraxit. Jussusq; comparato exercitui pro prætore præfisse, & cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum acceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, mandatam helium tercio mense confecit duobus præliis. Priore, Antonius eum fugisse scribit: ac sine paludamento equoq; post bidentium demum apparuisse: sequenti, satis constat non modo ducis sed etiam militis functum munere: atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suæ graviter fancio, aquilam humeris subisse, diuque portasse.

the eagle upon his own shoulders, 11. Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere, perissent, rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Rep. consulibus orata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulnere ipdidisset. Adjicit his Aquilius Niger, alterum è consulibus Hirtium in pugna tumultu ab ipso interentum.

12. Sed ut cognovit, Antoniam post fugam à M. Lepido receptum, cæteroque duces, & exercitus, consensit pro patriis, causam opri-

refusing to do him so much as common and ordinary justice, without a swingeing bribe for it, he went over to the party of the nobility, to whom he perceived him to be odious, especially for endeavouring to drive D. Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, given him by Cæsar, and confirmed to him by the senate. Wherefore at the instigation of some about him, he engaged some villains in a design to murder him. And upon the discovery of that plot, fearing to be served in the same manner himself, by throwing his money about him, he engaged Cæsar's old soldiers to stand by him and the government against Anthony; and being commissioned by the senate to command the army he had drawn together, with the dignity of a prætor, and to carry assistance, in conjunction with the two consuls Hirtius and Pansa, to Brutus, he made an end of the war in three months in two battles. Anthony writes that in the first he ran away, without his general's cloak and horse, and was not seen in two days after. In the following battle however it's certain, he acted the part not only of a general, but a soldier too; and in the heat of the battle, when the standard-bearer of his legion was wounded, took and carried it a long time.

11. In this war, Hirtius falling in the battle, and Pansa dying not long after of a wound he received in it, there went a report, that he had murdered them both, that, upon the defeat of Anthony, the government being without consuls, he might have the victorious armies entirely to himself. The death of Pansa was so much suspected to be owing to foul play, that Glyco his surgeon was under confinement for some time, upon a presumption, that he had put poison into his wound. And to this Aquilius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius in the hurry of the battle with his own hands.

12. But upon advice that Anthony after his defeat had been received by M. Lepidus, and that the rest of the generals and armies all declared for the senate, he without more ado deserted the

matium sine cunctatione deseruit, ad prætextum mutatz voluntatis dicta factaq; quorundam calumniis : quasi alli se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque jactassent : ne aut sibi, aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis pœnitentiam prioris sectæ approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia, & quam pendere nequirent, multatos, extorres egit oppido : quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumultu publice extructo adscripserant, *Pro libertate eos*

cause of the noble party ; alledging by way of excuse for his changing sides the actions and sayings of several amongst them, as that some said he was a child, others ornandum tollendumque. And to testify his hearty sorrow for siding with the noble party, he fined the Nursini in a great sum of money, which it was impossible for them to pay, and then drove them out of their town, for an inscription put upon a monument, erected at the publick charge for their country men, that were slain in the battle at Modena, That they dyed for the liberty of Rome.

13. Inita cum Antonio & Lepido societate, Philippente quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque æger, duplici prælio transigit : quorum priore catris exutus, vix ad Antonii cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriæ moderatus est : sed capite Bruti Romam misso, ut statim Cælaris subjiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque captivum non sine verborum contumelia servavit. Ut quidem uni suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicatur, jam istam in volucrum fore potestatem : alios, patrem & filium, pro vita rogantes, fortiri vel dimicare jussisse, ut alterutri concederetur : ac spectasse utrumque morientem, cum patre, qui se obtulerat, occiso, filius quoque voluntaria occubisset aiece. Quare cæteri, & in his M. Favonius, ille Catonis æniulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorificè salutato, hunc foedissimo convicio coram prosciderunt. Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italianam reducendos, & municipalibus agris collocandos recepisset : neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit : alteris pelli se, al-

occubuisse.
13. Having clapp'd up an agreement with Anthony and Lepidus, he finished the war of Philippi in two engagements, tho' he was at that time very infirm and sickly. In the first battle he was forced out of his camp, and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded by Anthony. Upon his success, being unable to govern his temper, he sent the head of Brutus, to be thrown at the pedestal of Caesar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners with great cruelty and abusive language : insomuch that he is said to have answered one of them, that humbly begged for the favour of burial, that would be in the power of the birds. And two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or determine it betwixt them by the sword, and look'd on to see them both dye ; for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly slain, the son killed himself too upon the spot. Wherefore the rest of them, and amongst them M. Favonius, who affected the manner of Cato in his behaviour, being brought out in chains, after they had paid their respects in a very handsome manner to the commander Anthony, reviled him in the foulest language. After this Anthony undertook to settle the East, and Caesar to conduct the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settle them in the lands design'd them, belonging to several great towns in Italy. But had the misfortune to please, neither the soldiers, nor the
teris

teris non pro spe meritum tractari querentibus.

by being violently forced from their possessions, and the other that they were not treated according to their merit.

14. Quo tempore L. Antonium, fiducia consulatus quem gerebat ac fraternæ potentie, res novas molientem, confugere Perusiam coëgit, & ad deditiōem fame compulsi: non tamen sine magnis suis & ante bellum, & in bello discrimini- bus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in XIII ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obsecratoribus dilato, quasi eundem mox & discruciarum necasset: minimum abfuit quin periret, concursu & indignatione turbæ militaris. Saluti fuit, quod qui desiderabatur, repente comparuit incolumis, ac sine injuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans, pæne interceptus est à manu gladiatorum, quæ oppido eruperat.

15. Perusia capta, in plurimos animadvertit: orare veniam, vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *Moriendum esse*. Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis, ad aram divo Julio extractam, Idibus Martiis hostiarum more macratos. Exstiterunt qui traderent, conspecto eum ad arma isse, ut occulti adversarii, & quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antonii ducis præbita, decerentur: devictisque his, & confiscatis, promissa veteranis præmia persolverentur.

confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to make good his promises to the veteran soldiers.

16. Bellum Siculum inchoavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum sæpius: modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio, & quidem per æ-

owners of the lands, whilst one party complain'd of the injustice done them, and the other that they

14. At which time he obliged Luke Anthony, who, presuming upon his own authority as consul, and his brother's power, was raising a new war, to fly to Perusia, and forced him at last by famine to a surrender, yet not without great hazards run both before the war, and in it. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the equestrian order in the theatre, to see the publick diversions, he ordered him to be removed by an officer that attended him; and a rumour being spread upon it by his enemies, that he had put the fellow to death by torture, the soldiery were all in such an uproar about it, that he was within a little of losing his life. The only thing that saved him, was the appearance of the man safe and sound, without any harm done him. And as he was sacrificing before the walls of Perusia, he had like to have been snapped by a body of gladiators, that sallied upon him out of the town.

15. After the taking of Perusia, he put abundance of the prisoners to death, answering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuse themselves very short, that dye they must. Some authors write, that three hundred gentlemen of the equestrian and senatorian order, culled out from the rest, were slaughtered like victims, at an altar raised to Julius Cesar, upon the Ides of March. Nay, some pretend to say, that he entered upon this war, on purpose to have his secret enemys, and such, whom fear more than affection for him kept quiet, to declare themselves, now that they had the opportunity of doing it, with Luke Anthony at the head of them; and that by the defeat of them, and the confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to make good his promises to

16. He engaged in the war of Sicily pretty early, but spun it out for a long time by several fits of intermission: one while upon account of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, and in summer too; another while by patch-

statem, amiserat : modo pace facta, flagitante populo, ob interclusos comearus, famemque ingravescentem : donec navibus ex integro fabricatis, ac ux servorum millibus manumissis, & ad remum datis, portum Julium apud Bajas immisso in Lucrinum & Avernum lacum mari, effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset. Pompejum inter Mylas & Naulochum superavit : sub horam pugnae tam ardorepente somno devinctus ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. Unde praebiram Antonio materiam purum exprobrandi, *Ne rectis quidem oculis eum adspicere potuisse instructam aciem : verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse : nec prius surrexisse, ac militibus in conspectum fuisse, quam a M. Agrippa fugata sint hostium naves.* Alii dictum factumque ejus criminantur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum : ac die Circensium proximo sollenni pompae simulacrum Dei detraxerit. Nec tenere plura ac majora pericula ullo alio bello adijt. Trajecto in Siciliam exercitu, cum ad partem reliquam copiarum continenter repeteret, oppressus ex improviso a Demochare & Apollophane, praefectis Pompeji, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Item cum praeter Locios Rhegium pedibus irer, & prospectis biremibus Pompejanis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem, servus Emillii Pauli, comitis ejus, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum, & quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere conatus est. Post Pom-

ing up a peace, being forced to it, by the clamour of the people, because of a famine, occasioned by Pompey's intercepting their provisions, fetched from foreign parts. But at last having built a new fleet, and twenty thousand slaves being manumitted, and given him for the oar, he made the Julian harbour at Bajas, by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernian lakes. In which, after he had exercised his forces all winter, he defeated Pompey between Myla and Naulochus, being suddenly seized, just before the battle began, with so sound a sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal. Which gave occasion to Anthony, I suppose, to upbraid him afterwards in the following words. That he was not able to look up upon the fleet, when drawn up ready for battle, but lay stupid upon his back, gazing at the heavens, and did not rise, or come in sight of his men, till the enemy's ships were obliged to sheer off by M. Agrippa. Others charge him with a saying, and an action upon it, wholly indefensible; as that he cried out, upon the loss of his fleets by storm, that he would have the victory in spite of NEPTUNE : and that at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession, as usual upon that occasion. Indeed he scarce ever run more or greater risques in any of his wars than this. Having shipped off part of his army into Sicily, and returning for the rest, he was surprized by Pompey's admirals Demochares and Apollaphanes, and got off with much ado, and with a single ship only. Likewise, as he was travelling on foot by Locri to Regium, upon sight of two biremes of Pompey's, passing by that coast, supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and had like to have been snapp'd. At the same time too, as he was making off by some out of the way paths, a slave of Emilius Paulus that attended him, owing him a grudge, for the proscription of his father, and having now, as he thought, a fine opportunity to revenge it, he attempted to kill him. After the defeat

peji fugam, collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarar, superbientem xx legionum fiducia, summasque sibi partes terrore ac minis vindicantem, spoliavit exercitum: supplicamque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.

him his life, but banished him for ever to Circeii.

17 M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam & incertam reconciliationibusque variis male fluctuatam abruptit tandem. Et quo magis degenerasse eum à civili more approbaret, testamentum quod is Romæ etiam de Cleopatræ liberis inter heredes nuncupatis reliquerat, aperiendum recitandumque pro concione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti iudicatio necessitudines, amicosque omnes: atque inter alios C. Sotium & T. Domitium, tunc adhuc, cons. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit conjurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali prælio apud Actium visit, in ferum dimicatione protracta, ut in navi victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione militum præmia & missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium premiserat repetit Italiam, tempestare in trajectu his conflietatus: primo inter promontoria Peloponnesi atque Ætolia, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte Liburnicarum demersa: simulque in qua vehebarur, fulis armamentis, & gubernaculo diffracto. Nec amplius quam septem & xx dies, donec cæderet militum ordinentur Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Egyptum

of Pompey, one of his colleagues M. Lepidus, whom he had sent for out of Africa to his assistance, carrying it very high, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself the principal management of affairs, in a frightful and threatening manner, he strips him of his army, and upon his submission granted

17. The alliance between him and Anthony, which had been always dubious and uncertain, and but sorry patched up by several reconciliations, he at last quite broke off. And to let the World see, how far he had departed from the usages of his country, he took care to have a will of his, which he had left at Rome, and wherein he had appointed Cleopatra's children with others, to be heirs to his estate, opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent him all his relations and friends: And amongst them C. Sotus and T. Domitius at that time consuls. He likewise excused the Bonanians, because they had been of old under the protection of the family of the Antonii, from entering into the association with the rest of Italy in his favour. And not long after he conquered him in a sea-battle near Actium, which lasted so long, that after the victory he was obliged to lie on board all night. From Actium he went to the isle of Samos to winter, but being alarmed with news of a mutiny amongst the soldiers he had sent to Brundisium after the victory, who insolently insisted upon being rewarded for their service and discharged, he returned to Italy, and met with two violent storms in his passage, the first betwixt the promontories of Peloponnesus and Ætolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains, and had in both a part of his Liburnian ships sunk, and the rigging of his own ship tore away, and the helm broken. He staid only twenty seven days at Brundisium, till he had settled affairs with regard to the expectations of the soldiers, and then went for Egypt by the way of Asia and Syria, and laying siege to Alexandria, whither Anthony, was fled with Cleopatra, he made himself

petit;

petit: obfessaque Alexandria quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est. Et Antonium quidem seras conditiones pacis tentantem, ad mortem adegit, viditque mortuum. Cleopatram, quam servatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam Pyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exfugerent: quod perisse morfu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit, ac tumultum ab ipsis inchoatum pertici iussit. Antonium juvenem, majorem de duobus Fulvia genitis simulacro D. Julii, ad quod post multas & irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Cæsariem, quem ex Cæsare Cleopatra concepisse prædica-
bat, retractum è fuga supplicio affecit, Reliquos Antonii reginæque communes liberos, non secus ac necessitudine iunctos, sibi & conservavit, & mox pro conditione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit.

18. Per idem tempus, conditorium & corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e pennerali subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita, ac floribus aspersis, veneratus est: consultusque, num & Ptolemæum inspicere vellet, Regem se voluisse ait videre, non mortuos. Egyptum, in provinciæ formam redactam, ut feraciorem habilioremque annonæ urbicæ redderet, terras omnes, in quas Nilus exæstuat, oblimatas longa verustate, militari opere deter-
sit. Quoque Actiæ victoriæ memoria celebratio in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit: ludosque illic Quinquennales constituit: & ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.
He had encamped upon, with naval spoils, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

master of it in a short time. And forced Anthony, who desired conditions of peace, when it was too late, to kill himself, and took a view of him after he was dead. Cleopatra he would very gladly have saved for his triumph, and because she was supposed to have been bit by an Asp, he ordered the Psylli to suck out the poison. He allowed them the favour of being buried together and ordered a Monument begun by themselves to be finished. The elder of his two Sons by Fulvia, he ordered to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Cæsar, to which after many supplications for his life, but all in vain, he had fled, and slain. He likewise put to death Cæsario, whom Cleopatra pretended she had by Cæsar, who had fled for his life, but was fetch'd back again. The children that Anthony and Cleopatra had had together, he saved and maintained in a manner suitable to their quality, as much as if they had been his own relations.

18. At the same time he had the curiosity to view the coffin and body of Alexander the great, which were taken out of the vault they were in, for that purpose; and when he had done, he paid his respect to the memory of that prince, by the present of a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked if he pleased to see those of the Ptolomy's too, he replied he had a desire to see a king, not dead men. He reduced Egypt into the form of a province, and in order to render it more fruitful, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the ditches, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges it self, which in a long series of years, were almost quite choak'd up with mud. And to render his victory at Actium the more famous to posterity, he built the city Nicopolis near it, and appointed games to be celebrated there every five years; and enlarging an old temple of Apollo there, he dress'd up the place

19. Tumultus post hæc, ac etiam rerum novarum initia, conjurationesque complures, prius quam invalescerent, indicio detectas compressit & alias alio tempore: Lepidi juvenis, deinde Varronis Muræ, & Fannii Cæpionis, mox M. Egnatii, exin Plautii Rufi, Luciiq; Paulli progeneri sui: ac præter has L. Audasii falsarum tabularum rei, ac neque ætate neque corpore integri: item Asinii Epicadi ex gente Parrhyna hybridæ: ad extremum Telephi mulieris servi nomenclatoris. Nam ne ultimæ quidem sortis hominum conspiratione & periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Juliam filiam & Agrippam nepotem ex insulis quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus: Telephus, quasi debira sibi fato dominatione, & ipsum & senatum aggredi, destinaverant. Quinetiam quondam juxta cubiculum ejus lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, janitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est, cultro venatorio cinctus; imponere mentis, an simulata dementia, incertum. Nihil enim exprimi quæstione potuit.

20. Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit: Dalmaticum, adolescens adhuc: & Antonio devicto, Cantabricum. Dalmatico etiam vulnera excepit una acie, dexterum genu lapide ictus: altera autem, & crus & utrumque brachium ruina pontis confauciatus. Reliqua per legatos administravit: ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis, atque Germanicis aut interveniret, aut non longe abesset, Ravennam, vel Mediolanum, vel Aquilejam usque ab urbe progrediens.

21. Domuit autem partim doctû, partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pan-

19. After this he quashed several disturbances and insurrections, as also several plots against his life, that were luckily discovered, before they were ripe enough for execution, but this he did at different times. Such were the conspiracies of young Lepidus, of Varro Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, then of M. Egnatius, the plot of Plautius Rufus and L. Paulus his granddaughter's husband; and besides those, another of L. Audasius that was under a prosecution for forgery, and besides an old crazy fellow, as also of Asinius Epicadus, a Porthynian mungrel, and at last that of Telephus a lady's nomenclator. For he was in some danger of his life from the plots and contrivances of some of the lowest of the people against him. Audasius and Epicadus had design'd to bring to the army his daughter Julia, and his grandson Agrippa, from the Islands where they were confined. Telephus proposed to fall upon him and the senate both, from a wild imagination that the government was designed him by the fates. Nay once too a soldier's servant belonging to the army at Illyricum, having slept by the porters unobserved, was found in the night time standing before his chamber-door, provided with a hunting-dagger; whether the fellow was really disordered in his head, or only counterfeited himself mad, is uncertain, for nothing could be got out of him by the rack.

20. He managed only two foreign wars himself in person, the Dalmatian, while he was yet but young: and after the conquest of Anthony, the Cantabrian. In the Dalmatian he received some wounds, as in one battle a contusion in his right knee, from a stone, and in another, he was sorely mauled in one leg, and both arms by the fall of a bridge. His other wars he managed by his lieutenants, yet so that he now and then made his appearance in some of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or was not far off, advancing from the City as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia.

21. However he conquered partly in person, partly by his lieutenants, Cantabria, Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatiam,

noniam, Dalmatiam cum Illyrico omni: item Rhetiam, & Vinileicos, ac Salassios, gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit & Harorum incursiones, tribus eorum duobus cum magna copia caeteris, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit: ex quibus Suevos & Sicambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheho agris collocavit. Alias item nationes male quieras ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis & necessariis causis bellum intulit. Tantumque absuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in ade Martis Ultoris jurare coegerit, mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent: a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum foeminas exigere tentaverit: quod negligere marium plinora sentiebat, & tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quoties vellent, obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantes graviore umquam multatus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege vendideret, ne in vicina regione fervirent, neve intra xxx annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama, Indos etiam ac Scythas, audita modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populiq; Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque & Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt: & signa militaria, quae M. Crasso & M. Antonio ademerant, reposcanti reddiderunt: obsidesque insuper obtulerunt. denique pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, non nisi

21. Januarius Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe memoriam ante suam clausum in multo brevioris temporis spatio, terra in trique

matia, with all Illyricum, Rhetia, with the two nations of the Vinileici and the Salassii, inhabiting the Alps. He also put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals, with vast armies, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elbe, of which he removed the Ubii and Sicambri, upon their submission, into Gaul, and settled them in a country close by the Rhine. And obliged other nations too, that were somewhat troublesome, to a submission. But never made war upon any nation without a just and necessary occasion. And was so far from a desire of advancing at any rate the empire, or his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of some barbarous people to swear in the temple of Mars the revenger, that they would continue firm to their engagements, and duly keep the peace they had desired; and demanded of some a new sort of hostages, their women, because he found by experience, they did not much regard their male hostages. And yet he gave them all the liberty of taking them home again, whenever they pleased. He never punished even those that were the most frequent and perfidious in their rebellion, with any greater severity, than only to sell their prisoners upon condition they should not serve in any neighbouring country, nor be released from their slavery within thirty years. So that by the great fame of his virtue and moderation, he drew in the Indians and Scythians too, known only to the Romans till that time by hearsay, to court his friendship, and that of the Roman people, by their ambassadors. The Parthians too readily allowed his pretensions to Armenia, and at his demand restored the standards they had taken from M. Crassus, and M. Anthony, and offered him hostages besides. And upon the occasion of a contest between several pretenders to the kingdom, would have none but the person he should think fit to pitch upon.

22. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been shut but once or twice, from the building of the city to his own time, he shut thrice in a much shorter space, having settled an unpeace

pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense, & rursus post Siculum bellum. Curules triumphos treis egit, Dalmaticum, Aethiacum, Alexandrinum: contiuuo triduo omnes.

23. Graves ignominias cladesque, duas omnino, nec alibi quam in Germania, accepit, Lollianam & Varianam: sed Lollianam majoris infamiae, quam detrimenti: Varianam pæne excruciantem, tribus legionibus, cum duce legatisque, & auxiliis omnibus, caesis. Hac nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret: & praesidiis provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut & à peritis & assuetis sociis continerentur. Vovit & magnos ludos Jovi Opt. Max. SIREMPUBLICAM IN MELIOREM STATUM VERTISSET: quod factum Cimbrico Mariscoque bello erat. Adeo namque consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summissa, caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: *Quintili Vare legiones redde; diemque cladis quocunvis moestum habuerit ac lugubrem.*

And every year observ'd, the day upon which the disaster had happen'd, as a day of sorrow and mourning.

24. In re militari & commutavit multa, & instituit: atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit, disciplinam severissime rexit, ne legatorum quidem caquam, nisi gravate, hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem interficere. Equitem Romanum quod duobus filiis adolescentibus causa detestandi sacramenti pollices amutasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae: quem tamen, quod imminere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam legionem contumacius parentem, cum ignominia totam

versal quiet both by sea and land. He twice entered the city in the lesser triumph, after the war of Philippi, and again after that of Sicily. He had likewise three grand triumphs, that is, for his victories in Dalmatia, at Aethium and Alexandria, which lasted three days.

23. He never in all his wars received any considerable or shameful defeat, but twice in Germany, in the person of his Lieutenant Lollius and Varus. The former had indeed more of infamy than lost in it, but that if Varus threatened the security of the empire itself, three legions being cut off with the general, lieutenant-generals, and all the auxiliary forces. Upon advice of which, he ordered strict watch to be kept all over the city, for fear of any public disturbance, and continued the government of the provinces in the same hands, the better to keep the allies quiet, by the means of persons well acquainted with, and used to them. He made a vow to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, if he pleased to give a happy turn to the present state of affairs. Which thing had been done before in the Cimbrick and Marick wars. For they tell us, that he was under so terrible a consternation upon it, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knock'd his head against the door, crying out, *QUINTILIUS VARUS, give me my legions again.*

24. In military affairs he made a great many alterations, introducing some things entirely new, and reviving old customs that had been laid aside. He kept the troops to very strict discipline: And would not allow so much as any of the lieutenant-generals the liberty to visit their ladies, but with great difficulty, and in the winter-season only. A Roman knight having cut off the thumbs of two young sons of his, to render them incapable of serving in the wars, he exposed him to sale, and his estate too. But yet upon observing the publicans very busy about the purchase, he consigned him over to a freed man of his own, that he might send him into the country, and suffer

dimisit: item alijs immodeste missionem postulantibus, citra commoda emeritorum premium exaudivit. Cohortes, si quæ cœssissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones, statione deserti iridem, ut manipulares, capitali animadversione. puniit: pro cætero delictorum genere variis ignominijs affectit: ut stare per totum diem juberet ante Prætorium: interdum tunicatos, discinctosque, nonnunquam cum deempedis, vel etiam cespitem portantes.

timis bearing polls ten foot

25. Neque post bella civilia aut in concione, aut per edictum, ullos militum *com-militones* appellabat, sed *milites*: ac ne à filiis quidem aut privignis suis, imperio præditis, aliter appellari passus est: ambitiosius id existimans quam aut ratio militaris, aut temporum quies, aut sua domusque suæ majestas postularet. Libertino milite, præterquam Romæ incendiorum causa, & si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad præsidium coloniarum Illyricum contingit: iterum ad tutelam ripæ Rheni fluminis. eosque servos adhuc viris fœminisque pecuniosioribus indictos, ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commistos cum ingenuis, aut eodem modo armatos. Dona militaria aliquanto facilius, phaleras & torques, quicquid auro argenteoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quæ honore præcellerent dabat: has quam parcissime, & sine ambitione, ac sæpe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam cæruleo vexillo do-

him to enjoy his freedom. The tenth legion growing mutinous, he broke entirely with disgrace: and did the same by some others that in a mutinous manner demanded their discharge, balking them of the rewards usually conferred upon such as had served up their time in the wars. Such battalions as quitted their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley. Captains as well as common centinels upon the guard, that deserted their posts, he punished with death. For other faults he had various ways of disgracing them, as obliging them to stand all day before the general: tent, sometimes in their tunicks and without their belts, some- long or soads in their hands.

25. After the civil wars, he never in any of his speeches to them, or proclamations, called them fellow soldiers, but soldiers only. Nor would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his sons or step-sons, when they were in command, as judging the former appellation a degree of condescension not very consistent with military discipline, and what the peaceableness of the times, and the grandeur of himself and family rendered needless. Unless at Rome upon account of fire's happening, or under the apprehension of a publick disturbance, in a time of scarcity, he never suffered manumised slaves to bear arms in his troops, excepting twice, once for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and again to guard the bank of the river Rhine. These he ordered people of estates both gentlemen and ladys to furnish him with; and tho' after some time he made free-men of them, yet he kept them in a body by themselves, unmixed with his other soldiers of better birth, and arm'd too in a different manner. Military presents, such as trappings for horses, chains, or any others of gold or silver, he disposed of much more easily, than he did of the crowns usually conferred for good behaviour in the siege of camps or towns, which were reckoned much more honourable than the former. These he gave very sparingly, and without favour or affection, and oftentimes even to com-
navit.

navit. Solos triumphales, quamquam & socios expeditionum, & participes victoriarum suarum, nunquam donis imperiendos putavit; quod ipsi quoque jus habuissent tribuendi ea quibus velent. Nihil autem minus in perfecto duce, quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa jactabar, rashness. Wherefore he had frequently in his Mouth,

mon soldiers. He presented M. Agrippa, after the sea-fight in the war of Sicily, with a green banner. Gentlemen that had had the honour of a triumph, tho' they attended him in his expeditions, and had a share in his successes, yet he did not judge it proper to distinguish by the usual military presents, because they themselves had a right to grant them to whom they pleased. He thought nothing more below the character of an accomplish'd general than haste and

Σπουδὴ βραδύς, &
 Ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀμετρών, ὢ θεῶν τερατολάται.

Be slowly hasty. And,
 The Wary Captain's better than the Bold.

Et, *Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene*, Prælium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum major emolumentum spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantes discrimine, similes ajebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus: cujus abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.

26. MAGISTRATUS atque honores. & ante tempus & quosdam novi generis, perpetuosque, cepit. Consulatum xx ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent. Cum quidem cunctante senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere, *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis*. Secundum consulatum post ix annos, tertium anno interjecto gessit: sequentes usque ad undecimum continuavit: multisque mox, cum deferrentur, recusatis, duodecimum magno, id est, septemdecim annorum intervallo, & rursus

And, That was done soon enough, that was done well enough. He used to say too, that a battle or a war was never to be undertaken, where the hopes of advantage did not overbalance the fear of loss. For those that pursued small advantages with no small hazard, he said, were like such as fished with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line should break, could ne'er be countervailed by all the fish they might take.

26. He was advanced to publick offices, before he was legally qualified for them in point of age, and to some of a new kind, and for life. He seized the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, advancing up with his legions in a hostile manner to the town, and sending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. At which time the senate demurring upon the matter, a centurion called Cornelius, the leading depury, throwing back his coat, and showing the hilt of his sword, had the assurance to say in the house, This will make him consul, if you will not. His second consulship he bore nine years after, and the next but one after that a third, and continued in the same office every year successively till the eleventh. After which, tho' the consulship was frequently offered him, yet he refused it, till after a long interval, no less

tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit : ut Caium & Lucium filios amplissimo prædictus magistratu, suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quinque medios consulatus à sexto ad undecimum annuos gessit : cæteros aut novem aut sex aut quatuor aut tribus mensibus; secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kalend. Janu. cum mane prorele Capitolini Jovis paululum curuli sella præsedisset honore abiit, suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romæ, sed quantum consulatum in Asia, quincum in insula Samo, octavum & nonum Tarracone iussit.

27. TRIUMVIRATUM Reip. constituendæ per decem annos administravit : in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum sæpe personam per gratiam & preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur : proscriptisque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundemque collegam patris sui Octavii in ædilitate, Junius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit ; cum peracta proscriptio, M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset præterita, & spem clementiæ in posterum fecisset : quoniam satis pœnarum exactum esset ; hunc è diverso processum, ita modum se proscribendi statuisse, ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera : in cuius tamen pertinaciæ pœnitentiam, postea T. Vinium Philopœmenem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim diceretur, equestri dignitate decoravit. In eadem hac potestate multiplici flagravit invidia. Nam & Pinarium

than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after that again for a thirteenth, that he might, whilst invested in that high office, introduce, according to custom, his two sons Caius and Lucius, into the forum. For the five consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year constantly. But for the rest, only nine, six, four, or three months, and in his second only for a few hours. For having sat, upon the first of January, on his ivory seat, for some small time in the morning before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he quitted the office, and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all at Rome, but upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the isle of Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarracon.

27. He was one of the triumvirate for selling the commonwealth ten years, in which office, he for some time opposed his colleagues in their design of a proscription ; but after it was begun, prosecuted it with more inflexible rigour than either of them : For whereas they were often prevailed upon by the interest and intercession of friends to shew mercy, he alone insisted vehemently, that no quarter should be given ; and he proscribed too C. Toranius his Guardian, who had been formerly his father Octavius's colleague in the Ædileship. Junius Saturninus adds this farther account of him, that when, after the proscription was over, M. Lepidus made an excuse to the Senate for their past proceedings, and gave them Hopes of more gentle management for the future, because they had now had a sufficient revenge upon their enemies : He on the other hand declared, that he had set no other bounds to the proscription than his own pleasure, and so was entirely at liberty. Yet afterwards being sorry for this inflexible humour of his, he raised T. Vinius Philopœmen to the equestrian dignity, for having concealed his patron, and saved him from the fury of the proscription. In this same office he became very odious upon many accounts. For as he was once haranguing the soldiers, observing Pinarius a equitem

equitem R. cum concionante se admitta turba paganorum apud milites subscribere. quendam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit. Et Tedium Afrum col. designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis perterritis minis, ut is se præcipitaverit. Et Q. Gallium prætorem, in officio salutationis, tabulas duplices veste tectas tenentem, suspicatus gladium oculere, nec quidquam statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere, paullo post per centuriones & milites raptum è tribunali, fervilem in modum torxit, ac fatentem nihil, iussit occidi, prius oculis ejus sua manu effossis, quem tamen scribit colloquio petito insidiatum sibi, conjectumq; à se in custodiam deinde urbe interdicta dimissum, naufragio vel latronum insidiis periisse. Tribunitiam potestatem perpetuam recepit: in qua semel atque iterum per singula lustra collegam sibi cooptavit. Recepit & morum legumq; regimen æque perpetuum: quo jure quamquam sine censuræ honore, censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.

28. De reddendâ Repub. bis cogitavit: primo post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum ab eo sibi sæpius, quasi per ipsum stare ne redderetur: ac rursus tædio diuturnæ valetudinis: cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis Rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans & se privatum non sine periculo fore, & illam plurimum arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit: dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem cum præ se identidem ferret, quodam e-

Roman knight to let in some other company, and subscribe something or other, he order'd him to be stabb'd before his eyes as a busy body and a spy upon him. He so terrified with his menaces Tedium. After, after he was consul elect, for having reflected upon some action of his, that he threw himself from the top of a house and died. And when Q. Gallius the prætor came to wait on him, with a double tablet under his coat, suspecting it to be a sword, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he ordered him to be carried off by some captains and soldiers, and to be put to torture, as if he had been a slave; and tho' he would not own any ill design, commanded him to be slain, after he had pulled out his eyes with his own hands: yet he himself says, that this same Gentleman desired a private conference with him, in order to murder him, for which reason he put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city, and that he perished either in a storm at sea, or by the hands of robbers. He accepted of the Tribunitian power for life, but for two lustra successively took another person into commission with him. He had likewise the inspection of the publick manners and the laws conferred upon him for life, by virtue of which commission, tho' he had not the honourable title of Censor, yet he thrice took a survey of the People, the first and third time with an assistant, but the second by himself.

28. He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the commonwealth; first immediately after the suppressing of Anthony, remembering what he had oftentimes charged him with, that it was owing to him, that the commonwealth was not restored. The second time was upon occasion of a long illness, at which time he sent for the magistrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire; but considering at the same time, that he could not without hazard return to the condition of a private person, and that it might be of dangerous consequence to the publick, to have the government left again to the management of the people,

ciam

tiam edicto his verbis testatus est: Ita mihi saluam ac sospitem temp. sistere in sua sede liceat, atque ejus rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar: & moriens, ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta Reipub. quae jecero. Fecitque ipse se compotem voti, nisi omnimodo ne quem novi status poeniteret.

ment amongst you; and at my leaving the world, carry along with me this hope, that the foundations I shall lay for a future settlement, will remain unmoved for ever.

29. Urbem neque pro majestatis imperii ornatam, & inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset. Turam vero, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit. Publica opera plurima exstruxit: ex quibus vel praecipua, Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio. Fori exstruendi causa fuit, hominum & judiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur, non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere. Iraque festinantius, nec dum perfecta Martis aede, publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica judicia & sortitiones judicum fierent. Aedem Marti bello Philippiensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat. Sanxit ergo ut de bellis triumphisque haec confuleretur senatus: provincias cum Imperio petitori, hinc deducerentur: quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum inferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a Deo haruspices pronuntiabant. Addita porcius cum bi-

he resolv'd to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention is hard to say; which intention of good to the publick he frequently insisted upon in his private conversation, and likewise declared by proclamation in the following words. So let me have the happiness to settle the commonwealth safe and secure upon its proper basis, and receive the advantage I propose from thence, of being celebrated for introducing the best kind of government amongst you; and at my leaving the world, carry along with me this hope, that the foundations I shall lay for a future settlement, will remain unmoved for ever. And indeed he had the happiness to accomplish his intention, by using his utmost endeavours, that no body should have any reason to be dissatisfied with the new establishment.

29. The city which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to the inundations of the Tiber, and fires, he so much improved, that he had reason indeed to boast, that he left it a city of marble instead of brick. He likewise rendered it secure for the time to come, as far as could be effected by human foresight. He raised a great many publick buildings, the most considerable of which were a Forum with the temple of Mars the avenger, the temple of Apollo in the Palatium, and the temple of thundering Jove in the capitol. The reason of his building the forum, was the vast number of people and causes, for which the two former forums being not sufficient, it was thought requisite to have a third. For that reason it was opened for publick use, before the temple of Mars was quite finished, and provided by law, that causes should be tried, and judges chosen by lot there too. The temple of Mars he had vowed to build him, in the war of Philippi, undertaken by him for the revenge of his father's death. He ordered that the senate should meet there always to debate about wars and triumphs; and that such as were sent into the provinces to command the armies, should be dispatched from thence; and that such as return'd victorious from the wars, should lodge the ornaments of their triumphs there. He built the temple of Apollo in that part of the Palatine house, which had been struck with thunder, and which for that reason the sooth-sayers did declare the

blibliotheca Latina Græcæque, quo loco jam senior sæpe etiam senatum habuit, decurialesque judicium recognovit. Tonanti Jovi ædem consecravit, liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter læticam ejus fulgor perstrinxisset, servumque præluentem exanimasset. Quædam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet & uxoris sororisque, fecit: ut porticum basilicamque Lucii & Caii: item porticus Livie & Octavie, theatrumque Marcelli. Sed & cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis, vel refectionis & excultis, urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis constructa sunt: sicut a Marcio Philippo, ædes Herculis Musarum: a L. Cornificio, ædes Dianæ: ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis: a Munatio Planco, ædes Saturni: a Cornelio Balbo, theatrum: a Statilio Tauro, amphitheatrum: a M. vero Agrippa, complura & egregia.

30. Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit: instituitque ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cujusque viciniae electi. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas, vigilesque commentus est. Ad coercendas inundationes, alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, & ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum. Quo autem facilis undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Ædes sacras vetustate collapsas, aut incendio absumptas, refecit: easque & cæteras opulentissimis donis adornavit: utpote qui in cellam Capitolini Jovis

God had a mind to. He added to it piazzas, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when he grew elderly, used frequently to hold the senate there, and examine the lists of the judges. He consecrated the temple to thundering Jove, upon account of a delivery he had from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition; where, as he was travelling in the night, his chair was scorched, and a slave that carried a torch before him killed outright, by lightening. He likewise erected some publick buildings in the name of others, as his grandsons, lady and sisters. Thus he built a piazza and a court, in the name of Lucius and Caius, and piazzas in the name of Livia and Octavia, and a theatre in that of Marcellus. He likewise recommended to other persons of eminence and figure, every one to beautify the city, by the raising of new buildings, or the repairing and improving of old ones, according to their ability. And thus many were raised, as the temple of Hercules president of the Muses by Marcus Philippus, a temple of Diana by Lucius Cornificius, the court of Liberty by Asinius Pollio; a temple of Saturn by Mutanius Plancus: a theatre by Cornelius Balbus; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus; and several other fine edifices by M. Agrippa.

30. He divided the city into wards, and other lesser divisions, and ordered that the annual magistrates should by lot take the charge of the former, and masters chosen out of the commonalty of the neighbourhood the latter. He appointed a nightly watch to be kept against the casualties of fire: and, to prevent the frequent inundations of the Tiber, widened and scoured the channel thereof, which had in length of time been almost dammed up with rubbish, and much reduced by the falling in of houses. And to render the avenues to the town the more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of making good the Flaminian causeway as far as Ariminum; and ordered several gentlemen, who had attained to the honour of a triumph, to do as much by the other roads, out of the money arising from the spoils of war. Temples decayed by time, or burnt down, he repaired or rebuilt; and enriched them

sedecim

sedecim millia pondo auri, gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties H. S. una donatione contulerit.

and jewels, and pearls, to the value of fifty millions of sesterces.

31. Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem nunquam vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit. Quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latini-que generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit: ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos: hos quoque delectu habito: condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum à D. Julio ordinatum, sed postea negligentia eanturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit: in cuius ordinatione Sextilem mensem è suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembrem, quo erat natus: quia hoc sibi & primus consulatus & insignes victoriæ obtigissent. Sacerdotum & numerum & dignitatem sed, & commoda, auxit: præcipue Vestalium virginum, cumq; in demortuæ locum aliam capi oporteret, ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent: adjuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret ætas, oblaturum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis cæremoniis paulatim abolita restituit: ut Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos Seculares & compitalitios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere imberbes: item, Secularibus ludis juvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare, nisi cum aliquo majore natu propinquorum. Compitalitiis Lares ornare bis anno instituit, vernis floribus, & æstivis. Proximum à Diis immortalibus

and others too with divers noble presents. He at one donation deposited in the sacred apartment of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pound of Gold,

31. After the Death of Lepidus, he took upon him the office of high-priest, which he would not presume to do, whilst he was living: And then ordered all the books of prophecy both Latin and Greek, whose authors were either unknown, or of no great authority, to be brought in, which amounted to above two thousand, and burnt them, saving only those that had been left by the Sibyls; and not these neither, without a severe examination, to distinguish such as were genuine; and laid them up on two gilt shelves, under the base of Apollo Palatinus's statue. He reduced the year, which had been regulated by Julius Cesar, but through carelesness was got again into disorder and confusion, to it's former regularity and upon that occasion, called the month of sextilis by his own name, rather than september, in which he was born: because in it he had obtained his first consulate, and all his most considerable victories. He encreased the number, dignity, and revenue of the priests, but especially of the vestal virgins. And when upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be chosen, and many solicited hard, that they might not be obliged to give in their daughters names, to take their chance for it, he swore, that if any of his grand-daughters had been old enough for it, he would have offered her to fill up the vacancy. He likewise revived some old religious customs, that had by degrees been laid aside, as the augury of health, the office of Flamen Dialis, or the peculiar priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia: the secular and compitalitian games. He forbid young boys running in the Lupercalia: Likewise in the secular games, he forbid all young people of either sex, to appear at any publick diversions in the night, unless in company with some elderly person of their relations. He ordered the household Gods to be trimmed up twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalitian festival. Next to the immortal honorem

honorem memorie ducum præstitit, qui imperium populi R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque & opera cujusque, manentibus titulis, restituit : & statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque Fori sui porticu dedicavit. Professus est edicto, commentum id se, ut illorum velut ad exemplar & ipse dum viveret, & insequentium ætatum principes exigerentur a civibus. Pompeii quoque statuam contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo Jano supposit, translatam e curia, in qua C. Cæsar fuerat occisus.

marble arch, over against the fine

32. Pleraque pessimi exempli correxit, quæ in perniciem publicam, aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant, aut per pacem etiam existiterant. Nam & grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa : & rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine, liberi, servique, ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur : & plurimæ factiones, titulo collegii novi, ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassatores dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus, inhibuit : ergastula recognovit : collegia, præter antiqua & legitima, dissolvit : tabulas veterum ærarii debitorum, vel præcipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit. Loca in urbe publica juris ambigui possessoribus adjudicavit. Dinturnorum reorum, & ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quæreretur, nomina abolevit : conditione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere veller, periculum poenæ subiret. Ne quod autem maleficio negotiumve impunitate vel mora elaberetur, xxx amplius dies,

Gods, he paid the highest honour to the memory of those generals, that, from the poor condition the Roman state was originally in, had raised it to the highest pitch of grandeur ; and accordingly repaired or rebuilt the publick edifices they had raised, and preserved the former inscriptions, and erected the statues of them all in a triumphal dress, in both the piazzas of his forum. And declared by proclamation, That his design in so doing was, that the Roman people might require from him, and all succeeding princes, a conformity to those noble patterns. -He likewise removed the statue of Pompey from the senate-house, in which C. Cæsar had been slain ; and placed it under a house adjoining to his theatre.

32. He suppressed a great many ill practices, highly detrimental to the publick, that had been introduced during the confusion of the late civil wars, or had their rise from the long peace that ensued. Great numbers of highwaymen appeared openly with swords on, under colour of self-defence. And travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were up and down the country carried off by violence, and kept concealed in work-houses. And several parties of men, under the specious title of new companys, caballed together for the commission of all manner of villany. He quelled the Banditti, by guards of soldiers posted in proper places for the purpose : took a strict account of the work-houses, and dissolved all companys, but such as were of ancient standing and establish'd by law. He burnt all the notes of such as had been a long time in arrear with the treasury, as the principal fund of vexatious suits and prosecutions. Places in the city that were claimed by the publick, where the property was dubious, he adjudged to the possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals, the names of such as had laid long under the terror of a prosecution, where nothing further was proposed by their enemys the prosecutors, than only to gratify their own ill nature, by seeing the miserable appearance they made upon that occasion : and at the same time, threatened those that should go about to renew their

qui honorariis ludis occupantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tres judicum decurias, quartam addidit ex inferiore censu: quæ ducenariorum vocaretur, judicaretque de levioribus summis. Judices à tricesimo ætatis anno allegit: id est, quinqueennio maturius quam solebant. At plerisque judicandi munus detrectantibus, vix concessit ut singulis decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset: & ut solitè agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur.

the office, he was with much ado prevailed upon, to allow each class of judges a year's vacation in its turn, and that the courts might be excused from sitting during the months of November and December.

33. Ipse jus dixit assidue, & in noctem nonnunquam: si parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata, vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem jus non diligentia modo summa, sed & lenitate: siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culeo influeretur, quod non nisi confessi afficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: *Certe patrem tuum non occidisti?* Et cum de falso testamento ageretur, omnesq; signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur: non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam & absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit: sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum, vel errore inductos, contirissier. Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit urbano: at provincialium, consularibus viris, quos singulos casusque provinciae negotiis præposuisset.

34. Leges retractavit, & quasdam ex integro sanxit: ut sumptuariam, & de adulteriis, & de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordini-

prosecution, with the same punishment, if they did not make good their charge, that the party prosecuted was liable to, if they did. And that crimes might not go unpunish'd, or business be neglected for want of dispatch, he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days that were spent in celebrating the games, which the magistrates used to present in gratitude to the people, for their advancement. To the three former classes of judges, he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferiour rank, who were called ducenarii, and decided all disputes about trifling sums. He chose judges from the age of thirty years, that is, five years sooner than had been usual before. And a great many declining

before. And a great many declining

33 He likewise gave constant attendance himself for the tryal of causes, and would sometimes continue sitting within the night, if he was not very well, upon a couch placed upon the bench, or lying a bed at home. And this he did not only with the utmost application, but mildness too. To save a fellow, that evidently appear'd guilty of murdering his father from being stiched up in a sack, because none were punished in that manner, but such as confessed the fact, they tell you, he interrogated him thus, Surely you did not kill your father, did you? And when in the tryal of a cause about a forged will, all those that had signed it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law; he ordered to be distributed to the gentlemen that sat with him upon the trial, not only the two usual tablets for condemnation or acquittal, but a third too, for the pardon of all those that should appear to be drawn in to sign by any trick or mistake. All appeals in causes betwixt the town's people he assign'd every year to the prætor; and where the provincials were concern'd, to consular gentlemen, who had each his province for that purpose.

34. Some laws he revised, and some entirely new ones, he enacted himself, as the sumptuary law, that relating to adultery and chastity, the law against bribery in elections, as also that for the bus,

ous. Hanc cum aliquanto quam cæteras severius emendasset, præ tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit: nisi adempta demum lenitate parte poenarum: & vacatione triennii data, auctisque præmiis. Sic quoque abolitionem ejus, publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulante equite, accitis Germanici liberos, receptosque partim ad se, partim in patris gremium ostendit: manu vultuque significans, ne gravarentur imitari juvenis exemplum. Cumque etiam immaturitate sponsarum, & matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponas habendi coarctavit: divortiiis modum imposuit.

But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by the marrying of tender girls, much too young for husbands, and the frequent change of wives, he limited the time for consummation after the marriage contract, and restrained the great

35. Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi & incondita turba cerant enim super mille, & quidem indignissimi, & post necem Cæsaris per gratiam & præmium collecti, quos Orcinos vulgus vocabat) ad modum pristinum & splendorem redegit, duabus lectionibus: prima, ipsorum arbitratu, quo vir virum legit: secunda, suo & Agrippæ. Quo tempore existimatur lorica sub veste munitus, ferroque cinctus præsedisse, decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit, ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum, nisi solum, & prætentato sinu. Quosdam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit: servavitque etiam excusantibus insigne vestis, & spectandi in orchestra epulandi publice jus. Quo autem lecti probatique & religiosius & minore molestia

encouragement of matrimony. And having been somewhat more severe in his reform of this law than the rest, he found it impracticable to have it pass with the people, by reason of the clamour and disturbance raised by such as were against it, without taking off or mitigating the penalties; and by the allowance of a three years respite, after the death of a wife, and augmenting the advantages of a married state. And notwithstanding all, the equestrian order at a publick diversion in the theatre, were still very importunate for the repeal of it, insomuch that he sent for the children of Germanicus, and shewed them partly sitting upon his own lap, partly on their father's; signifying by his gestures and look his request to them, that they would not think much to imitate the example of that young gentleman.

license used in the practice of divorce.

35. He reduced by two several nominations to their former number and splendor, the senate, which had been filled up, and overcharged with a rabble of people, much below the dignity of that house. (for they were now above a thousand, and some of them but very sorry persons, that after the death of Cæsar had been chosen by the dint of interest and bribery together: and were commonly called by the people Orcini) the first of these elections was left to their own determination, each man as he was named naming another. But the latter was managed by himself and Agrippa together, at which time it is believed he presided in the election, with a coat of mail and a sword under his coat, and with ten of the most able bodied senators his friends attending about him. Cordus Cremutius writes, that none of the senators were suffered to approach him but alone, and after he had been searched, whether he had any sword about him. Some he obliged to the modesty of excusing themselves from the acceptance of that honour, and to such he allowed the privilege of using the Senatorian tunick, of seeing the publick diversions

senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit ut prius quam consideret quisque, thure ac mero supplicaret apud aram ejus dei in cujus templo coi-retur: & ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus ageretur, Kalendis & Idibus: neve Septembri Octobrive mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset, quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent: sibi-que instituit consilia fortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis, ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. Sententias de majore negotio, non more, atque ordine, sed prout libuisset, perrogabat: ut perinde quisque animum intenderet, ac si censendum magis quam assentiendum esset.

of the senators upon a matter of importance, not according to custom, or in order, but as he had a mind, that every one might give the same attention to the business before them, as if he was to deliver his sentiments at large upon it, in order to influence the rest, rather than assent to what was advanced by others.

36. Auctor & aliarum rerum fuit: in quibus, ne acta senatus publicarentur: ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur: ut proconsulibus ad mulos, & tabernacula, quæ publice locari solebant, certa pecunia constitueretur: ut cura ærarii à quæstoribus urbanis ad prætorios prætoresve transiret: ut centumviralem hastiam, quam quæstura functi consueverant cogere, decemviri cogerent.

gentlemen, or the prætors. And centumviral court, which had formerly been used to be called, by gentlemen that had born the office

37. Quoq; plures partem administrandæ Reip. caperent, nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, præfecturam urbis, Triumviratum legendi senatus, & alterum recognoscendi turmas e-

in the seats assigned the senatorian order, and feasting publicly amongst the senators. And to the end that such as were chosen and approved of, might discharge their duty the more religiously, and with less trouble, he ordered that every man, before he took his seat in the house, should pay his devotions, with an offering of frankincence and wine, at the altar of that God, in whose temple the senate should assemble, and that their stated meetings should be only twice a month, i. e. upon the Kalends and Ides. And that in the months of September and October, a certain number only chosen by lot, such as the law required to give a resolution of the house the force of a decree, should be obliged to give their attendance. He resolved upon the choice of a new privy council every six months, in order to consider beforehand with them, upon such things as he had a mind at any time to lay before the house. He likewise ask'd the opinions

36. He likewise introduced several other alterations in the public management; as that the acts of the senate should not be published, nor the magistrates sent into the provinces immediately after the time of their office expired; and that the proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mulas and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons: that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the city quæstors to prætorian that ten commissioners should call the of quæstors.

37. And in order to employ more hands in the management of the public affairs, he invented several new offices, as for the superintendancy of the public buildings, roads, waters, the channel of the Tiber, for the distributing of corn to the people; the præfecture of the city, a triumvirate for the choice of the senators, and another for ta-quitum

quitum, quotiescunque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit, numerum prætorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quoties consularatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet: nec obtinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis majestatem ejus imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

crying out upon the occasion, that he stooped below his grandeur sufficiently, in holding the office not alone, but in conjunction with another.

38. Nec parciot in bellica virtute honoranda, super xxx duobus justos triumphos, & aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit. Liberis senatorum, quo celerius Reip. adfuescerent, protinus virilem togam, latum clavum induere, & curiæ interesse permisit: militiamque auspiciantibus, non tribunatum modo legionum, sed & præfecturas alarum dedit: ac ne quis expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios præposuit singulis alis. Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more transvectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in transvehendo ab accusatore passus est; quod fieri solebat: & senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, præmissis in ordine equo, ad respondendum, quoties citarentur, pedibus venire: mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis qui majores annorum quinque & triginta retinere eum nollent.

names, when called upon: and in a little time allowed the favour of giving up their horse, to such as being above five and thirty years of age, had no mind to keep him any longer.

39. Impetratisque à senatu decem adjutoribus, unumquemque equitum rationem vitæ reddere coegit: atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit: plures admonitione, sed varia. Le-

king an account of the several troops of the equestrian order obliged to serve the state in the wars on horseback. He revived too the office of the censors, which had been a long time laid aside, and increased the number of the prætors. He likewise insisted, that as oft as the consulship was conferred upon him, he should have two colleagues instead of but one, but could not prevail as to that point, all unanimously

38. Nor was he less careful to reward military merit; he granted to above thirty generals the honour of the great triumph, and took care to have triumphal ornaments voted by the senate for more than that number. And in order to bring the senators sons sooner acquainted with affairs of state, he permitted them, at the same time they took upon them the manly habit, to assume the senatorian tunick too, and to be present at the debates of the house. And when they entered the service of their country in the wars, he gave them not only tribunes's commissions, but likewise the command of the auxiliary horse of a legion. And that none might want an opportunity of attaining to a sufficient experience in military affairs, he commonly put two senators sons in commission together for the command of the said Horse. He frequently reviewed the troops of horse belonging the state, reviving the ancient custom of transvection, after it had been long laid aside. But did not suffer any one to be obliged by his accuser to dismount, whilst he pass'd in review, as had been usual before: and for such as were infirm with age, or any ways deformed, he suffered them to send their horse before them, and to answer only to their

39. And having obtained ten assistants from the senate, he obliged every one of the horsemen to give an account his life: and of such as he disapproved of, some he set a mark of infamy upon, and others he punished other ways. The most part he only reprimanded.

nissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarum, quos taciti, & ibidem statim legerent. Notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati, graviore scœnore collocassent.

it out again upon a much higher

40. Comitiiis tribunitiis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus Romanis creavit: ita ut potestate transacta, in utro vellent ordine, manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio, spectare ludos è quatuordecim non auderent, metu poenæ theatrialis; pronuntiavit, non teneri ea quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census unquam fuisset. Populi recensum vicatim egit: ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius à negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum, quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit: sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rarsus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum jus reduxit: ac multiplici poena coercito ambitu, Fabianis & Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid à quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula millia nummum à se dividebat. Magni præterea existimans, sincerum, atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum: & civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit, & manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Græco petenti rescripsit, *Non aliter se daturum quam si præsens sibi persuasisset quam justas petendi causas haberet.* Et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti, civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit: affirmans, *Se facilius passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanae vulga-*

ded, some one way, and some another: but the most gentle manner of reproof was, by delivering them wax-tablets, which they were obliged to read to themselves immediately upon the spot. Some he disgraced for taking up money at low interest, and letting

consideration.
40. In the election of tribunes, if there were not candidates enough of the senatorian order, he supplied the want of them out of the equestrian; granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in which of the two orders they pleased. And because most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the late civil wars, and for that reason durst not sit to see the publick diversions in the theatre, in the seats assigned to their order, for fear of the punishment provided by law in that case, he publickly declared, that none were liable to the lash of that law, who had either themselves, or their parents, ever had a knight's estate. He took the survey of the Roman people street by street: and that the commonalty might not be too frequently taken from their business, to attend the publick distribution of corn, he intended to deliver out tickets for four months, in order to their receiving so much at once, and so but three times a year: but at their request, he allowed them it monthly as before. He revived the former usage in elections, and endeavoured to prevent bribery by the enacting of various penalties against it. And therefore upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sesterces each, that they might not expect any thing from any of the candidates. Being too very much concerned to preserve the Roman people pure and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he both gave the freedom of the city very sparingly, and put some restraint upon the practice of manumitting slaves. And when Tiberius interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in behalf of a Greek client of his, he writ him for answer, That he should not grant it, unless he came

ri honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus à libertate, & multo pluribus à libertate iusta, removisse : cum & de numero & de conditione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur, curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adjecit, ne vinctus unquam tortusve quis, ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur. Etiam habitum vestitumq; pristinum reducere studuit. Ac visa quondam pro concione pul-latorum turba, indignabundus & clamitans : En, ait,

ted, that none who had ever been bound in chains, or put to the rack, should in any degree obtain the freedom of the city. He endeavoured too to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans ; and upon seeing once an assembly of the people in black cloath, he cryed out with indignation, Behold,

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

The Masters of the World, a Nation clad
In Latian dress.

Negotium ædilibus dedit ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro Circove, nisi positis lacernis, rogatum consistere.

41. Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter exhibuit, Nam & in-vecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza, tantam copiam nummarie rei effecit, ut fœnore diminuto, plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit. Et postea quoties ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum ejus gratuitum iis qui cavere in duplum possent, ad certum tempus indul- sit. Senatorum censum ampliavit : ac pro octingentorum millium summa duodecies HS. taxavit, supplevitq; non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversæ fere summæ : modo quadragenos, modo tricenos : nonnunquam ducenos quin- quagenosque nummos, ac ne minores quidem pueros præte- rir, quamvis nonnisi ab undecimo ætatis anno accipere

himself, and gave him good satisfac- tion, as to the reasons he had to make that request. *And he denied Livia too, upon her desiring the same privilege for a tributary Gaul, but offered him an immunity from taxes, declaring, That he would much sooner suffer the revenue of his ex- chequer to be lessen'd, than the ho- nour of the freedom of Rome to be rendered too common. Not satisfied with debarring slaves from the benefit of a compleat freedom, by various le- gal difficulties, relating to the number, condition, and distinction of such as should be manumised, he moreover enac-*

ted, that none who had ever been bound in chains, or put to the rack, should in any degree obtain the freedom of the city. He endeavoured too to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans ; and upon seeing once an assembly of the people in black cloath, he cryed out with indignation, Behold,

He gave order to the ædiles not to suffer any Roman to stand in the Fo- rum or Circus with cloaks on.

41. He shew'd his generosity to all ranks of people upon several occasions : For upon bringing the treasure belong- ing to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money so very plentiful, that interest fell, and land rose considerably upon it. And afterwards, as oft as money came in fast upon him by confiscations, he would lend it out gratis to such as could give security for double the sum lent. The estate necessary to qualify a person for being chosen into the senate, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces, he ordered should be twelve hundred thousand for the fu- ture : and he made it up to this in the house, that had not so much. He gave frequent donatives to the people, but of different sums commonly, as some- times four hundred, sometimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty sesterces, upon which occasions he ex- tended his bounty even to little boys : whereas they were not used before to receive any thing till after they were eleven years of age. And in a scarci-

confuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonæ difficultatibus sæpe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio, viritum admensus est, tesserasque nummarias

42. Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, quærentem de inopia & caritatē vini populum, severissima coercuit voce: *Satis provsum a genero suo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines sitirent.* Eidem populo promissum quidem congiarium reposcenti, *Bona se fidei esse respondit: non promissum autem flagitanti, turpitudinem & impudentiam edicto exprobravit: affirmavitque, non daturum se quamvis dare destinarat.* Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiarii multos manumissos, insertosque civium numero, comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non esset: cæterisque minus quam promiserat, dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate, ac difficili remedio, cum venalitas & lanistarum familias, peregrinosque omnes, exceptis medicis & præceptoribus, partemque servitiorum, urbe expulisset: ut tandem annona convaleuit, impetum se cepisse scribit, frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi quod earum fiducia agrorum cessaret: neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet, posse per ambitionem quandoque restitui. Atque ira post hanc rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

at the publick expence; because they trusted so much to it, that they really neglected their tillage; but did not continue in that mind, because he was pretty sure, it would some time or other be revived again to please the people. And he so managed that affair ever after, that he had no less regard to the husbandmen and traders abroad, than the people of the city.

ty of corn, would oftentimes let them have it at a very low price, or none at all: and doubled the number of the money tickets.

duplicavit.

42. But to let the world see that he was a prince, who more regarded the good of his people than their favour, he reprimanded them, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearth of wine, very severely, in the following words, that his son-in-law Agrippa had sufficiently provided for the quenching of their thirst, by the great plenty of water he had supplied the town with. And upon their demanding a donative he had promised them, he told them he was a man of his word. But upon their importuning him for one he had not promised them, he upbraided them with their scandalous impudence by proclamation: and declared, he would give them nothing, tho' he had before designed it. And with the like firmness and steadiness, when upon a promise he had made them of a donative, he found many slaves had been manumitted, and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared none should receive any thing, to whom the promise had not been made, and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, that the sum he designed them might hold out. Once too in a barren season, when it was really no easy matter to find out a proper expedient, for the relief of the publick want, he ordered out of town all the companies of slaves brought thither for sale, the gladiators belonging to the masters of defence, and all foreigners, excepting physicians, and the teachers of the liberal sciences; and also a part of the slaves in every family. And when at last plenty was restor'd, he writes, That he had a good mind to have abolish'd for ever the practice of allowing the people corn

43. Spectaculorum & afflu-
ditate & varietate, atque
magnificencia, omnes ante-
cessit. Fecisse ludos se ait suo
nomine quater : pro aliis ma-
gistratibus, qui aut abessent,
aut non sufficerent, ter & vi-
cies. Fecitque nonnunquam
vicatim, ac pluribus scenis
per omnium linguarum histri-
ones : non in foro modo, nec
Amphitheatro, sed in Circo
& in Septis, & aliquando ni-
hil præter venationem edidit :
Athletas exstructis in campo
Martio sedilibus ligneis : item
navale prælium circa Tiberim
cavato solo : in quo nunc Cæ-
sarum nemus est. Quibus die-
bus custodes in urbe disposuit,
ne raritate remanentium gra-
fatoribus obnoxia esset. In
circo aurigas cursoresque &
confectores ferarum, & non-
nunquam ex nobilissima ju-
ventute, produxit. Sed & Tro-
jæ ludum edidit frequentissime,
majorum minorumve puero-
rum delectu : prisci decorique
moris existimans, claræ stirpis
indolem sic notescere. In hoc
ludicro C. Nonium Asprena-
tem lapsu debilitatum, aureo
torque donavit : passusque est
ipsum posterosque Torquati
ferre cognomen. Mox finem
fecit talia edendi, Asinius Pol-
lione oratore graviter invidio-
seque in curia questu Æserni-
ni nepotis sui casum, qui &
ipse crus effregerat. Ad sce-
nicas quoque & gladiatorias
operas, etiam equitibus Roma-
nis aliquando usus est : verum
prius quam senatusconsulto
interdiceretur. Postea nihil
fane, præterquam adolescentu-
lum Lucium honeste natum,
exhibuit : tantum ut ostende-
ret, quod erat bipedali minor,
librarium septemdecim, ac vo-
cis immensæ. Quodam autem
muneris die, Parthorum obsi-
des tunc primum missos, per
arenam mediam ad spectacu-

43. He exceeded all that went before
him, in the number, variety, and mag-
nificence of his publick diversions. Four
and twenty times, he says, he presented
the people with games, upon his own
account ; and three and twenty times
for such magistrates, as were either
absent, or not able to bear the expence :
and this he did sometimes up and down
the streets of the city, and upon sever-
al stages, by players in all languages.
The same he did not only in the Forum,
and Amphitheatre, but in the Circus
too, and in the Septa ; and sometimes
he only presented a hunting of wild
beasts. He entertained the people with
wrestlers in the field of Mars, where
wooden seats were erected for the pur-
pose ; as also with a sea fight, lower-
ing the ground neigh the river for it,
where now the grove of the Cæsars is.
And during the time of these two pub-
lick entertainments, he placed guards
in the city ; that it might not be ex-
posed, by reason of the small number of
people that was left in it, to robbers.
In the Circus he produced charioteers,
foot-racers, and killers of wild-beasts,
and those often of prime quality. He
frequently exhibited the Trojan game,
with a select number of greater or
lesser boys : thinking it both handsome
in it self, and suitable to the usage of
the Antients, to have the genius of the
young nobility thus displayed. He pre-
sented C. Nonius Asprenas, that got
lamed by a fall in this diversion,
with a golden chain, and allowed him
and his posterity to wear the surname
of Torquatus. But soon after he gave
over this sport, upon occasion of a se-
vere speech of Asinius Pollio the ora-
tor to the senate, wherein he complain-
ed heavily of the misfortune of his
grandson Æsernius, who had broke his
leg too in it. He sometimes made use
of Roman knights to act upon the stage,
or to fight as gladiators ; but that was
only before the practise was forbid, by
a decree of the senate. He went no
further after that, than only to pre-
sent to the view of the people a young
man named Lucius, of a good family,
that was not quite two foot high, and
weigh'd only seventeen pounds, but had
a prodigious voice. In one of his pub-
lick

lum induxit : superque se sub-
sellio secundo collocavit. So-
lebat etiam citra spectaculorum
dies, si quando quid inusita-
tum dignumque cognitu ad-
vectum esset, id extra ordinem
quolibet loco publicare : ut
rhinocerotem, apud Septa : ti-
grim, in scena : anguem
quinguentia cubitorum, pro
Comitio. Accidit vorivis
Circensibus, ut correptus va-
letudine, lectica cubans, then-
sas deduceret : rursus commis-
sione ludorum, quibus thea-
trum Marcelli dedicabat, eve-
nit ut laxatis sellæ curulis
compagibus caderet supinus.
Neponum quoque suorum mu-
nere, cum conternatum ruinæ
metu populum retinere, &
confirmare nullo modo posset,
transiit è loco suo, atque in
ea parte confedit quæ suspecta
maxime erat.

stop or encourage them by any means to stay, he removed from his place, and sat down in the part that was most suspected.

44. Spectandi confusissimum
ac solutissimum morem cor-
rexerit ordinavitque : motus
injuriam senatoris, quem Put-
olis per celeberrimos ludos
confessu frequenti nemo rece-
perat. Facto igitur decreto
patrum, ut quoties quid spec-
tandum usquam publice edere-
tur, primus subselliorum ordo
vacaret senatoribus : Romæ
legatos liberarum sociarumque
gentium vetuit in orchestra
confidere : cum quosdam eti-
am libertini generis mitti de-
prehendisset. Militem secre-
vit a populo. Maritis è plebe
propriis ordines assignavit :
prætexatis cuneum suum, &
proximum pædagogis : sanx-
itque ne quis pullatorum me-
dia cavea federet. Fœminis
ne gladiatores quidem, quos
promiscue spectari solenne o-
lim erat, nisi ex superiore lo-
co spectare concessit. Solis
virginibus Vestalibus locum
in theatro separatim, & con-

lick diversions, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first that had appeared at Rome from that nation, through the middle of the theatre, and placed them in the second gallery above him. He used too, at times when no publick entertainments were going forward, if anything was brought to town, uncommon and worth the seeing, to expose it to publick view, in any place whatever : as he did a Rhinoceros in the Septa, a Tiger upon a stage, a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed upon a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the Thensa, lying upon a couch. Again, in the games celebrated for the opening of Marcellus's theatre, the joints of his ivory seat happening to come loose, he fell upon his back. And in the publick diversion exhibited by his grand-sons, the people being sorely frightened with the apprehension of the theatre's falling, when he found he could not

means to stay, he removed from his place, and sat down in the part that was most suspected.
44. The confused disorderly manner of sitting to see the publick diversion, he rectified, upon occasion of an affront put upon a senator at Puteoli, whom, in a full assembly at the publick games, no body would make room for. He thereupon procured a decree of the senate, that in all publick diversions, and in all places, the first row of seats should be left empty for the senators. He would not suffer the ambassadors of free nations, and such as were allies of Rome, to sit in that part of the theatre assigned the senate, having discovered that some manumitted slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married men amongst the commonalty their proper seats. To the boys he assigned his own Cuneus, and the next to it to such as had the charge of them : and ordered that none clothed in black should sit in the middle part of the Cavea. Nor would he so much as allow the women to see the gladiators perform, but from the upper part thereof, who were

tra prætoris tribunal, dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebrem sexum omnem adeo submovit, ut Pontificalibus ludis pugilum par postularum distulerit in sequentis diei matutinum tempus: edixitque, *Mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum, non placere.*

batants the people called for, till the next morning, and signified by proclamation, his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five a clock.

45. Ipse Circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cœnaculis spectabat interdum è pulvinari, & quidem cum conjuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat: petita venia, commendatisque qui suam vicem præsidendo fungerentur. Verum quoties adesset, nihil præterea agebat: seu virandi rumoris causa quo patrem Cæsarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum, epistolis, libellisque legendis, ac rescribendis vacaret: seu studio spectandi, ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit unquam, & sæpe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria & præmia alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis & crebra, & grandia de suo offerebat: nullique Græco certamini interfuit, quo non pro merito certantium quemque honoraverit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles & maxime Latinos: non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Græcis solebat: sed & catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantes temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo præbentium, etiam cura sua dignatus est. Athletis et conservavit privilegia, & ampliavit. Gladiatores sine

used before to take their place: promiscuously with the rest of the company upon that occasion. Only to the vestal virgins he granted a place in the theatre by themselves, opposite to the prætor's bench. But entirely excluded the whole sex from seeing the wrestlers perform their parts, so that in the games he exhibited upon his taking the office of high priest, he deferred the producing a pair of com-

batants the people called for, till the next morning, and signified by proclamation, his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five a clock.

45. He generally view'd the Circensian games from apartments of his friends or freed-men, sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the gods, and sitting too together with his wife and children. He would absent himself from these publick sights for several hours, and sometimes whole days; but not without begging pardon first, and recommencing some to preside at them in his room. But as oft as he was present, he minded nothing else; either to avoid the reflection that he used to lay was commonly made upon his father Cæsar, for perusing letters and memoirs, and answering them in writing, whilst he was present at the publick diversions, or out of a real fancy he had for the sport, and the pleasure he took in it; which he was so far from concealing, that he oftentimes ingenuously own'd it. Wherefore he used frequently to make considerable gratifications to the best performers in the diversions exhibited by others. Nor was he ever present at any publick performance of Greeks, without rewarding the most deserving, according to merit. He loved mightily to see the boxers perform, and especially the Latine, not only such as had been trained up to it by rules of art, which he used often to match with the Greek champions, but the very townsmen that would fight in the streets without any art at all. Finally he vouchsaf'd to take under his care all such as acted any part in these publick entertainments of the people. He preserved to the wrestlers their priviledge, and enlarged them too. He would not suffer the gladiators to fight without the

missione edi prohibuit. Coercitionem in histriones, magistratibus, in omni tempore & loco, lege vetere permiffam, ademittit: præterquam ludis & scena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certationes, aut gladiatorum pugnas severiffime femper exegit. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circumtonfam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina theatra virgis cæsum relegaverit: Hylam pantomimum, querente prætor, in atrio domus suæ, nemine excluso, flagellis verberaverit: & Pyladem urbe arque Italia submoverit, quod spectatorem, à quo exhibebatur, demonstrasset digito, conspicuumque fecisset.

excursus. And Pylad: he banished the city and Italy too, for pointing with his finger at, and turning the eyes of the company upon, a spectator by whom he was hissed.

45. Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis, ITALIAM duodeciginta coloniarum numero deductarum ab se frequentavit, operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis plurifariam instruxit: etiam jure ac dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adæquavit: excogitato genere suffragiorum, quæ de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici, in sua quisque colonia ferrent, & sub diem comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia, aut multitudinis soboles, equestrem militiam perentis etiam ex commendatione publica cujusque oppidi ordinabat: at iis qui è plebe regiones sibi reviventi filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum millia pro singulis dividebat.

allowance of life to the party worsted. He took away from the magistrates the power of correcting the stage-players, which by an ancient law, was allowed them at all times and in all places, and allow'd it only during the plays, and upon the stage, yet he would not abate the wrestlers or gladiators any thing at all of their service, and confined them strictly to the rules of discipline. He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio an actor of latin plays kept a married woman with her hair cut short, and dressed in boy's cloaths, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipp'd through all the three theatres, and banish'd him. And Hylas the pantomimick, upon a complaint against him by the prætor, he commanded to be soundly scourged with a whip, in the court of his own house, and admitted all that would to see the

46. Having thus regulated the city and the affairs thereof, he replenished Italy by the planting of twenty colonies in it, and very much improved it by publick works, and a revenue in taxes settled upon the several colonies, and equalled it in some measure in privileges and dignity to the city itself, by inventing a new sort of suffrages, which the members of the governing council in every colony, should give at home in the election of the magistrates in Rome, and send under seal to the city, about the time of the election. And in order to augment the number of persons of condition, and encourage propagation amongst the inferiour people, he allowed the petitions of all such who requested the honour of serving in the wars on horseback, provided they were recommended by the town where they lived: and to such of the commonalty as upon his viewing the several quarters of Italy, presented him with sons or daughters lawfully begot, he distributed a thousand sesterces a head.

47. Provincias validiores, & quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit: cæteras proconsulibus sortito permisit: & tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum: atque ex utroque genere plerasque sæpius adiit. Urbinum quasdam fœderatas, sed ad exitium licentia præcipientes, libertate privavit: alias, aut ære alieno laborantes, levavit; aut terræmotu subversas denuo condidit: aut merita ergo pop. Roman. allegantes, Latinitate, vel civitate, donavit. Non est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta duntaxat Africa & Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has, fugato Sexto Pompejo, trajicere ex Sicilia apparantem, continuè & immo dicæ tempestates inhibuerunt, nec mox occasio aut causa trahendi fuit.

48. Regna, quibus belli jure potitus est, præter pauca, aut iisdem, quibus ademerat, reddidit, aut alienigenis contulit. Reges socios etiam inter semetipsos necessitudinibus mutuis junxit: promissimus affinitatis cujusque atque amicitie conciliator & fautor: nec aliter universos, quam membra partesque imperii, curæ habuit. Rectorem quoque solitus est apponere ætate parvis, ac mente lapsis donec adoleverent aut relipiscerent: ac plurimorum liberos & educavit simul cum suis & instituit.

49. Ex militaribus copiis legiones & auxilia provinciæ distribuit: classem Misenum, & alteram Ravennæ, ad tutelam superi & inferi maris, collocavit. Certum numerum partim in urbis, partim in sui custodiam allegit: dimissa Calaguritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium:

47. The more able provinces, and such as could not with ease or safety be entrusted to the government of the annual magistrates, he reserved to his own management; the rest he disposed of by lot to the proconsuls, yet he made an exchange sometimes, and frequently visited most of both kinds in person. Some cities that were confederate indeed with Rome, but by their extravagant behaviour seem'd ripe for destruction, he deprived of their liberty. Others that were very much in debt he relieved, and rebuilt such as had been overthrown by earthquakes: and such as could produce any instance of their having deserved well of the Roman people, he presented with the privilege of Latium, or the freedom of the city. There is not a province, I think, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. After he had driven Sextus Pompeius into those provinces, he was preparing indeed to pass over, but was prevented by violent storms, that continued for some time without intermission. And soon after the occasion ceased.

48. Kingdoms, which he had made himself master of by right of conquest, excepting a few, he either restored to such as he had taken them from, or gave them to strangers. Kings his allies he linked together in all the mutual bonds of union being always ready to promote or favour any proposal of marriage or friendship amongst them, and indeed treated them all with the same regard, as if they were members and parts of the empire. For such of them as were minors or lunatics he appointed guardians, till such time as they came at age, or recovered their senses; and the sons of a great many he was pleased should be educated and instructed with his own.

49. Of the military forces, he disposed of the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces. He posted a fleet at Misene, and another at Ravenna, for the security of the upper and lower sea. He selected a certain number of the forces for the guard partly of the city, and partly of his own person. And dismissed the body of the Calaguritanians, which

item

item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam, inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est: easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna & æstiva, circa finitima oppida dimittere assuevit. Quidquid autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum præmiorumque formulam adstinxit: definitis pro gradu cuiusque, & temporibus militiæ, & commodis missionum: ne aut ætate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate summus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, ærarium militare cum vectigalibus novis instituit. Et quo celerius, ac sub manu anuntiari cognoscique posset quid in provincia quaque gereretur, juvenes primo, modicis intervallis per militares vias, dehinc vehicula, disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut, qui à loco eidem perferrent litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigenter, possent.

questioned about the business, if

50. In diplomatis libellisque & epistolis signandis, initio Sphinge usus est: mox imagine Magni Alexandri: novissime sua, Dioscoridis manu sculpta, qua signare infecuti quoque principes perseveraverunt. Ad epistolas omnes, horarum quoque momenta, nec diei modo, sed & noctis, quibus datæ significarentur, addebat.

51. Clementiæ civilitatisque ejus multa & magna documenta sunt. Ne numerem quot & quos diversarum partium venia & incolumitate donatos, principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Junium Novatum & Cassium Patavinum, è plebe homines, alterum pecunia,

he kept about him, till the overthrow of Anthony. He did the same too by the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards, till the disaster of Varus. And yet he never suffered more than three battalions in the city, and that without any camp. The rest he used to dispose of in the neighbouring towns about the city, in winter and summer-quarters. All the troops throughout the empire he reduced to one certain model, with respect to their pay, and the rewards to be conferred upon their being honourably discharged the service, determining according to every one's station in the troops, both the time he was to serve, and the advantages he was to have, upon a fair discharge, that they might not be tempted by their age and necessities to raise disturbances. And in order to establish a perpetual and easy fund, for the maintenance and rewards, he appointed a military exchequer, with new taxes for the supply of it. And to have the speedier intelligence of what passed in the provinces, he at first posted, at moderate distances, young men all along the great roads for the troops, and afterwards running chairs, which appeared the more commodious, because the persons that brought him the letters, might be there was any occasion.

50. In the sealing of patents, instructions, or letters, he at first made use of the figure of a Sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander the great, and at last his own, engraven by the hand of Dioscorides, which the following princes likewise continued to make use of. He was very particular in the dating of his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day, or night, in which they were dispatched.

51. The instances of his clemency and moderation are both many and considerable. For not to reckon up how many, and who they were of the opposite party, that he pardoned, and suffered to rise to the highest eminence in the city: he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus, and Cassius Patavinus, both commoners, the one with a fine laid upon him, and the other with an easy banishment, tho' the former had pub-
alter

alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit: cum ille Agrippæ juvenis nomine, asperri-
mam de se epistolam in vul-
gus edidisset: hic convivio pleno proclamasset, *Neque vo-
rum sibi neque animum de-
esse confodiendi eum.* Qua-
dam vero cognitione, cum
Æmilio Eliano Cordubensi
inter cætera crimina vel max-
ime objiceretur, quod male
opinari de Cæsare soleret:
conversus ad accusatorem,
commotoque similis: *Velim,*
inquit, *hoc mihi probes: faci-*
am, sciat Elianus & me lin-
guam habere: plura enim de
eo loquar. Nec quidquam ultra
aut itatim aut postea inquisi-
vit. Tiberio quoque de eadem
re sedulo violentius apud se per
epistolam conquerenti, ita re-
scripsit. *Ætati tua, mi Tiberi,*
noli in hac re indulgere, & ni-
mium indignari quemquam esse
qui de me male loquatur. Satis
est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis
nobis male facere possit.

52. Templâ quamvis sciret
etiam proconsulibus decerni
solere: in nulla tamen pro-
vincia, nisi communi suo Ro-
mæque nomine recepit; nam
in urbe quidem pertinacissime
abstinuit hoc honore. Atque
etiam argenteas statuas olim
sibi positas conflavit omnes:
exque iis aureas cortinas Ap-
pollini Palatino dedicavit.
Dictaturam, magna vi of-
ferente populo, genu nixus,
dejecta ab humeris toga, nu-
do pectore deprecatus est.

and his breast exposed, begg'd
53. Domini appellationem,
ut maledictum & opprobrium
semper exhorruit. Cum spec-
tante eo ludos, pronuntiatum
esset in mimo, *O dominum*
aquum & bonum: & univer-
si quasi de ipso dictum exul-
tantes comprobassent: & sta-
tim manu vultuque indecoras
adulationes repressit, & infe-

lished in the name of young Agrippa
a very scurrilous letter against him,
and the other declared openly at an
entertainment, where there was a great
deal of company, that he neither
wanted inclination or courage to
stab him. And in the trial of Æmi-
lius Elianus of Corduba, when amongst
other crimes charged upon him, this
was particularly insisted upon, that he
was used to reflect upon Cæsar, turn-
ing in a seeming passion to his accuser.
I wish, said he, you could make
that appear, I shall let Elianus know
that I have a tongue too, and re-
turn him more ill language than e-
ver he gave me. Nor did he either
then or at any time after make any
further enquiry into the matter. And
when Tiberius in a letter to him com-
plained heavily about it, he returned
him an answer in the following words.
Do not, my dear Tiberius, give way
to the heat of youth in this affair,
or be in such a mighty chafe, that
any one should reflect upon me.
It's sufficient, that we have it in
our power, to prevent any one's do-
ing us a mischief.

52. Tho' he knew it had been custo-
mary to decree temples for the proconsuls,
yet he would not, in the provinces, al-
low of any to be erected, but to the ho-
nour of himself and the city Rome in
conjunction. But in the city it self, he
absolutely refused any honour of that
kind. He melted down all the sil-
ver statues that had been erected for
him, and purchased therewith silver
triposses which he consecrated to Apollo
Palatinus. And when the common
people importuned him to accept the dic-
tatorship, he fell upon one knee, and
with his toga thrown from his shoulders,
to be excused.

53. He always abhorred the title of
lord, as a scandalous affront. And
when in a mimick piece presented in
the theatre, the following words came
up, *O just and gracious Lord,*
and the whole company with joy signified
their approbation of them, as being ap-
plied to himself; he both immediately
put a stop to their indecent flattery, by
the waving of his hand, and the seve-
quenti

quenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto, dominumque se post hac appellari, ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis, vel serio vel joco, passus est: atque hujusmodi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus, aut quoquam ingressus est, nisi vespere aut noctu: ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu, pedibus fere, extra consulatum, sæpe adoperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat & plebem: tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam joco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephantum stiperem. Die senatus nunquam patres nisi in curia salutavit, & quidem sedentes ac nominatim singulos, nullo submonente: & discedens eo modo sedentibus singulis, vale dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit: nec prius dies cuiusque solennes frequentare desist, quam grandior jam natu, & in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Terrinium senatorem, minus sibi familiarem, sed caput repente oculis, & ob id inedia mori destinantem, præfens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

Gallus Terrinius a senator he had but a very slight acquaintance with, that was suddenly taken blind, and for that reason had resolved to starve himself to death, and by the consolation he gave him, brought him to another mind.

54. In senatu verba facienti dictum est, Non intellexi: & ab alio, Contradicerem tibi si locum haberem. Interdum ob immodicas altercationes disciprantium e curia per iram se proripienti, quidam ingressi sunt, Licere oportere senatoribus de Republ. loqui. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum, hostem olim ejus, & tunc exultantem, legit:

city of his looks, and the next day gave them a sharp reprimand for it by a proclamation. And would never after suffer himself to be called Lord, so much as by his own children or grand-children, either in jest or earnest, and forbid them the use of all such kind of complaisance to one another. He scarce ever went out of, or entered any city or great town, but in the evening or the night, that he might give no body the trouble of attending him. In his consulships he commonly walked the streets on foot, but at other times was carried in a close chair. He admitted the commonalty, promiscuously with people of better fashion, to pay their respects to him, receiving the petitions of such as came to wait upon him, with so much complaisance, that he merrily chid one man, by telling him. That he presented his memoir with as much hesitation, as if he was offering money to an elephant. Upon the days that the senate assembled, he used to pay his respects to the members only in the house, as they sat, addressing them singly by name, without a prompter, and at his leaving the house, he in like manner bid them every one farewell. He had with many a constant intercourse of mutual civilities, and used to give them his company upon any solemn occasion of Joy in their families, till he was now grown elderly, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding. He went to see

54. As he was speaking in the senate, one said I did not understand you; and another, I would contradict you, could I do it with safety. And sometimes upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were managed in the senate, as to quit the house in anger, some of the members would cry out over and over again, Surely the senators ought to have the liberty of speech with respect to matters of government. Antistius Labeo in the election of a interrogatusque

interrogatusque ab eo, an essent alii digniores, Suum quemque judicium habere respondit. Nec ideo libertas, aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

every man had his fancy. Nor was any one ever molested for this freedom and contradiction of him.

55. Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos, nec expavit, nec magna cura redarguit. Ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus, id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cujuscumque sub alieno nomine edant. account, that publish'd libels or lampoons against any one under a borrowed name.

56. Jocis quoque quorumdam invidiosis aut petulantibus lacescit, contraxit edicto. Et tamen de inhibenda testamentorum licentia, ne senatus quidquam constitueret, intercessit. Quoties magistratum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circumibat : supplicabatque more solemnibus. Ferebat & ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in judiciis & interrogari & refelli æquissimo animo patiebarur. Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Nunquam filios suos populo commendavit, ut non adjiceret, Si mererentur. Eisdem prætextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro, & à stantibus plausum, gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos & potentes in civitate esse voluit ut tamen pari jure essent quocumque, legibusque judiciariis æque tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius arctius ei junctus, causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo, dicret : consuluit senatum quid officii sui putaret : Cunctari enim se ne, si superesset, eriperet legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac

new Senate, wherein every man as he was named chose another; pitched upon M. Lepidus, that had formerly been his Enemy, and was then in banishment; and being ask'd by him, if there were not others more deserving, he reply'd, was any one ever molested for this freedom

55. When some infamous libels against him were scattered in the senate-house, he was neither disturb'd at them, nor gave himself much trouble to confute them. Nay he would not so much as order any Enquiry to be made after the Authors; only gave it as his opinion to the House, that for the future, those persons should be called to an account

56. Being provok'd by some saucy jests that were design'd to render him odious, he answer'd them by proclamation: And yet he prevented the senate's passing an act, to restrain the licentious freedom, that was taken in wills. As oft as he attended at the election of magistrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and begged the votes of the people in the usual manner. He likewise gave his vote in his tribe, like one of the people. He very contentedly suffered himself to be summoned as a witness upon trials, and to be questioned and confuted too. He made his Forum less than he could have wish'd it, not presuming to force the neighbouring houses from the owners. He never recommended his sons to the people, without the addition of these words, if they deserve it. And upon their rising up to them in the Theatre, whilst they were as yet under age, and clapping them standing, he made most heavy complaint. He was for having his friends great and powerful in the city, but not above the law, any more than other men. When Asprenas Nonius an intimate friend of his was try'd for the crime of poisoning, at the Prosecution of Cassius Severus, he consulted the senate for their opinion, what was his duty upon that occasion: For he was fearful, he said, lest if he should stand by him in the cause, he should be thought to screen him in defiance of
N predamnare

predamnare amicum existimaretur. Et consentientibus universis, sedit in subseiliis per aliquot horas: verum tacitus ac ne laudatione quidem iudiciali data. Affuit & clientibus sicut Scutario cuidam, evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur injuriarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero, ac ne eum quidem, nisi precibus eripuit, exoraro coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de conjuratione Murenæ cognoverat.

57. Pro quibus meritis quantopere dilectus sit, facile est æstimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quæ possunt videri vel necessitate expressa, vel verecundia. Equites Romani natalem ejus sponte atque consensu, biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro salute ejus stipem jaciebant: item Kalendis Januariis strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti: ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicarim dedicabat: ut Apollinem Sandaliarium, & Jovem Tragoedum, aliaque. In restitutionem Palatinæ domus incendio absumptæ, veterani, decuriones, tribus, atque etiam sigillatim e cætero genere hominum, libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt: delibante tantummodo eo summarum acervos, neque ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia, non solum faustis omnibus, sed & modulatis carminibus prosequabantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quoties introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam fumeretur.

58. Patris patriæ cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei. Prima

the laws; and if he did not, to desert him, and in his own opinion condemn him before his tryal. And by the unanimous consent of the house, he sat amongst the pleaders of his cause for several hours, but without saying so much as any thing in his commendation, according to custom, upon those occasions. He likewise appeared for his clients, as for Scutarius an old soldier of his, in an action of slander. He never exempted any from prosecution, but one by whom he had been inform'd of the conspiracy of Murena, and that he did too only, by prevailing with his accuser in open court, to drop his prosecution.

57. For which good behaviour how much he was beloved, is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the senate in his favour, which may seem to have been the effects of necessity or modesty. The Roman knights did voluntarily, and by consent, celebrate the remembrance of his birth always for two days together. And all the several orders of the people, did every year, in consequence of a vow they had made for that purpose, throw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, for his health: and likewise upon the first of January, presented him with new years gifts in the capitol, tho' he was not there himself, with which sum he bought some very costly images of the Gods, which he erected in several streets of the city: as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, and Jupiter Tragoedus, and others. When his house in the Palatium was burnt down, the veteran soldiers, the judges, and all the people, jointly and separately, contributed each man according to his ability for the rebuilding it, tho' he would accept only of some small portion out of the several summs raised, and would take no more from any single heap, than a single denarius. Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they not only attended him with joyful acclamations, but songs too. And whenever he entered the city, they constantly forbore that day the punishment of malefactors.

58. The whole body of the people upon a sudden motion, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of father

plebs legatione Antium missa : dein quia non recipiebar, in-
eunti Romæ spectacula fre-
quens, & laureata : mox in
curia senatus : neque decreto,
neque acclamatione, sed per
Valerium Messalam id man-
dantibus cunctis : Quod bo-
num, inquit, faustumque sit
tibi, domusque tue, Caesar Au-
guste : (sic enim nos perpetuam
felicitatem Reipubl. & leta
huic precari existimamus) Sen-
te consentiens cum pop. Rom.
consalutat **PATRIÆ PATREM**.
Cui lacrymans respondit Au-
gustus his verbis (ipsa enim
sicut Messalæ, posui :) Com-
pos factus votorum meorum,
Patres C. quid habeo aliud deos
immortales precari, quam ut
hunc consensum vestrum ad ul-
timum vite finem mihi per-
ferre liceat ?

wishes, o fathers of the senate,
hands of the immortal Gods,
affection for me, to the last

59. Medico Antonio Musæ,
cujus opera ex ancipiti morbo
convalescerat, statuem, ære
collato, juxta signum Æscu-
lapii statuerunt. Nonnulli
patrum familiarum, testamen-
to caverunt ut ab hereditibus
suis, prælato victimæ titulo,
in capitolium ducerentur, vo-
tumque pro se solveretur,
QUOD SUPERSTITEM
AUGUSTUM RELI-
QUISSSENT. Quædam Ita-
liæ civitates diem, quo pri-
mum ad te venisset, ini-
tium anni fecerunt. Provin-
ciarum pleræque super tem-
pla & aras, ludos quoque
quinquennales pæne oppida-
tim constituerunt.

60. Reges amici atque socii,
& singuli in suo quisque reg-
no, Cæsareas urbes condide-
runt : & cuncti simul, ædem
Jovis Olympici, Athenis an-
tiquitus inchoatam, perficere
communi sumptu destinave-
runt, Genioque ejus dedicare :
ac sæpe regnis relictis, non

ther of his country. And first the
common people by a deputation sent to
him at Antium ; and upon his refu-
sal, they did it a second time, in a full
theatre, with laurel crowns on their
heads : and soon after the senate in
their house, not in the way of acclama-
tion or decree, but by commission to M.
Messala, whereby he was ordered to
complement him therewith, as he ac-
cordingly did in the following words.
With hearty wishes for the happiness
of your self and your family, Caesar
Augustus, (for so we think we most
effectually pray for the welfare of
the publick) the senate, in conjunc-
tion with the people, salute you by
the title of **FATHER OF YOUR**
COUNTRY. To which complement
Augustus with tears in his eyes re-
plied, in the following words, (for I
put down the very words, as I have
done those of Messala) Having
now obtained the utmost of my
wishes, what else have I left to beg at the
hands of the immortal Gods, but the continuance of this your
moments of my life?

59. They raised by common contribu-
tion a statue nigh that of Æscula-
pius, for the physician Antonius Musa,
who had cured him of a dangerous di-
stemper. Some persons ordered in their
wills, that their heirs should carry vic-
tims into the capitol, with a scroll before
them, to signify the occasion, that they
were to be offered for the satisfaction of
a vow, SINCE THEY HAD LEFT
AUGUSTUS BEHIND THEM IN THE
WORLD. Some cities of Italy appointed
the day upon which he first came there, to
be for ever after the first day of their
year : and most of the provinces besides
temples and altars, erected to his ho-
nour, instituted games, to be celebra-
ted, in almost every great town, for
the same purpose, every five years.

62. The kings his friends and allies,
each of them in their several king-
doms, built cities under the name of
Cæsarea. And all by consent resolved
at their common charge to finish a
temple of Jupiter Olympius, which had
been begun at Athens a long time be-
fore, and consecrate it to his Genius.
And they would often leave their king-

Romæ modo, sed provincias peragranti quotidiana officia togati, ac sine regio insigni, more clientium præstiterunt.

when he was at Rome, but as he

61. Quoniam qualis in imperiis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque Rep. fuerit, exposui: referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem ejus vitam: quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi & inter suos egerit, à juvenra usque ad supremum vitæ diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu: sororem Octaviam, quinquagesimum & quartum agens ætatis annum. Utrique cum præcipua officia vivæ præstitisset, etiam defunctæ honores maximos tribuit.

62. Sponsam habuerat adolescentens P. Servilij Isaurici filiam: sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, & postulantibus utriusque militibus, ut & necessitudine aliqua jungerentur, privignam ejus Claudiam, Fulviæ ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem, vixdum nubilem. Ac simulate cum Fulvia socru exorta, dimisit intactam adhuc, & virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit, nuptam ante duobus consularibus, & ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac etiam divortium fecit, pertæsus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem ejus: ac statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberij Neronis, & quidem prægnantem, abduxit, veranter.

63. Ex Scribonia Juliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus. Juliam primum Marcello Octaviæ sororis suæ filio, tantum quod pueritiam egresso: deinde ut is obiit, M. Agrippæ nuptum dedit: exorata sorore ut sibi

doms, and in a Roman dress, and laying aside the badges of their royal dignity, attend and complement him daily, as clients do their patrons, not only as clients do their patrons, not only

61. Having thus given an account of his behaviour in his offices both civil and military, and his management in the government of the empire, both in peace and war; I shall in the next place present the reader with an account of his private and domestick life, the manner of his behaviour at home, amongst his relations and dependents, and the fortune attending him in that way of life, from his youth, to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first consulship, and his sister Octavia, when he was going upon the fifty fourth year of his age. He had carried with the utmost kindness to them both whilst living, and paid them the highest honours upon their decease.

72. He was contracted very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but after his reconciliation with Anthony, the armies on both sides insisting upon a further alliance by marriage betwix them, he married his step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, tho' she was scarce marriageable; and upon a difference arising with his mother in law Fulvia, divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon after he took to wife Scribonia, who had before been married to two consular gentlemen, and was a mother by one of them. But parted with her too, being quite tired out, as he writes himself, with the perverseness of her humour; and immediately took Livia Drusilla, tho' big with child from her husband Tiberius Nero, whom he continued extremely fond of ever after.

dilexitque & probavit unice ac perfecte.

63. He had his daughter Julia by Scribonia, but no children by Livia, tho' he very much desired it. She did indeed once conceive, but miscarried upon it. He disposed of his daughter Julia first to Marcellus his sister's son, but just at age, and after his death to Mark Agrippa, having prevailed with his sister, to resign up her Son in law to him, for at that time Agrippa had one of

genero

genero cederet. Nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat, & ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis, ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circumspectis conditionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit: coegitque pregnantem uxorem, & ex qua jam pater erat, dimittere. M. Antonius scribit, *Primum cum Antonio filio suo despondisse Fuliam: dein Corisoni Getarum regi: quo tempore sibi quoque petisse.*

64. Nepotes ex Agrippa & Julia tres habuit, Cajum, Lucium, & Agrippam: neptes duas, Juliam & Agrippinam. L. Paulo Censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Cajum & Lucium adoptavit domi per assem & libram emptos à patre Agrippa: tenerosque adhuc ad curam Reip. admovit: & consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam & neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuesceret: veraretque loqui, aut agere quidquam, nisi propalam, & quod in diurnos commentarios referretur. Extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque juveni, scripserit quondam. *Parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Bajæ salutatum venisset.* Nepotes & literas & natæ aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque; docuit ac nihil æque laboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum. Neque coenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent: neque iter fecit, nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequarentur. *ring at the feet of the bed: nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.*

65. Sed lærum eum atque tidentem & sobole & disciplina domus, fortuna destituit. Julias, filiam & neprem, omnibus probris contaminatas, re-

the Marcellas, and children by her too. And upon his death after he had for a long time considered of several matches for her in the Equestrian order, he pitched upon Tiberius his step-son for her, and obliged him to part with his wife at that time pregnant, and by whom he was already a father. M. Anthony writes, That he first contracted Julia to his son, afterwards to Coriso king of the Getæ, demanding at the same time the king's daughter in marriage for himself.

invicem filiam regis in matrimonium

64. He had three grand sons by Agrippa and Julia, Caius, Lucius and Agrippa; and two grand-daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to Lucius Paullus the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus his sister's grand-son. Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase from their father, and advanced them whilst yet but very young, to posts in the government, and after he had procured them to be chosen consuls, sent them to take a tour through the provinces of the empire, and the several armys. In the breeding of his daughter and grand daughters, he kept them close to their work, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the domestick diary: and so strictly forbid them all converse with strangers, that he once writ a letter to Lucius Vinicius a handsome young gentleman of a good family, wherein he told him, He had not behaved himself very modestly, in pretending to make his daughter a visit at Baizæ. He usually instructed his grand sons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of literature, and he laboured nothing more than to bring them to an imitation of his hand writing. And he never supped but he had them sitting at the feet of the bed: nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.

65. But in the midst of all his joy, and expectations of happiness in his children, from the care he took of their education, his fortune failed him. The two Julias his daughter and grand-daughters, were contaminated with all

legavit. Cajum & Lucium in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos : Cajo, in Lycia, Lucio, Massiliæ, detinuit. Tertium nepotem Agrippam, simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro, lege Curiata. Ex quibus Agrippam, brevi, ob ingenium fordidum ac ferox, abdicavit, sepelivitque Surrentum. Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit. Nam Caji Lucique casu non adeo fractus, de filia absens, ac libello per quaestorem recitato, notum lenatui fecit : abstinuitque congressu hominum diu, præ pudore : etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex conciliis liberta, Phœbe nomine, suspendio vitam finisset : *Maluisse se, ait, Phœbes patrem fuisse.* Relegatæ, usum vini, omnemque delicatorem cultum ademit : neque adiri à quopiam libero, servove nisi se consulto, permisit : & ita ut certior fieret, qua is ætate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Post quinquennium denum ex insula in continentem, lenioribusq; paullo conditionibus, transtulit eam : nam ut omnino revocarer, exorari nullo modo potuit : deprecanti sæpe populo Romano & pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque conjuges pro concione imprecatus. Ex nepte Julia, post damnationem, editum infantem agnosci aliq̃ue vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabilior, imo in dies amentior, in insulam transportavit, sepelivitque insuper custodia militum. Cavet etiam senatus consulto ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur : atque ad omnem & ejus & Juliarum mentionem in-

daughter proceeded to such a height of lewanness and debauchery, that he was obliged to banish them both. Caius and Lucius he lost within the compass of eighteen months ; Caius dying in Lycia, and Lucius at Massilles. His third grand-son Agrippa, together with his step-son Tiberius, he adopted in the forum, by a law passed for the purpose by the Curia, of which he soon after discarded Agrippa for his rude and insolent temper, and confined him at Surrentum. He bore the death of his relations with more patience than their scandalous behaviour. For he was not much dejected at the loss of Caius and Lucius, but his misfortune with respect to his daughter, he set forth to the senate in a narrative read to them by the quaestor, and was so much ashamed of her infamous behaviour, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. It is certain that when one Phœbe, a freedwoman & confident of her's hanged herself about the same time, he said upon it, That he could have wished he had been the father of Phœbe rather than Julia. In her banishment he would not allow her the use of wine or any thing of finery, nor would he suffer her to be waited upon by any one, either freeman or slave, without his knowledge and permission, and a particular information of his age, stature, complexion, and what marks or scars he had about him. At the five years end, he removed her out of the island of her confinement upon the continent, and allowed her a little better usage, but could never be prevailed with to take her home again. And upon the Roman people's interposing with him in her behalf several times, and using a great deal of importunity, he in a speech to them wished them all such daughters and wives as she was. He likewise forbid a child his grand-daughter Julia had after sentence against her, to be owned as any relation of his, and brought up. And Agrippa, who was never a whit more manageable, but grew madder every day, he transported into an island, and placed a guard of soldiers upon him. And procured an act of the senate for
gémiscens,

gemiscens, proclamare etiam
solebat,
Julias, he would with a heavy sigh, say,

his confinement there during life : and
upon any mention of him, and the two

Αἴψ' ἔφελον ἀγαμέ, τ' ἔμψαι, ἀγόντε τ' ἀπαλῆσαι !

Would I without a wife or child had died !

nec aliter illos appellare quam
tres vomicas, aut tria carcino-
mata sua.

nor did he ever use to call them by any
other name than that of his three im-
posthumes or cancers.

66. Amicitias neque facile
admisit, & constantissime re-
tinuit : non tantum virtutes
ac merita cujusque digne pro-
secutus, sed vitia quoque &
delicta dumtaxat modica per-
pessus. Neque enim temere,
ex omni numero, in amicitia
ejus afflicti reperientur, præter
Salvidienum Rufum, quem
ad consulatum usque ; &
Cornelium Gallum ; quem ad
præfecturam Ægypti, ex in-
fima utrumque fortuna, pro-
vexerat. Quorum alterum
res novas molientem, dan-
nandum senatui tradidit :
alteri ob ingratum & male-
volum animum, domo & pro-
vinciis suis interdixit. Sed
Gallo quoque & accusatorum
denuntiationibus & senatus
consûltis ad necem compulsò,
laudavit quidem pietatem
tantopere pro se indignantium :
cæterum & illacrymavit, &
vicem suam conquestus est,
quod sibi soli non liceret amicis,
quatenus vellet, irasci. Reliqui
potentia atque opibus ad finem
vitæ sui quisque ordinis prin-
cipes floruerunt : quamquam
& offensis intervenientibus.
Desideravit enim nonnun-
quam, ne de pluribus referam,
& M. Agrippæ patientiam, &
Mæcenatis taciturnitatem :
cum ille ex levi frigoris sus-
picionem, & quod Marcellus
sibi anteferreretur, Mitylenas
se, relictis omnibus, contulisset :
hic, secretum de comperta
Murenæ conjuratione uxori
Terentiæ prodidisset. Exegit
& ipse invicem ab amicis

66. He was not very forward to
begin a friendship, but when once he did
engage, was very constant in it, not
only rewarding very handsomely the
virtues and good services of his friends,
but bearing likewise with their faults
and vices, provided they were small
ones : for we shall hardly find any out
of all the number of his friends, that
fell into disgrace with him, besides Sal-
vidienus Rufus, whom he raised to the
consulship, and Cornelius Gallus whom
he made governor of Egypt, both of
them men of the lowest extraction. One
of which being engaged in a design to
raise a rebellion, he delivered up to the
senate, in order to condemnation : and the
other he discharged his family and the pro-
vinces under his direction, for his un-
grateful malicious temper. But when
Gallus was driven by the threats of his
accusers, and the votes of the senate a-
gainst him, to the desperate necessity of
killing himself, he commended indeed the
loyalty of the senate, that had expressed
so much resentment upon his account ;
but he shed tears, and lamented his un-
happy condition, That he alone could
not be permitted to be angry with
his friends to such a degree as he
thought proper. The rest of his friends,
continued during their whole lives to
make the greatest figure of their several
orders in power and estate ; notwith-
standing some ruffles that happened. For
to say nothing of others, he would some-
times complain of the want of patience
in Agrippa and of Taciturnity in Mæ-
cenas. The former from a suspicion of be-
ing out of favour, and because Marcel-
lus was preferred before him, having
withdrawn himself from all concern in
the government, and retired to Mitylena ;
and the latter having communicated to
his lady Terentia the secret of the disco-
benevolentiam

benevolentiam mutuam, tam à defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appetere hereditates, ut qui nunquam ex ignoti testamento capere quidquam sustinuerit: amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensitavit: neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius, aut citra honorem verborum: neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset. Legata, vel partes hereditatum, à quibuscumque parentibus relicta sibi, aut statim liberis eorum concedere, aut, si pupillari ætate essent, die virilis togæ, vel nuptiarum, cum incremento restituere consueverat.

67. Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis & clemens, multos libertorum in honore & usu maximo habuit: ut Licinium Enceladum, aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem, non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomedem dispensatorem, à quo simul ambulante, incurrenti repente fero apro per metum objectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxæ: remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit. Idem Proculum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit, compertum adulterare matronas: Thallo à manu, quod pro epistola prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura effregit. Pædagogum ministrumque Caji filii, per occasionem valetudinis mortisque ejus, superbe avareque in provincia grassantes, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus, præcipitavit in flumen.

68. Prima juvenia variorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. Sextus Pompejus ut effœminatum infectatus est. M. Antonius adoptionem avun-

very of Murana's conspiracy. He likewise expected a mutual benevolence from his friends both living and dying, for tho' he was far from coveting their estates, (as who never would accept of any legacy left him by a stranger) yet he examined their last sentiments of him express'd in their wills with a great deal of niceness, not being able to smother his concern, if they made but a slight, or no very honourable mention of him, nor his joy on the other hand, if they expressed a grateful sense of his favours, and a hearty affection for him. And what was left him by such as had children, he used to give up again to the children, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their taking upon them the manly habit, or wedding with interest.

67. He was an easy gentle patron and master both, but withall severe upon just occasion. He employ'd many of his freedmen in considerable posts about him, as Lucinius Enceladus and others. And when his slave Cosmus had reflected bitterly upon him, he proceeded no further against him, than only to put him in fetters. And when his steward Diomedes, as they were walking together, left him exposed to a wild boar that suddenly came upon them, he chose rather to charge him with cowardise, than any ill design, and turned a matter of no small hazard to his person into a jest, because there was nothing of treachery in the case. Proculus, who was one of the greatest favourites amongst all his freed-men he put to death, for being too free with other mens wives. He broke the legs of his secretary Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denarii to discover the contents of a letter of his. And his son Cains's tutor, and other attendants, upon the occasion of his sickness and death, behaving with great insolence and avarice in the province, he tied great weights about their necks, and threw them into a river.

68. In his youth he lay under the infamy of various aspersions. Sextus Pompey reviled him as an effeminate fellow. And M. Anthony told him that he had earned his adoption from his uncle by

culi stupro meritum. Item Lucius Marci frater, quasi pudicitiam delibatam à Cæsare, A. etiam Hirtio in Hispania CCC millibus nummum substraverit: solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardentis, quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed & populus quondam universus ludorum die, & accepit in contumeliam ejus, & assensu maximo comprobavit versum in scena pronuntiatum de Gallo matris Deum tympanizante,

Videsne ut cinadus orbem digito temperet !

See how the catamite his orb commands !

took it as designed to affront him, and signified their approbation of it with huge applause.

69. Adulteria quidem exerceuisse, ne amici quidem negant: excusantes sane, non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque mulieres exquireret. Marcus Antonius super festinatas Liviae nuptias objecit, & sceminam consularem à triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis, incomptiore capillo reductam: & dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam pellicis: & conditiones quasitas per amicos, qui matres familias & adultas ætate virgines denudarent, atque perspicerent, tanquam Thoranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipsum hoc familiariter adhuc, nec dum plane inimicus, aut hostis. Quid te mutavit? quod reginam in eo? uxor mea est. Nunc capi, an abhinc annos novem? tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? ita valeas uti tu, hanc epistolam cum legis, non inieris Tertullam, aut Terensillam, aut Rufillam, aut Salviam Titisceniam, aut omnes. Anne refert ubi & in quam arrigas?

prostitution. Lucius too, Mark's brother, twits him with the same; and that he had for a gratification of three hundred thousand sesterces, been humble servant to Aulus Hirtius in the same way, in Spain; and used to singe his legs with the flame of nutshells, to make the hair come softer. Nay the body of the people too, upon occasion of some public diversions in the theatre, when the following verse came up, relating to a priest of the mother of the Gods beating his drum,

69. That he was guilty of the practice of adultery, his friends themselves pretend not to deny, but alledge by way of excuse for it, that he engaged therein not out of lust, but policy, in order to come the more easily to a discovery of the designs of his enemies by their wives. M. Anthony over and above the hasty marriage of Livia, charges him with taking the lady of a consular gentleman from his table, and in the presence of her husband, into a bed-chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great disorder; and that he had put away Scribonia, for resenting with some freedom the excessive sway a mistress of his had with him. And that his friends were employed to pimp for him, and accordingly obliged both matrons and virgins to strip, in order to a fair examination of their persons, just in the same manner, as if Thoranius the dealer in slaves had had them under sale. And before they came to an open rupture, he writes to him in a familiar manner thus. What has altered you! that I ly with a Queen? she is my wife. Is this a novel thing with me, or have I not done so for this nine years? and do you take a freedom with Drusilla only? may health and happiness attend you, as you have had ne'er a bout with Tertulla,

or Tarantilla, Rufilla or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. And what matters it where or whom you employ your vigour upon?

70. Coena quoque ejus secretior in fabulis fuit, quæ vulgo *Isis et Osiris* vocabatur: In qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas, & ipsum pro Apolline ornatum, non Antonii modo epistolæ singulorum nomina amarissime annumerantis, exprobrant, sed & sine auctore notissimi versus:

70. A private supper of his, which was commonly called the supper of the twelve gods, gave occasion to abundance of talk, wherein the guests were all dress'd in the habit of Gods and Goddess's, and himself in that of Apollo, which was charged upon him not only by Anthony in his letters, who nam'd too all the parties concern'd, but in the following famous and anonymous verse:

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas:
Impia dum Phæbi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
Omnia se à terris tunc Numina declinarunt:
Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.*

Like Gods and Goddesses twelve mortals dress'd
Mallia beheld of late together feast.
Cæsar amidst the wild gallanting crew
Assumes the honours to Apollo due.
At the soul fight the gods avert their eyes,
And from his throne great Jove in fury flies.

Auxit cœnæ rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames. Acclamatumque est postridie, frumentum omne deos comedisse: & Casarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is Deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est ut pretiosæ suppellectilis, Corinthiorumque præcupidus, & aleæ indulgens. Nam & proscriptionis tempore ad statuam ejus adscriptum est,

What made this supper the more taken notice of, was a great scarcity, and a perfect famine at that time in town. And therefore the day after, there was a great outcry made, That the Gods had eat up all the corn; and that Cæsar was Apollo indeed, but Apollo the Tormentor, under which title that God was worshipped in the city. He was likewise charged with being excessively fond of fine furniture, and Corinthian vessels, as also with being addicted to gaming. For in the time of the proscription the following line was writ upon his statue.

Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius:

My father dealt in silver. I in brass
Of Corinth.

cum existimaretur, quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos. Et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est,

because it was believed he had put some upon the list of the proscribed, only for the sake of the Corinthian vessels in their possession: and afterwards in the war of Sicily, the following epigram was published.

*Postquam his classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

Having twice lost a fleet in luckless fight,
To beat at last, he games both day and night.

71. Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis, infamiam impuditiæ facillime refutavit, & præsentis & postere vitæ castitate. Item lauritarum invidiam, cum & Alexandria capta, nihil sibi præter unum murrhinum calicem ex instrumento regio, retinuerit, & mox vasa aurea assiduisissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines hæsit: postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitandas virgines promptior, quæ sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur. Aleæ rumorem nullo modo expavit: lustrique simpliciter & palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex, ac præterquam Decembri mense, aliis quoque festis profestisque diebus. Nec id dubium est: autographa quadam epistola, Cænavi, ait, mi Tiberi cum iisdem. Accesserunt convivæ Vinicius & Silvius pater. Inter cænam lusimus *ΥΕΓΥΤΙΝΩΣ* & heri & hodie. Talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem, aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat. quos trilebat universos qui Venerem jecerat. Et rursus aliis litteris, Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatriis satis jucunde egimus. Lusimus enim per omnes dies, forumque aleatorium calcavimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit. Ad summam tamen perdidit non multum: sed ex magnis detrimentis præter spem paulatim retractus est. Ego perdidit viginti millia nummum, meo nomine: sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuisset, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si, quas manus remisit cuique, exegisset,

71. Of all which, whether crimes or calumnies, he very easily set aside the infamous charge of prostitution, by the chastity of his life at the very time of the charge, and ever after: as he did also that of a luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved nothing of all the furniture of the palace there for himself, but a cup of porcelain; and soon after melted down all the gold vessels, even such as were for common use. But he could never get over the imputation of lewdness with women, being as they say, in the latter part of his life very inclinable to the dishonouring of virgins, which were procured for him from all parts by his lady. The report of his gaming he regarded not at all, but play'd frankly and openly for his diversion, even when he was an old man, and not only in the month of December, but at other times, and upon all days, whether festivals or not. And this plainly appears from a letter under his own hand. I supped, says he, my dear Tiberius, with the same company. We had besides Vinicius, and Silvius the father. We gam'd like old fellows at supper, both yesterday and to day. And as any one threw upon the tali aces or sizes, he put down for every talus a denarius; all which he got that threw a Venus. And again in another letter. We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it, during the festival of MINERVA: for we play'd every day, and kept the gaming board warm. Your brother managed his business with terrible outcries, but in the upshot lost not much, recovering himself by degrees, and unexpectedly from the effects of a desperate run of ill fortune. I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely generous in my play, as I

aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta millia. Sed hoc malot Benignitas enim mea me ad celestem gloriam efferet. Scribit ad filiam, Misi tibi denarios ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dederam, si vellet inter se inter cenam vel talis vel par impar ludere. they had a mind at supper to divert themselves with the tali, or at the game of even or odd.

72. In cæteris partibus vitæ continentissimum fuisse constat, ac sine suspitione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo juxta Romanum forum supra Scalas annularias, in domo quæ Calvi oratoris fuerat : postea in Palatio : sed nihilo minus ædibus modicis Hortensianis, & neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis : ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, & sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme & æstate mansit : quamvis parum salubrem valetudini suæ urbem hieme experiretur, assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas & *τὸ ὄρεον* vocabat : huc transibat, aut in alicujus libertorum suburbanum : æger autem in domo Mæcenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus præcipue frequentavit maritima, insulasque Campaniæ, aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Præneste, Tibur : ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi per sæpe jus dixit. Ampla & operosa prætoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suæ Juliæ, profuse ab ea extracta, etiam diruit ad solum : sua vero quamvis modica, non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu, quam xythis

commonly am ; for had I insisted upon the stakes I gave up, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand ; but this I like better, for my generosity will raise me to celestial glory. He writes to his daughter in the following terms. I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarii, which I gave to every one of my guests, if they would divert themselves with the tali, or at

72. In the other parts of his life, it's certain he govern'd himself admirably well, and was free from all suspicion of any vice. He lived at first nigh the Roman forum, above the ring-maker's stairs, in a house which had been Calvus the orator's, afterwards in the Palatium, but still in a small house of Hortensius's, not at all remarkable either for room or ornament, the Piazzas being but small, and the pillars of Alban stone, and the rooms without any thing of marble or fine paving. And he continued to make use of the same bed chamber, both winter and summer, for above forty years together : for tho' he found the city did not agree well with his health, yet he constantly wintered in it notwithstanding. If he had at any time a mind to do any thing privately, and without interruption, he had a particular place in the top of his house, which he called Syracuse and *τὸ ὄρεον*, whither he used to retire, or to some seat belonging his freed men nigh the town. But when he was indisposed, he commonly lodged in Mæcenas's house. Of all the places of retirement from the city, he chiefly frequented those upon the sea-coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns nigh the city, as Lanuvium, Præneste, Tibur, where he oftentimes used to sit for the administration of justice, in the porticos of Hercules's temple. He could not endure large and sumptuous palaces : and some that had been raised at a vast expence by his granddaughter Julia, he levelled with the ground. And those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorn'd not so much with the furniture of statues and pictures, as with winter walks and groves, and things that were curi- & ne-

& nemoribus excoluit, rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus: qualia sunt Capreis immanium belluarum ferarumque membra prægrandia, quæ dicuntur Gigantum ossa,

73. Instrumenti ejus & suppellectilis parçmonia apparet etiam nunc, residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix privatae elegantiae sunt. Ne toro quidem cubuisse ajunt, nisi humili & modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab uxore & sorore & filia neptibusque confecta, togis, neque restrictis neque fustis: clavo, nec lato nec angusto: calceamentis altiusculis, ut procerior quam erat, videretur. Et forensia autem, & calceos nunquam non intra cubiculum habuit, ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

74. Convivabatur & assidue, nec unquam nisi recta: non sine magno ordinum hominumque delectu. Valerius Messala tradit: neminem unquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo coenæ, excepto Menæ, sed asserio in ingenuitatem, post proditam Sexxi Pompeii classem. Ipse scribig invitasse se quandam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset Convivia nonnunquam & ferius inibat, & maturius relinquebat: cum convivæ & coenare inciperent prius quam ille discumberet, & permanent digressio eo. Coenam trinis ferculis, aut, cum abundantissime, senis, præbebat, ut non nimio sumtu, ita summa comitate. Nam & ad communionem sermonis tacentes vel submissim fabulantes provocabat, & aut acroamata, & histriones, aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat, ac frequentius aretalogos.

ous for their antiquity or rarity, such as are at Capree huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild-beasts, which are pretended to be the bones of giants, and also the arms of old heroes.

& arma Heroum.

73. His frugality in furniture and household-stuff appears even to this day, there being some beds and tables of his still left, most of them scarce fit for a private gentleman. They say indeed that he never laid upon a bed, but what was low, and meanly furnished. He seldom wore any cloaths, but in the way of an undress, made by the hands of his lady, sister, daughter and grand-daughters. His togas were neither scant nor full; and the clavus of his tunic neither broad nor narrow: his shoes were somewhat higher than usual, to make him appear taller than he really was. He had always cloaths and shoes proper to go abroad in, ready by him in his bed-chamber, for any sudden occasion.

74. He used constantly to treat company at his table, and always very handsomely, but was very nice in the choice of them. Valerius Messala tells us, that he never admitted any freed-man to his table, except Menæ, after he had betray'd to him Pompey's fleet, but not till he had promoted him to the privileged state of the free-born. He writes himself that he invited one to his table, in whose country-house he lodged, that had formerly been a scout of his. He would oftentimes come late to table, and withdraw soon, so that the company begun supper before his coming in, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three dishes, or at most but six. But if the expence was not extraordinary, yet the complaisance with which he treated his company was. For such as were silent, or talk'd low, he desired to bear a part in the common conversation, and ordered in musick and stage-players, and dancers from the Circus, and very often your swaggering philosophers, to make mirth for the company.

75. Festos

75. Festos & solennes dies profusissime, nonnunquam joculariter tantum, celebrabat. Saturnalibus, & si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem & aurum, & argentum: modo nummos omnis notæ, etiam veteres regiones ac peregrinos: interdum nihil præter cilicia & spongas, & rutabula, & forcipes, atque alia id genus, titulis obscuris & ambiguis. Solebat & inæqualissimarum rerum sortes, & aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare: incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere: ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret, & seu jactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

76. Cibi (nam ne hoc quidem omiserim) minimi erat, æque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem, & pisciculos minores, & caseum bubulum manu pressum, & ficos virides hiferas maxime appetebat: vescebaturque & ante cenam quocumque tempore & loco, quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt, *Nos in effedo panem & palmulas gustavimus.* Et iterum: *Dum lætica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uve duracine comedi.* Et rursus, *Ne Judeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis jejuni-um servat, quam ego hodie servavi: qui in balneo demum post horam primam noctis duas buccas manducavi prius quam unguis inciperem.* Ex hac inob-servantia nonnunquam vel ante initum, vel post dimissum convivium solus coenabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

77. Vinum quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere cum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam Cornelius Nepos tradit,

75. Festivals and solemn days of joy he usually celebrated in a very expensive manner, but sometimes only in a jocular way. In the Saturnalia, or at any other time when the fit took him, he would distribute to his company cloaths, gold, and silver: sometimes coins of all sorts, even of the antient kings of Rome, and foreign pieces too: sometimes nothing but hair-cloth, sponges, peels and pincers, and other things of that kind, with obscure and ambiguous inscriptions upon them. He used also to sell tickets of things of very unequal value, and pictures with the back sides turn'd towards the company at table; and so by an uncertain chance balk or gratify the expectation of the purchasers: and this sort of traffick pass'd round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to take his chance for loss or gain with the rest.

76. He was a man of a little stomach (for I must not omit even this article) and commonly lived upon a plain diet. He was a great lover of coarse bread, your little fishes, and cheese made of cow's milk, and green figs of that kind that comes twice a year. He would eat at any time before supper, and in any place, if he had an appetite. The following words relating to this matter I have transcribed from his epistles. I eat a little bread and some small dates in my chaise. And again, Whilst I return home from the palace in my chair, I eat an ounce of bread, and a few raisins. And again, No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps a fast so strictly upon the sabbath, as I have kept one to day; who in the lath, and after the first hour of the night, eat two mouthfuls of bread, before I began to be anointed. From this great indifferency about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company begun, or after they had done; and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

77. He was naturally very abstemious: for C. Nepes says, that he used but to drink thrice at supper in the camp at Modena; and when he gave himself the greatest freedom, he never

Postea,

Postea, quoties largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit, aut si excessisset, rejiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est, Rhætico, neque temere interdium bibir. Pro portione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem, aut cucumeris frustum, vel lactuculae thyrsium, vinosioris.

78. Post cibum meridianum ita ut vestitus calceatusque erat, repositis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat, opposita ad oculos manu. A coena lucubratoriam se in lecticulam recipiebat. Ibi donec residua diurni actus, aut omnia, aut ex maxima parte, conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transfessus, non amplius, cum plurimum, quam septem horas dormiebat: ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum recuperare, ut evenit, non posset: lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis, resumebar, producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit unquam, nisi assidente aliquo. Maturina vigilia offendebar: ac si vel officii, vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cujuscunque domesticorum coenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, & dum per viros deportaretur, & deposita lectica inter aliquis moras condormiebat.

79. Forma fuit eximia, & per omnes ætatis gradus venustissima: quamquam & omnis lenocinii negligens, & in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret: ac modo tonderet, modo raderet barbam: eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid, aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat, vel in sermone

exceeded a pint; or if he did, he throw it up again. Of all wines he liked the Rhætic best, but scarce ever drunk in the day time. Instead of drinking, he used to take a piece of bread steeped in cold water, or a slice of cucumber, or some leaves of lettuce, or a green sharp juicy apple. aut recens acidumve pomum succi

78. After a snack at noon, he used to take a nap with his cloaths and shoes on, and his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he withdrew commonly to a couch in his study, where he continued late, 'till he had put down in his diary, all or most of the remaining actions of the day, that he had not before penned. Then he would go to bed, but never slept above seven hours at most, & not without interruption, for he would wake three or four times in the while. And if he could not fall asleep again, as it happened sometimes, he would call for somebody to read, or tell stories to him, 'till he fell fast again, and then he would usually sleep it out 'till after day break. He never would lie awake in the dark, without somebody to sit by him. Very early-rising was apt to put him out of order. And therefore if good manners, or religion obliged him to be up early, to provide as much as might be against the prejudice thereof, he used to lodge in some apartment of his domesticks, that was nearest the place he was obliged to give his attendance at. And if at any time he had a drouzy fit came upon him in his passing the streets, he would order the chair to be set down, till he had taken a nap.

79. He was a very graceful comely person through all the stages of life: tho' he was very careless in his dress, and so far from being nice in the management of his hair, that he would set several barbers to work upon it together; and would sometimes clip, and sometimes shave his beard, and at the same time would be reading, or writing. His countenance, either when he spoke, or held his tongue, was so calm and serene, that a Gaul of the first

vel tacitus, adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam è primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollitum, quominus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem colloqui propius admissus, in præcipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos: quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris: gaudebatque, si quis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem Solis, vultum submitteret: sed in senecta finistro minus vidit. Dentes raros & exiguos, & scabros: capillum leviter inflexum & sufflavum, supercilia conjuncta, mediocres aures: nasum & à summo eminentiorem, & ab imo deductiorem: colorem inter aquilum candidumque: staturam brevem: (quam tamen Julius Marathus libertus etiam in memoriam ejus quinque pedum & dorantis fuisse tradit:) sed quæ commoditate & æquitate membrorum occuleretur: ut nonnisi ex comparatione adstantis alicujus prioris intelligi posset.

80. Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atq; alvum genitivis notis, in modum & ordinem ac numerum stellarum cælestis Uræ: sed & callis quibusdam ex prurigne corporis, assiduoque & vehementi strigilis usu, plurifariam concretis, ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice, & femore, & crure sinistro, non perinde valebat, ut sæpe etiam inde claudicaret: sed remedio harenarum atque arundinum confirmabatur. Dextræ quoque manus digitum salutarem, tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat, ut torpentem contractumque frigore, vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturæ admoveret. Questus est & de vesica, ejus dolore, calculis demum per urinam ejectis, levabatur.

rank confessed amongst his friends, that he was thereby mollified and restrained from throwing him down a precipice in his passage of the Alps, upon his being admitted to approach him, under pretence of speaking with him. His eyes were clear and bright, and he was willing to have it thought, there was something of a divine vigour in them, and was not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking steadfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun had shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw but indifferently with his left eye. His teeth were thin set, small and rough, his hair a little curled, and inclinable to a yellow colour. His eye-brows met: his ears were little, and he had a hawk nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair; his stature but low, tho' Julius Marathus his freedman says, he was five foot and nine inches high. This however was by the due proportion of his limbs, so concealed, that it was not perceivable, but by comparison with some lesser person standing by him.

80 His body is said to have been mark'd up and down; and to have had upon the breast and belly several moles, answering to the figure, order, and number of stars in the celestial bear. He had besides several callosities somewhat like Tartars, occasioned by an itching in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side. But he found much benefit by the use of sand and reeds. He likewise found the fore-finger of his right hand so weak sometimes, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, in order to use it in writing, he was oblig'd to make use of a circular piece of horn. He complained of his bladder too; but upon avoiding some stones by urine, he was relieved from that pain.

81. Graves & periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est: præcipue Cantabria domita, cum sætiam distillationibus jocinore ystia-to, ad desperationem redactus, contrariam & ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus: auctore Antonio Musa. Quasdam & anniverfarias ac tempore certo recurrentes, experiebatur. Nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat: & initio veris præcordiorum inflatione tentabatur: austrinis autem tempestatibus, gravedine. Quare quassato corpore, neque frigora neque æstus facile tollerabat.

82. Hyeme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis & subucula, thorace lanæ, & feminalibus, & tibialibus muniebatur: æstate apertis cubiculi foribus, ac sæpe in peristyllo saliente aqua, atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque non nisi petasatus sub divo spatibatur. Itinera lætica, & noctibus fere, eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Præneste vel Tibur biduo procederet. Ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate. Unguebatur enim sæpius & sudabat ad flammam: deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua, vel sole multo calefacta. Ac quoties nervorum causa, marinis, Albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat, ut insidens ligneo folio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo *dunetam* vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis jactaret.

83. Exercitationes campestris equestris & armorum ita-

81. He had several dangerous fits of sickness in the several parts of his life, especially after the conquest of Cantabria, when his liver being damaged by a distillation of rheum upon it, he was reduced to so desperate a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a dubious kind of management, and contrary to the ordinary method of proceeding in such cases, for warm applications having no effect, cold ones were made use of, by the prescription of Antonius Musa. He had too some distempers that used to seize him at stated times every year: for about his birth-day he was commonly a little out of order. And in the beginning of spring he was attacked by an inflation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, he was liable to a cold in his head. By all which his constitution was so shocked, that he could neither bear heat nor cold well.

82. In winter he was fortified against the weather with a thick toga, four tunicks, a shirt, a flannel stomacher, and wrappers upon his thighs and legs. In summer he laid with his chamber doors open, and frequently in a piazza with water playing along the place, and some body standing by to fan him. He could not endure even the winter's sun, and at home never walked in the open air without a hat on. He travelled in a chair commonly, and in the night, and very slowly, so that he would be two days in going to Præneste or Tibur. And if he could go to any place by sea, he would choose so to do, rather than go by land. He supported however his crazy constitution with great care, and especially by declining pretty much the use of the bath. He was oftentimes rubbed with oyl and sweat by a fire, after which he was washed with water warm'd over a fire, or by being exposed some time to a hot sun. And as oft as he was obliged, upon the account of his nerves, to make use of the water of the sea or Albulæ, he used to place himself upon a wooden seat, which he call'd by a Spanish name *dureta*, and toss'd about his hands and feet in the water by turns.

83. Immediately after the civil wars, he forbore the usual exercises of arms,

tim post civilia bella omisit : & ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit : mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur & deambulabat : ita ut in extremis spatilis subfulcram decurreret, festertio vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa, modo piscabatur hamo : modo talis, aut ocellatis, nucibusque ludabat cum pueris minoribus, quos facie & garrulitate amabiles undique conquirebat, præcipue Mauros & Syros. Nam pumiles, atque distortos, & omnes generis ejusdem, ut ludibria naturæ malique ominis,

84. Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab ætate prima & cupide & laboriosissime exercebat. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum, & legisse & scripsisse & declamasse quotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neque in senatu, neque apud populum, neque apud milites locutus est unquam, nisi meditata & composita oratione : quamvis non deficeret ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriæ adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis, atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores, nonnisi in scriptis, & à libello habebat : ne plus minusve loqueretur extempore. Pronuntiabat dulci & proprio quodam oris sono : dabatque assidue phonnasco operam : sed nonnunquam infirmitas faucibus, præconis voce ad populum concionatus est.

85. Multa varii generis profa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in cœtu familiarium, velut in auditorio recitavit : sicut Rescripta Bruto de Catone. Quæ volumina cum jam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus, Tiberio tradidit perlegendam. Item Horationes ad philosophiam : & aliqua de vita sua, quam tre-

and riding in the field of Mars, and instead thereof took up those of the larger ball at first, but soon after used no other exercise but that of going abroad in his chair, or walking ; towards the end of his walk he would run jumping, wrapt up in linnen or flannel. For his diversion he would angle sometimes, or play with the tali, checquers, or nuts, with pretty prating little boys, which he used to pick up from several parts, especially Mauritania and Syria. But dwarfs, and such as were crooked, or deformed in any kind, he abhorred, as the ridiculous productions of nature, and ominous creatures.

84. He applied himself with great eagerness and vigour to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal arts, from his very youth. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty concerns he had upon his hands, he is said to have both read, writ and declaimed every day. He never spoke to the senate, people, or soldiery, but in a premeditated speech, tho' he had a pretty good talent at talking extempore too. And for fear his memory should fail him, as also to save the time that must otherwise be lost in getting his speeches by heart, he resolved to read them all. And in his conversation with single persons, and his lady Livia too, upon a matter of importance, he had all he would say down in writing, for fear he should, if he spoke extempore, say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, and was instructed by a master for that purpose. But sometimes upon catching cold, he made use of a cryer for the delivery of his speeches to the people.

85. He composed a great many pieces, and upon various subjects, in prose, some of which he read now and then at a meeting of friends as to an auditory, as his answers to BRUTUS in relation to CATO. Which volumes he read almost quite through himself, but being then elderly, and tired with the work, he gave the rest to Tiberius to read for him. He likewise read over to his friends his Exhortations to PHILO-
OPHY,

decem libris, Cantabrico tenus bello, nec ultra exposuit. Poeticam summam attigit. Unus liber exstat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cujus & argumentum & titulus est, *Sicilia*. Exstat alter æque modicus *Epigrammatum*, quæ fere tempore balnei meditabatur. Nam tragœdiam magno impetu exorsus, non succedente stylo, abolevit: quærentibusque amicis quidnam *Ajax* ageret, respondit, *Ajaxem suum in spongiam incubuisse*.

replied, his *AJAX* was fallen

86. Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans & temperatum: vitatis sententiarum ineptiis, atque inconcinnitate, & reconditorum verborum, ut ipse dicit, *fatoribus*. Præcipuamque curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret, aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret, ac moraretur, neque præpositiones verbis addere, neque conjunctiones sæpius iterare dubitavit, quæ detractæ afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent. Cacozelos & antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit. Exagitabat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatem suum, cujus *μυεσσεῖν* ut air, *cincinno* usquequaque persequitur, et imitando per jocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parci-; & exoletas interdum, & reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium, ut infanum, increpat: quasi ea scribentem quæ mirentur potius homines quam intelligant. Deinde ludens malum & inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi ingenium ejus, addidit hæc, *Tuque dubitas Cimberne Annii an Veranii Flaccus imitandi sint tibi? ita ut verbis quæ C. Sallustius expressit ex Originebus Catonis,*

*SOPHY, and the History of his own Life, which he carried on in thirteen books as far as the war of Cantabria but no farther. He had likewise a touch at poetry. There is a single book of his extant writ in Hexameter verse, of which the subject and title both is SICILY. There is another book of Epigrams too as small as the former, which he composed commonly in the time of bathing; and this is all of that kind; for a tragedy he begun with great eagerness, he dash'd all up again, because the stile did not please him. And his friends asking him what his *AJAX* was a doing, he upon a sponge.*

86. He had a neat clean stile, clear of trifling and impertinent clauses, as also of the noisomest, as he calls it, of obsolete words. And his chief concern was to deliver his mind with all possible plainness. In order to which, and that he might not any where puzzle or stop his reader, or hearer, he made no scruple to add prepositions to his verbs, or to repeat the same conjunction several times, which when omitted, occasion some little obscurity, but give a grace to the style. The awkward imitations of others, and such as affected old obsolete words, he equally despised, as faulty in a different way. He sometimes made merry, especially with his friend Mæcenat, whose perfumed locks, as he words himself, he rallies upon all occasions, and banters by imitating his manner of expressing himself. Nor does he spare Tiberius, who was fond of obsolete and antiquated words. He runs upon M. Anthony as a mad man, and writing rather to make men stare, than to be understood. And in fine by way of banter upon his wretched and fickle humor, in the choice of his style, he adds these words. And are you yet in a doubt, whether CIMBER ANNIUS or VERANIUS FLACCUS be more proper for your imitation? so as to make use of words which CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS has borrowed from the Origines of CATO? or do you think the verbose empty bombast of Asiatic orators is fit to be transfused into our language? And in a letter where he commends the parts of his

utaris? an poies Asiaticorum oratorum inanibus sententiis, verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda? Et ingenium collaudans: Sed opus scribas aut loquaris.

87. Quotidiano sermone quædam frequentius & notabiliter usurpasse eum, literæ ipsius autographæ ostentant. In quibus identidem cum aliquos nunquam soluturos significare vult, *Ad Kalendas Græcas soluturos* ait: & cum hortatur ferenda esse præsentia qualiacumque sint, *Contenti simus hoc Catone*: & ad exprimendam festinatæ rei velocitatem, *Velocius quam asparagi coquantur*. Poniit assidue & pro stulto, *baceolum*: & pro pullo, *pullejaceum*: & pro cerito, *vacerosum*: & *rapide sese habere*, pro male: & *betissare*, pro languere: quod vulgo *lathanissare* dicitur. Item *simus* pro *sumus*: & *domos* genitivo casu singulari, pro *domus*. Nec unquam aliter hæc duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet. Notavi & in chirographo ejus illa præcipue: non dividit verba, nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantes literas in alterum transfert: sed ibidem statim subjicit, circumducitque.

88. Orthographiam, id est, formulam rationemque scribendi à grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit: ac videtur eorum sequi potius opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod sæpe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut præterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur, tradidisse aliquos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse, ut rudi & indocto, cujus manu *ixi* pro *ipfi* scriptum animadvertit. Quoties

grand-daughter *Agrippina*, he says. But you must be sure to have a care of writing or speaking intricately. quædam epistola *Agrippinæ* nepoti est, inquit, *dare te operam ne moleste*

87. He had in his ordinary conversation, some words and expressions peculiar to himself, as appears from several letters in his own hand; in which now and then, when he has a mind to intimate, that some would never pay their debts, he says, they would pay at the Greek calends. And when he advises to patience under the then present situation of affairs, such as it was, he would say, let us be content with this CATO. And to express the expedition with which any thing was done, he said, it was sooner done than sparrow-grals was boiled. He instantly puts *baceolus* for *stultus*, *pullejaceus* for *pullus*, *vacerosus* for *ceritus*, and *betissare* for *languere*, which is commonly called *lathanissare*. Likewise *simus* for *sumus*, and *domos* for *domus* in the genitive singular. And with respect to the two last, lest any one should think they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies at all. I have likewise observed this singularity in his hand-writing. He never divides his words, so as to carry the letters that can not be got in at the end of a line to the next, but puts them below the other enclosed within a semicircle.

88. He did not keep strictly to orthography, or the rule and method of spelling laid down by the grammarians, and he seems to have been of their opinion who think we ought to write as we speak, for as to his charging and omitting not only letters, but whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, any should have told us, that he sent a successor to a consul & lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had writ *ixi* for *ipfi*. As oft as he had a mind to write in the way of cypher, he did
autem

autem per notas scribit, b, pro a : c, pro b, ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentes literas

89. Ne Græcarum quidem disciplinarum leviori studio tenebatur : in quibus & ipsis præstabat largiter, magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem jam grandem natu, Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe juvenis adhuc eduxerat. Deinde etiam eruditione varia repletus Sphæri, Arci philosophi, filiorumque ejus Dionysii & Nicanoris contubernium inivit : non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedire, aut componere aliquid auderet. Nam & si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat, vertendumque alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comœdia veteri, & sæpe eam exhibuit publicis spectaculis. In evolvendis utriusque linguæ auctoribus, nihil æque sectabatur quam præcepta & exempla publice vel privati salubria : eaque ad verbum excerpta, aut ad domesticos, aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores, aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat : prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam libros totos & senatus recitavit, & populo notos per edictum sæpe fecit : ut orationes Q. Metelli De prole augenda, & Rutilii De modo edificiorum : quò magis persuaderet, utramque rem non à se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse. Ingenia seculi sui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes & benigne & patienter audivit : nec tantum carmina & historias, sed & orationes & dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se, nisi & serio, & à præstantissimis, offendebar : admonēbaturque Prætores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolescere,

so by putting b for a, c for b, and so forth, and instead of z, 22. ponit. Pro x autem duplex a q.

89. He was no less fond of the Grecian learning, wherein he made a very considerable proficiency, for which purpose he made use of Apollodorus of Pergamus, as his master in rhetoric, whom, tho' at that time very elderly, he took along with him, when he was very young, from the city to Apollonia. And afterwards being instructed in philology by Sphærus, he took into his family Arcus the philosopher and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor; but yet he never spoke the greek tongue readily, nor would he ever venture to compose in it at all. For if there was occasion for him to deliver his mind in that language, he always put what he had to say in latin, and gave it another to translate. He was pretty well acquainted with the Greek poetry, and was much taken with the old comedy, and oftentimes brought it up on the stage, in his publick entertainments of the people. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he minded nothing so much as precepts and examples that might be useful in publick or private life : Those he used to transcribe verbatim, and send either to his domesticks, or to such as had the command of his armies, or the government of his provinces, or to the magistrates of the town; as any of them seem'd to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the senate, and made them known to the people by proclamation : as the orations of Q. Metellus for the encouragement of matrimony, and Rutilius's about a method of building, to let the people see that he was not the first that had fallen upon those matters, but that the ancients too had thought them worthy of their care. He was a great encourager of men of parts and learning. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature; and not only pieces of poetry and history, but speeches and dialogues too. Yet he did not care to have any thing writ upon himself, but in a grave way, and by the most excellent hands: and desired

the prætors, not to suffer his name to be made too common, in the contests amongst orators and poets for victory.

90. Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua & fulgura paullo infirmius expavescebat: ut semper & ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret, pro remedio: atque ad omnem majoris tempestatis suspicionem, in abditum & concameratum locum se reciperet: conternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcurfu fulguris, ut supra diximus.

91. Somnia neque sua, neque aliena de se, negligebat. Philippensi acie, quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo, propter valetudinem; egressus est tamen amici somnio monitus: cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris letrica ejus, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atq; lacerata est. Ipse per omne ver, plurima, & formidolosissima, & vana, & irrita videbat: reliquo tempore rariora, & minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio ædem Tonanti Jovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit queri Capitolinum Jovem, cultores sibi abduci: seque respondisse, Tonantem pro janitore ei appositum: ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium ædis redimivir, quod ea fere januis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quotannis die certo emendicabat à populo, cavam manum asses porrigentibus præbens.

92. Auspicia quædam & omina pro certissimis observabat. Si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextero, induceretur, ut dirum: si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem, forte rorasset, ut lætum, maturique & prosperi reditus. Sed & ostentis præcipue movebatur. Enatam inter juncturas lapi-

90. *With respect to his observation of omens or the like, we have the following account of him. He was too much afraid of thunder and lightning, insomuch that he always and every where carried about him a seal's skin, by way of preservation. And upon any suspicion of a storm, he would retire to some vault under ground, having formerly been frightened with a flash of lightning, as he was travelling by night, which we have above taken notice of.*

91. *He neither slighted his own dreams, nor those of other people relating to himself. At the battle of Philippi, tho' he had resolved not to stir out of his tent, because of his want of health, yet he did nevertheless, upon the occasion of a dream a friend of his had; and it was fortunate for him he did, for the camp was taken, and his couch, upon a supposition of his being in it, stabbed and tore to pieces. He had a great many idle silly dreams during the spring, but the rest of the year his dreams were less frequent, and more significative. Upon his frequently visiting a temple in the Capitol he had dedicated to thundering Jove, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were taken from him, and that he replied upon it, he had only given him the Thunderer for his porter; and therefore he presently hung the top of his temple round with little bells; because such commonly hung at the gates of great houses. Upon occasion of a dream too, he always on a certain day of the year begged an alms of the people, making a hollow hand for the reception of the pence offered him.*

92. *He look'd upon the following omens as infallible. If in the morning his shoe was put on wrong, or the left instead of the right, that was with him a dismal presage. If upon his entering on a long journey by sea or land, there chanced to fall a misting rain, he look'd upon it as a very good sign, of a speedy and a happy return. He was mightily affected too with any thing out of the common course of nature.*

He
cum

dum ante domum suam palnam in compluvium decorum Penarium transtulit : utque coalesceret, magnopere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas, veterrimæ ilicis demissos jam ad terram languentesque ramos convaluisse adventu suo, adeo lætatus est, ut eas cum republica Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Ænaria data. Observabat & dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas ququam proficisceretur : aut Nonis quidquam rei seriæ inchoaret : nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam *Συνταξιν* nominis.

93. Peregrinarum ceremoniarum, sicut veteres ac præceptas reverentissime coluit, ita cæteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Ceres cognosceret, & quædam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio & corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragrandia Ægypto paulum deflectere ad visendum Apin perfecit : sed & Cajum nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolynam non supplicasset collaudavit.

94. Et quoniam ad hoc ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere quæ ei, prius quam nasceretur, & ipso natali die, ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura magnitudo ejus, & perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset. Velitris antiquitus castra de cælo parte muri, responsum est ejus oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum : qua fiducia Velitri, & tunc statim & postea sæpius pæne ad exirium sui cum populo Romano belligeraverant. Sero tandem documentis apparuit,

transplanted a palm-tree that grew up in the joyning of the pavers before his house, into a court where the household gods were placed, and took all possible care to have it thrive. And when in the isle of Caprea, some decayed boughs of an old oak, that hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves upon his arrival there, he was so rejoiced at it, that he made an exchange with the government of Naples, of the island of Ænaria, for that of Caprea. He likewise observed certain days, as never to go any whither the day after the Nundina, or to begin any thing of serious business upon the nones, avoiding nothing else therein, as he writes to Tiberius, than the unluckyness of the name.

93. As to the religious rites of foreign nations, he was a strict observer of such as had been establish'd by antient custom, but others he paid no regard to at all. For having been initiated at Athens, and being afterwards to hear a cause at Rome, relating to the privileges of the priests of the Attick Ceres, when some of the mysteries of that worship were to be spoke to, he dismissed the gentlemen upon the bench that sat as judges with him, together with the company of bystanders, and heard the debate upon those points, by himself. But on the other hand he not only declined in his progress through Egypt, calling to visit Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Caius, for not paying his devotions at Jerusalem in his passage by Judæa.

94. And since we are got upon this subject, it may not be improper to subjoin an account of the omens, before and at his birth, as well as afterwards, that gave hopes of his future grandure, and the constant good fortune that attended him. A part of the town-wall at Velitra having in former times been struck with thunder, the soothsayers gave their opinion upon it, that a native of that place would some time or other be master of the Roman state, upon which encouragement the Velitri both immediately, and at several times after made war with the Roman people, till they brought themselves upon the
ostentum

ostentum illud, Augusti potentiam portendisse. Auctor est Julius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur mensis, prodigium Romæ factum publice, quo denuntiabatur regem populo Romano Naturam parturire: senatum exterritum censuisse ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur: eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quos ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad ærarium deferretur. In Asclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογικῶν libris lego, Atiam, cum ad solemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum cæteræ matronæ domum irent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam, pauloque post egressum: illamque expergestam quasi à concubitu mariti purificasse se: & statim in corpore ejus extitisse maculam, velut depicti draconis: nec potuisse unquam eximi: adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinuerit: Augustum natum mense decimo, & ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia, prius quam pareretur, somniavit intestina sua ferri ad sidera, explicarique per omnem terrarum & cæli ambitum. Somniavit & pater Octavius, utero Atiæ jubar solis exortum. Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinæ conjuratione ageretur in curia, & Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius adfuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium comperta moræ causâ, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse, dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciæ exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris loco barbara ceremonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est à sacerdotibus, quod infuso super alta-

brink of destruction. At last it appeared by the event, that that men had portended the rise of Augustus. Julius Marathus tells us, that a few months before his birth, a prodigy happened at Rome, by which was signified, that nature was in travail with a king for the Roman people; and that the senate being alarmed at it, came to a resolution that no child born that year should be brought up; but that those amongst them, whose ladies were with child, in order to secure to themselves a prospect of that dignity, took care that the resolution of the senate should not be registered in the treasury. I find in the theological volumes of Asclepiades the Mendesian, that Atia attending at midnight upon a religious solemnity in honour of Apollo, when the rest of the matrons retired home, took a nap in her chair in the temple, and that a serpent immediately crept to her, and soon after withdrew; and that she awaking upon it, purified herself as usual, after the embraces of her husband; and that immediately a mark appeared upon her body in form of a serpent, which she was never after able to get rid of, which obliged her for the future part of her life to decline the use of the public baths; that Augustus was born in the tenth month after, and for that reason was thought to be the son of Apollo. The same Atia before her delivery, dreamt that her bowels were stretch'd up to the stars, and expanded throughout the whole compass of heaven and earth. His father Octavius too dreamt that a sun-beam issued from his lady's womb. Upon the day he was born, the senate being busy in the consideration of Catiline's conspiracy, and Octavius, upon account of his lady's condition, coming late into the house, it's a noted and well known story, that P. Nigidius, upon hearing the occasion of his coming so late, and withall the hour of his lady's delivery, declared that the world had got a master. And when Octavius upon marching with his army through the wastes of Thracæ, according to the usage of the country, consulted the oracle of father Bacchus at

ria mero, tantum flammæ emicuiſſet, ut ſupergreſſa ſattigium templi ad cælum uſque ferretur : unſque olim omnino Magno Alexandro apud eaſdem aras ſacrificanti, ſimile proveniſſet oſtentum. Atque etiam ſequenti nocte ſtatim videre viſus eſt filium mortali ſpecie ampliorem, cum fulmine & ſceptro, exuviſque Jovis Opt. Max. ac radiatâ corona ſuper laureatum currum; his ſenis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut ſcriptum eſt apud C. Druſum exſtat, reſoſitus veſpere in cunis à nutricula, loco plano, poſtera luce non comparuit : & diu quæſitus, tandem in altiffima turri reſperitus eſt, jacens contra Solis exortum. Cum primum fari cœpiſſet, in avito ſuburbano obſtreperentes forte raras filere juſſit : atque ex eo negantur ibi rante coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanæ viæ, in nemore prandenti, ex improviſo aquila panem ei è manu rapuit : & cum altiffime volaſſet, ruſus ex improviſo leniter delapſa reddidit. Q. Catulus poſt dedicationem Capitolium, duabus continuis noctibus ſomniavit : prima, Jovem Opt. Max. prætextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus, unum ſecreſſiſſe : atq; in ejus ſinum ſignum Reip. quod manu geſtaret, reſoſuiſſe, at in ſequenti, animadverſiſſe ſe in gremio Capitolini Jovis eundem puerum : quem cum detrahi juſſiſſet, prohiberetur monitu Dei, tanquam is ad tutelam Reip. educaretur. Ac die proximo obvium ſibi Auguſtum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non ſine admiratione conſuitus, ſimillimum dixit puero de quo ſomniaſſet. Quidam prius ſomnium Catuli aliter expoſunt; quaſi Jupiter compluri-

bout his ſon, he received from the prieſts an answer to the ſame purpoſe; becauſe upon pouring wine on the altar, ſo prodigious a flame burſt out, that it overtopt the temple, and reach'd up to the Heavens, which had never happened to any one but Alexander the great, upon his ſacrificing at the ſame altars. And the night after he dreamt he ſaw his ſon under a more than human appearance, with thunder and a ſceptre, and the other habiliments of Jupiter, and a crown on, ſet off with rays, mounted upon a chariot deckt with laurel, drawn by ſix milk-white horſes. Whiſt he was an infant, as C. Druſus relates, being laid in his cradle by his nurſe, and in a low place, the next day he was not to be found, and after he had been ſought for a long time, he was at laſt diſcovered upon a very high tower, lying with his face to the eaſt. When he firſt began to ſpeak, he ordered the frogs that made a troubleſome noiſe, upon an eſtate belonging the family nigh the town, to be ſilent; and they tell you the frogs never croaked there ſince. As he was dining in a grove about four miles from Rome, in the road to Campania, an eagle ſud ſently ſnatch'd a piece of bread out of his hand, and flying a prodigious height with it, came unexpectedly down again by an eaſy motion, and return'd it him. Q. Catulus for two nights ſucceſſively after his dedication of the capitol, dreamt, the firſt night, that Jupiter out of ſeveral boys that were playing about his altar, pick'd one of them, into whoſe boſom he put the publick ſeal of the common-wealth, which he had in his hand; and the night after ſaw the ſame boy in the boſom of Jupiter Capitolinus, whom he ordered to be taken down, but was forbid by the God, by reaſon he was educated for the prefer- vation of the common-wealth. And the next day meeting with Auguſtus, whom till that hour he had not the leaſt knowledge of, beholding him with admiration, he ſaid he was very like the boy, he had dreamt of. Some give a different account of Catulus's firſt dream; as if Jupiter, upon ſeveral boys petitioning him for a guardian, had point'd to one amongſt them, to whom they were to prefer their requeſts; and put-

bus prætextatis tutorem à se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset, ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent: ejusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum retulisset. M. Cicero C. Cæsarem in Capitolium profecturus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum, facie liberali, demissum caelo, catena aurea, ad fores Capitolii constitisse, eique Jovem flagellum tradidisse: deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum adhuc plerisque avunculus Cæsar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse cujus imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit. Sumentem virilem togam, tunica lati clavi resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cujus insigne id esset, quandoque ei subjiceretur. Apud Mundam D. Julius castris locum capiens, cum silvam cæderet, arborem palmæ repertam conservari, ut omen victoriæ, justit: ex ea continuo enata soboles, adeo in paucis diebus adolevit, ut non æquiperaret modo matricem, verum etiam obtegeret, frequentareturque columbarum nidis; quamvis id avium genus durum & asperam frondem maxime viter. Illo & præcipue ostento motum Cæsarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet. In secessu Apolloniæ Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascendit: cum Agrippæ, qui prior consulabatur, magna, & pæne incredibilia prædicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam, nec velle edere, perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix & cunctanter edita, exsilivit

ting thereupon his fingers to the boy's mouth to kiss, he afterwards carried them up to his own. M. Cicero, as he was attending C. Caesar to the capitol, happened to be telling some of his friends a dream he had had the night before, of a comely youth let down from Heaven by a golden chain, that stood at the doors of the capitol, and had a whip delivered him by Jupiter. And immediately upon sight of Augustus, who had been sent for by his uncle Caesar to the sacrifice, and was as yet perfectly unknown to most of the company, he avowed that was the very boy he had seen in his dream. When he took upon him the manly habit, his senatorian tunic coming loose in the seam on each side, fell at his feet. Some would have this to forebode, that the order, of which that was a mark of distinction, would some time or other be subject to him. Julius Caesar in cutting down a wood to make room for his camp near Munda, chanced to light upon a palm-tree, and order'd it to be preserv'd as an omen of victory; from the root of which a sucker put out immediately, that in a few days grew so big as not only to equal, but overshadow it, and afford room enough for a great many nests of wild pigeons, who built in it, tho' that sort of bird naturally avoids a hard and rough leaf. They say too, that Caesar was chiefly wrought upon by that prodigy, to prefer his sister's grandson before all others for his successor. In his retirement at Apollonia, he went along with his friend Agrippa, to wait upon Theogenes the astrologer. And Agrippa, who first desired to know his fortune, being assured it would be wonderful great, and what was almost beyond belief; he did not care to discover his nativity, and persisted in it some time, from a mixture of shame and fear together, lest it should prove inferior to Agrippa's. However with much ado, and after a great deal of importunity, he did declare it: Upon which Theogenes rose from his seat, and adored him. And not long after, Augustus was so confident of the goodness of his fortune that he publish'd his nativity, and struck a silver coin with the impression of the sign of capricorn upon Theogenes,

Theogenes, adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fatis Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit, nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percussit.

95. Post necem Cæsaris reverso ab Apollonia & ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno, circulus ad speciem cælestis arcus orbem Solis ambiit: ac subinde Juliæ Cæsaris filię monumentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu ei augurium capienti, duodecim se vultures, ut Romulo, ostenderunt: & immolanti omnium victimarum iocinora replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt: nemine peritorum aliter conjectante, quam læta per hæc & magna portendi.

96. Quin & bellorum omnium eventus ante præsensit. Contractis ad Bononiam Triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio ejus super sedens, duos corvos hinc & inde infestantes afflixit, & ad terram dedit: notante omni exercitu, futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem, qualis secuta est, ac exitum præfagiente. In Philippis, Theofalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit, auctore D. Cæsare, cujus sibi species itinere avio occurrisset. Circa Perusiam sacrificio non litante, cum augeri hostias imperasset: ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinæ apparatusum abstulissent: constitit inter haruspices, quæ periculosa & adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent, cuncta in illos recasura qui exta haberent. Neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in littore piscis ex mari exsiluit, & ad pedes jacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem, asellus cum asinario occurrit: Eutychus, homini; bestię Nicon,

it, under the influence of which he was born.

95. After the death of Cæsar, upon his return to Apollonia, as he was entering the city, on a sudden in a clear and bright sky, a circle like the rainbow, surrounded the body of the sun; and immediately after, the monument of Julia Cæsar's daughter was struck with thunder. As he was sitting for the observation of omens in his first consulship, twelve vultures presented themselves, as they had done to Romulus.

And when he offered sacrifice, the livers of all the victims were folded inward in the lower part; which was agreed by all present, that had skill in things of that nature, to be an undoubted prognostick of wonderful fortune.

96. He had certainly a fore sight of the issue of all his wars. When the troops of the Triumviri were drawn together about Bononia, an eagle that sat on his tent, mawled and knock'd down to the ground, two crows that attacked him on each side, in the view of the whole army; who gathered from thence that there would be a difference amongst the three colleagues, and attended with the like event, which accordingly came to pass. At Philippi he was assured of success by a Thessalian, who pretended to have it from Cæsar himself, that had appeared to him, as he was travelling in some by-road. At Perusia, the sacrifice not presenting any favourable intimations at all, but the contrary, he ordered victim after victim to be cut up; but the enemy by a sudden sally sweeping all, it was agreed amongst the men of skill in that way then attending, that all the danger and misfortune, that appeared in the entrails, would certainly fall upon the heads of those that had got them. And accordingly it fell out. The day before the sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leaped out of the sea, and laid at his feet. At Actium, as he was going down to his fleet in order to fight the enemy, an ass met him with a fellow driving it, the latter of which was called

erat nomen. Utriusque simulacrum æneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

97. Mors quoque eius, de qua dehinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem, evidentissimis ostentis præcognita est. Cum Iustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia cederet, aquila cum sæpius circumvolavit: transgressaque in vicinam ædem, super nomen Agrippæ, ad primam literam sedit: quo animadvertens, vota quæ in proximum Iustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit: Nam se quamquam conscriptis paratisque jam tabulis, negavit susceptorum quæ non esset solurus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuæ eius prima nominis littera effluxit. Responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C. litera notaret: futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod *Æ S A R*, id est, reliqua pars est Cæsaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur. Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus, & Beneventum usque profecturus, cum interpellatores alios atque aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, (quod & ipsum mox inter omnia relatum est) *Non, se omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romæ futurum.* Atque itinere inchoato, Asturam perrexit: & inde, præter consuetudinem, de nocte ad occasionem auræ evectus est.

98. Causam valetudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi. Tunc Campaniæ ora, proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit: remississimo ad otium & ad omnium

Eutychus, and the former Nicon. After the victory, he erected a brazen statue to each, in a temple built upon the ground where he had encamped.

97. His death, of which I shall now speak, and his advancement amongst the Gods after it, were signified by divers manifest prodigies. As he was closing the Census amidst a vast crowd of people in the field of Mars, an eagle flew about him several times, and then making off into a neighbouring temple sat down upon the name of Agrippa; and at the first letter. Upon observing of which, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is customary to make upon those occasions, for the succeeding Iustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what he was never like to go through with, who the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first letter of his name was struck out of an inscription upon a statue of his by thunder, which was construed to signify, that he would live but an hundred days longer; which number the letter C stands for, and that he would be placed amongst the Gods; because *Æ S A R*, which is the remaining part of the word Caesar, in the Thustan language signifies a God. Wherefore being to dispatch Tiberius for Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several people that applied to him upon account of causes they had depending, he cried out, which was afterwards reckon'd amongst the prognosticks of his death, Let what business would fall out to retain him, he would stay no longer at ROME; and putting himself upon his journey, he went as far as Astura: and contrary to his custom, put from thence to sea in the night-time, upon the occasion of a fine breeze.

98. His sickness was occasioned by a looseness, but notwithstanding, he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Cuprea; where he gave himself up entirely to his ease, carrying at the same time to those about him with comitatem

comitatem animo. Forte Puteolanum finum prætervehenti, vectores nautæque de navi Alexandrina, quæ tantum quod appulerat, candidati, coronatique, & thura libantes, fausta omnia & eximias laudes congefserant: Per illum se vivere: per illum navigare: libertate atque fortunis per illum frui. Qua re admodum exhilaratus, quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit: iustque jurandum, & cautionem exegit à singulis, non alio datam summam, quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed & cæteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, rogas insuper ac pallia distribuit: lege proposita, ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu & sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue & exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat. Iisdem etiam epulumin conspectu suo præbuit, permissa, imo exacta jocandi licentia, diripiendiq; pomorum & obsoniorum, rerumque missilium. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit: Vicinam Capreis insulam Αἰγυπία appellatam, à desidia secedentium illuc è comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum Masgabam nomine, quasi conditorem insulæ, κτιστὴν vocare consueverat: hujus Masgabæ, ante annum defuncti, tumulum cum ex triclinio animadvertisset magna turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit,

Κη'σιν δὲ τῷ μὲν εἰσορῶν πυρρὸν.

I see the founder's tomb with lights attended.

Conversusque ad Thrasylum Tiberii comitem, contra accubantem, & ignarum rei, in-

the utmost good nature and complaisance. As he happened to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria just then arrived, clad all in white, with crowns upon their heads, and burning frankincense to his honour, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamations, crying out, That by him they lived, by him they sailed, by him they enjoy'd their liberty and their fortunes. At which being extremely pleased, he distributed to each of his friends that attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them security by oath, not to employ the sum given them any other ways, than in the purchase of Alexandrian goods. And for several days after, amongst divers other presents he distributed Toga and Pallia, upon condition that the Romans should use the Græcian, and the Græcians the Roman dress and language. He constantly attended too, to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an antient establishment at Capree. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, and not only allowed, but required from them the utmost freedom in jesting and scrambling for fruit, vicinals and other things he threw amongst them. In short he indulged himself in all the ways of mirth he could think of. He called an island near Capree Αἰγυπία, i. e. the city of the due-littles, from the lazy life that several of his company led there. He had been used to call a favourite of his one Masgabas κτιστὴς, as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his parlour the tomb of this Masgabas, who died a year before, frequented by a great company of people with torches, he pronounced upon it this verse extempore.

And turning to Thrasyllus a companion of Tiberius's that lay over-against him, and was ignorant of the matter, terroga-

interrogavit cuiusnam poetæ
putaret esse : quo hesitante,
subiecit alium :

he asked him, what poet he thought was
the author of that verse : who demur-
ring upon it, he brought out another.

Ὁς δὲ οἶκον Μαργαβὰς ημεῶν ὄψεαι.

Honoured with flambeaux MASGABAS you see.

de hoc quoque consuluit :
cum ille nihil aliud responde-
ret, quam cuiuscunque essent,
optimos esse : cachinnum sus-
tulit, atque in jocos effusus est.
Mox Neapolim trajecit, quam-
quam & cum infirmis intesti-
nis morbo variante : tamen
& quinquennale certamen
gymnicum honori suo insti-
tum perspectavit : & cum Ti-
berio ad destinatum locum
contendit. Sed in redeundo,
aggravata valetudine, tandem
Nolæ succubuit : revocatum-
que ex itinere Tiberium, diu
secreto sermone detinuit, ne-
que post ulli majori negotio
animum accommodavit.

99. Supremo die identidem
exquirens, an jam de se tu-
multus foris esset, petito spe-
culo, capillum sibi comi, ac
malas labentes corrigi præce-
pit. Et amicos admissos per-
cunctatus, *Equid iis videretur*
minum vite commode
transgisse, adjecit & clau-
sulam :

and put the same question to him about
that too. To which he replying, that
whosoever was the author, the verses
were very good, he set up a great
laugh, and fell into an extraordinary
vein of jesting upon it. Soon after he
went over to Naples, altho' at that
time his bowels were in a bad condi-
tion, by the frequent returns of his di-
stemper, yet he set out the sight of some
solemn games, that used to be performed
every five years to his honour, and
came with Tiberius to the place de-
signed; but in his return growing worse,
he stop'd at Nola, sent for Tiberius
back again, and had a long discourse
with them in private, after which
he no more troubled his head with
business of any importance.

99. Upon the day of his death he
now and then enquired, if there was a-
ny disturbance in the town about him :
and calling for a looking glass, he or-
dered his hair to be combed, and his
falling cheeks to be rectified, and
asked his friends that were admitted
into the room, Whether they thought
he had acted his part in life well,
And then added,

Ἐὰν δὲ πᾶν ἔχῃ καλῶς, τῷ πατρὶσι
Δότι καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καλῶς κηρύσσεται.

If all be right, with joy your voices raise
In loud applauses to the actor's praise.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum
advenientes ab urbe de Drusi
filia ægra interrogabat, re-
pente in osculis Livie, & in
hac voce defecit : *Livia nostri*
conjugii memor vive, ac vale :
fortitus exitum facilem, &
qualem semper optaverat.
Nam fere quoties audisset, ci-
to ac nullo cruciatu defunc-
tum quempiam sibi & suis
ἀπαύσιον similem (hoc e-

After which having dismissed them all,
whilst he was asking some that were
just come from Rome, after Drusus's
daughter, who was not well, he expir-
ed amidst the kisses of his Livia, and
with these words, Livia, live mindful
of our marriage, and farewell ! dying
a very easy death, and such as he him-
self had always wished for. For as oft
as he heard that any one had died
quickly, and without pain, he wished
for himself and his friends the like
enim

nim et verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavescens, a quadraginta se juvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis diminutio fuit: siquidem totidem milites Praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

100. Obiit in cubiculo eodem quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompejo & Apulejo COSS. XIV Kal. Septembris, hora diei nona, septuagesimo & sexto aetatis anno, diebus quinque & triginta minus. Corpus Decuriones municipiorum & coloniarum a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt, noctibus, propter anni tempus; cum interdiu in basilica cujusque oppidi, vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit, urbiq; intulit, atque in vestibulo domus collocavit. Senatus & in funere orando, & in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria, quae est in curia, canentibus nentiam principum liberis utriusque sexus. Alii exsequiarum die ponendos annulos aureos, ferreosque sumendos: nonnulli legenda ossa per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit & qui suaderet appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam: quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset. Alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum ejus, seculum Augustum appellaretur, & ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est, pro rege D. Julii a Tiberio, & pro Rostrois sub Veteribus a Druso

Advaria, for that was the word he made use of. He gave but one token before his death of his being delirious, which was this; he was all on a sudden much frighted, and complained that he was carried away by forty men. But that was rather a presage, than any thing of a delirium; for just so many soldiers of his guards brought out his corps.

100. He died in the same room his father Octavius had done, when the two Sextus's Pompey and Apuleius were consuls, upon the fourteenth of the kalends of September, in the ninth hour of the day, wanting only five and thirty days of seventy six years of age. The senators of the municipia and colonies carried the corps from Nola to Boville, and in the night-time, because of the season of the year; in the day the body was lodged in some court of each town or great temple. The equestrian order met it at Boville, and carried it to the city, and deposited it in the porch of his own house. The senate proceeded with so much zeal in the ordering of his funeral, and the honouring of his memory, that amongst several other things, some were for having the funeral procession made thro' the triumphal gate, with the image of victory, that is in the senate house, going before, and the children of people of the first quality of both sexes singing the funeral ditty. Others moved that on the day of the funeral, they should lay aside their gold rings, and wear iron ones; others that his bones should be gathered by the priests of the superior orders. Some body advised too to transfer the name of Augustus to September, because he was born in this, but died in that. Another moved that all the time from his birth to his death should be called the August age, and be put down in the Calendar under that title. But at last it was judged proper to come to a medium in the honours to be paid to his memory. Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise, one before the temple of Julius by Tiberius; and the other before the rostra under the old shops, by Drusus Tiberius's son. And then he was Tiberii

Tiberii filio, ac senatorum humeris delatus in Campum, crematusque. Nec defuit vir prætorius qui se effigiem cremati cunctem in cælum vidisse juraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati, & discincti, pedibusque nudis, ac in Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam, ripamque Tiberis, sexto suo consulatu extruxerat: circumjectaque silvas & ambulationes in usum populi tunc jam

101. Testamentum L. Planco, C. Silio, COSS. III Nonas Aprilis, ante annum & quatuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo, ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius, partim libertorum Polybii & Hilarionis manu scriptum, depositumque apud se, virgines Vestales, cum tribus signatis æque voluminibus protulerunt. Quæ omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit primos, Tiberium ex parte dimidia, & sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos & ferre nomen suum iussit: secundos Drusum Tiberii filium ex triente, & ex partibus reliquis Germanicum, liberosque ejus tres sexus virilis: tertio gradu, propinquos amicosque complures. Legavit populo Rom. quadringenties, tribus tricies quinquies HS. Prætorianis militibus singula millia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos: legionariis trecentos nummos: quam summam repræsentari iussit: nam & confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit: produxitque quædam ad vicena sestertia: quibus solvendis annum diem finit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate: nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos, quam millies & quingenties, professus:

carried upon the shoulders of senators into the field of Mars, and burnt. Upon which a Prætorian gentleman took his oath, that he saw his ghost ascend into heaven. The most honourable persons of the equestrian order gathered up his relics in their tunicks loose, and barefoot, and laid them in the Mausoleum, which he had built in his sixth consulship, betwixt the Flaminian way and the bank of the Tiber, at which time too he gave the wood: and walks about it for the use of the people.

publicat.

101. He had made a will a year and four months before his death, upon the third of the nones of april, in the consulship of L. Plancus and C. Silius. It consisted of two skins of parchment, writ partly in his own hand, and partly by his freed-men Polybius and Hilarion. It had been committed to the custody of the Vestal virgins, by whom it was now produced, with three other volumes, all sealed up as well as the will, which were every one read in the senate. He appointed for his first heirs, Tiberius for two thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, whom he likewise order'd to take his name. The heirs substituted in their room, in case of death, were Drusus Tiberius's son for a third part, and Germanicus and his three sons for the rest. Next to them were his relations and several of his friends. He left in legacies to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces; to the tribes three millions five hundred thousand; to the guards a thousand a piece, to the city battalions five hundred; and to the soldiers in the legions three hundred each; which several sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death. For the money he had taken care to have ready in his exchequer. For the rest he ordered different times of payment; and in some he went as far as twenty thousand sesterces, for the paying of which he allowed a year's time, alledging for his excuse the scantiness of his estate; and declaring that not above an hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would come to his heirs: tho' in the foregoing twenty years he had
quamvis

quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies millies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod pæne omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis, cæterisque hereditariis in Remp. absumpisset. Julia, filiam neptemque, si quid his accidisset, vetuit sepulchro suo inferri. De tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est; altero indicem rerum à se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante Mausoleum statuerentur: tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum milium sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario & fiscis, & vectigaliorum residuis. Adjecit & libertorum servorumque nomina à quibus ratio exigi posset.

left him by his friends fourteen hundred millions: all which almost with his two paternal estates, and other estates he had left him, he expended upon the publick. He left order that the two Julias his daughter and grand-daughter, should not be buried in his sepulchre. As to the three volumes I mentioned, in one of them he gave orders about his funeral, in another a narrative of the actions performed by him, which he had a mind should be cut in brass-plates, and set up before his Mausoleum. In the third he had laid down a brief account of the state of the empire; as the number of soldiers in pay, what money there was in the treasury, exchequer, and arrears of taxes; to which he added the names of the freed-men and slaves, from whom the several accounts might be taken.



C. SUET. TRANQUILLI

TIBERIIUS

NERO CÆSAR III.



CAPUT I.

 P ATRICIA gens
 Claudia (fuit enim & alia plebeja, nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam, cum magna clientum manu commigravit, auctore Tito Tatío consorte Romuli: vel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe, post reges exactos sexto fere anno, à patribus in patricos cooptata. Agrum insuper trans Anienem

 T HE Patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a Plebeian family of the same name, no ways inferior to the other in power and dignity) came originally from Regilli a town of the Sabines. From thence they removed to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependents, under Titus Tatius, who was partner with Romulus in the kingdom, or perhaps (which there appears better authority for) under Atta Claudius head of the family, six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins; at which time they were by the senate chose
 B clientibus

clientibus, locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publicè accepit. Deinceps procedente tempore, duodetriginta consularis, dictaturas quinque censuras septem, triumphos septem, duas ovationes adæpta est. Cum prænominibus cognominibusque variis distingueretur, Lucii prænomen consensu repudiavit, postquam è duobus gentilibus præditis eo, alter Iarocinii, cædis alter convictus est. Inter cognomina autem, & Neronis assumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus.

2. Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam sæcis admissa in Republicam exstant. Sed ut præcipua commemorem, Appius Cæcus societatem cum rege Pyrrho, ut parum salubrem inire dissuasit. Claudius Caudex, primus freto classe transiecto, Pœnos Sicilia expulit. Claudius Nero advenientem ex Hispania cum ingentibus copiis Asdrubalem, priusquam Hannibali fratri conjungeretur, oppressit. Contra Claudius Appius Regillanus decemvir legibus scribendis virginem ingenuam per vim, libidinis gratia, in servitutem asserere conatus, causa fuit plebi sededendi rursus à paribus. Claudius Drusus, statua sibi cum diademate ad Appii Forum posita, Italiam per clientelas occupare tentavit. Claudius Pulcher apud Siciliam non pascentibus in auspiciando pullis, ac per contemptum religionis mari demersis, quasi ut biberent, quando esse nollent, prælium navale iniit : superatusque cum dictatorem dicere à senatu juberetur, velut iterum illudens discrimini publico, Glyciam viatorem suum dixit. Exstant & sæminarum exempla diversa æque : siquidem

into the body of the nobility, and received from the government land for their dependent beyond the Anien, and a burying-place for themselves nigh the Capitol. After that, in process of time, this family had the honour of eight and twenty consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations. The descendants of the family were distinguished by various prænomena and cognomina, but rejected by consent the prænomen of Lucius, after two of them with that name were convicted, one of robbery, and the other of murder. Among other cognomina, they assumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine tongue signifies brave and valiant.

2. There are upon record very eminent services done the publick by many of the Claudii, and several things of a quite different strain. But to take notice of the most remarkable only, Appius Cæcus dissuaded the senate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the publick. Claudius Caudex first past the strait of Sicily, with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians out of the island. Claudius Nero cut off Asdrubal with a vast army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain, before he could join his brother Annibal. On the other hand Claudius Appius Regillanus, one of the ten commissioners appointed for the compiling a body of laws for the Roman state, attempting in a violent manner, to have a young gentlewoman declared by a judicial sentence a slave, for the gratifying his lust, occasioned a second separation of the commons from the senate. Claudius Drusus erected a statue for himself at Appii forum, with a diadem, and endeavoured by the means of his dependents to make himself master of Italy. Claudius Pulcher, upon the coast of Sicily, when the pullets, upon his using them in the way of augury, would not eat, in contempt of the ominous presage, sunk them in the sea, as if he was resolved they should drink however, if they would not eat ; and thereupon engaged the enemy, and was defeated ; and being ordered by the senate to name a dictator, as if he had a mind to make a jest of the publick

gent

gentis ejusdem utraque Claudia fuit, & quæ navem cum sacris matris deum Idææ obhærentem Tiberino vado extraxit, precata propalam, ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret: & quæ novo more judicium majestatis apud populum mulier subiit, quod in conferta multitudine ægre procedente carpento, palam optaverit, ut frater suus Pulcher revivisceret, atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romæ foret. Præterea notissimum est, Claudios omnes, excepto duntaxat P. Claudio, qui ob expellendum urbem Ciceronem plebejo homini atque etiam natu minori, in adoptionem se dedit, optimates assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentie patriciorum semper fuisse, atque adversus plebem adeo violentos ac contumaces, ut ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare vestem aut deprecari sultimerit: nonnulli in altercatione & jurgio tribunos plebis pulsaverint. Etiam virgo Vestalis fratrem injussu populi triumphantem, adscenso simul curru, usque in Capitolium profecuta est, ne vetare aut intercedere fas cuiquam tribunorum esset.

A Vestal virgin too of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honour of a triumph, in spite of the authority of the people to the contrary, mounted his chariot with him, and attended him into the Capitol, to prevent the Tribunes from interposing to forbid it.

3. Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Cæsar genus trahit, & quidem utrumque, paternum à Tiberio Nerone; maternum, ab Appio Pulchro: qui ambo Appii Cæci filii fuerunt. Inierunt est et Livionum familiæ, adoptato in eam materno avo. Quæ familia, quamquam plebeja, tamen & ipsa admodum floruit, octo consulatibus, censuris duabus, triumphis tribus; dictatura etiam ac magisterio equitum honorata: clara & insignibus

danger, he named his officer Glycias. There are likewise instances in history of the good and bad behaviour of the women of the family. For both the Claudias were of this family, she, that when the ship with the holy things appertaining to the Idaean mother of the Gods stuck fast upon the sands of the Tiber, brought it off, after she had with a loud voice pray'd to the Goddess, to follow her if she was chaste; and also she that contrary to the custom of the Romans (who had not been used to proceed in that manner against women) was tried by the people for treason, because when her chariot had much ado to get through a great crowd in the streets, she had wish'd aloud, that her brother Pulcher was alive again, to lose another fleet, that there might be less throng at Rome. Besides it is notorious in history, that all the Claudii, excepting only P. Claudius, who in order to get Cicerobanished, procured a commoner, and one younger than himself too, to adopt him, were always of the noble party, and mighty sticklers for the honour and power of the patricians, and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the commons, that ne'er a one of them, even in the case of a tryal for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favour: and some of them in their contests with the commons have beat their Tribunes.

3. From this family Tiberius Cæsar is descended, and indeed both by father and mother's side, by the father from Tiberius Nero, and by the mother from Appius Pulcher, both which were the sons of Appius Cæcus. He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grand-father into it, which family, tho' plebeian, yet made a very great figure, being honoured with eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship, and the office of master of the horse; and was famous for considerable men, and especially Salinator and the Drusi. *Sal-*
R 2 *viris,*

viris, ac maxime Salinatore Drusisque. Salinator universas tribus in censura notavit, levitatis nomine, quod cum se post priorem consulatum multa irrogata condemnassent, consulem iterum censoremque fecissent. Drusus hostium duce Drauso cominus trucidato, sibi posterisque suis cognomen invenit. Traditur etiam pro prætore ex provincia Gallia retulisse aurum Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum, nec, ut fama, extortum a Camillo. Ejus abnepos, ob eximiam adversus Gracchos operam patronus senatus dictus, filium reliquit, quem in simili diffensione multa varie molientem, diversa factio per fraudem interemit.

4. Pater vero Tiberii, quaestor C. Caesaris, Alexandrino bello classi præpositus, plurimum ad victoriam contulit. Quare & Pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus, & ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in quæ Narbona & Arelate erant, missus est. Tamen Cæsare occiso, cunctis turbatum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de præmiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit. Prætura deinde functus, cum exitu anni discordia inter Triumviros exorta esset, retentis ultra justum tempus insignibus, L. Antonium consulem Triumviri fratrem ad Perusiam securus, deditione à cæteris facta, solus permansit in partibus, ac primo Præneste, inde Neapolim evasit, servisque ad pileum frustra vocatis, in Siciliam profugit. Sed indigne ferens, nec statim se in conspectum Sex. Pompeji admissum, & fascium usu prohibuit, ad M. Antonium trajecit in Achajam. Cum quo brevi reconciliata inter omnes pace, Romanum

nator in his censorship put a mark of infamy upon all the tribes, for their inconstancy in making him consul a second time, and censor, tho' they had condemned and fined him after his first consulship. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new fir-name, by killing in close fight hand to hand one Drausus, a general of the enemy. He is likewise said to have recovered when proprator in the province of Gaul, the gold that had been formerly given to the Senones, in the siege of the capitol, and had not, as the report goes, been forced from them again by Camillus. His great-great-grand-son, who for his extraordinary service against the Gracchi, was stiled the Patron of the senate, left a son, whom making a mighty bustle with a variety of projects, upon occasion of such another broil the opposite party treacherously murdered.

4. But the father of Tiberius being Quaestor to C. Caesar, and commander of the fleet in the war of Alexandria, contributed mainly to the success of it. Wherefore he was made one of the high-priests in the room of P. Scipio, and was sent to settle some colonies in Gaul, and amongst the rest those of Narbon and Arles. Notwithstanding, after the death of Caesar, when the rest of the senators for fear of public disturbances, were for having the fact buried in oblivion, he thought fit to move the house for rewarding those that had killed the tyrant. After he was out of his præorship, upon occasion of a difference breaking out amongst the Triumviri, in the end of the year, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following Lucius Antonius the consul, brother to the Triumvir, to Perugia, tho' the rest submitted, yet he by himself continued firm to the party, and got off first to Præneste, and then to Naples: and having in vain invited the Slaves to liberty, he fled over to Sicily. But taking it very ill, that he was not immediately admitted into the presence of Sexus Pompeius, and was moreover forbid the use of the fasces, he went over into Achajia to Mark Anthony, with whom, upon a reconcilia-

cedit,

rediit, uxoremque Liviam Drusillam & tunc gravidam, & ante jam apud se filium enixam, perenti Augusto concessit. Nec multo post diem obiit, utroque liberorum superstitite, Tiberio Drusoque Neronibus.

5. Tiberium quidam Fundis natum existimaverunt, secuti levem conjecturam, quod materna ejus avia Fundana fuerit, & quod mox simulachrum Felicitatis ex senatus consulto publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures, certioresque tradunt, natus est Romæ in Palatio, xvi Kal. Decemb. M. Emilio Lepido iterum, L. Munatio Planco COSS. post bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque publica relatum est. Nec tamen desunt qui partim antecedente anno, Hirtii ac Pansa; partim insequente, Servilii Isaurici Antonique consulatu, genitum eum scribant.

6. Infantiam pueritiamque habuit laboriosam, & exercitum: comes usquequaque parentum fugæ: quos quidem apud Neapolim sub irruptionem hostis navigium clam perentes, vagitu suo pæne bis prodidit; semel cum à nutricis ubere, item cum à sinu matris raptim auferretur ab iis qui pro necessitate temporis mulierculas levare onere tentabant. Per Siciliam quoque & Achajam circumductus, ac Lacedæmoniis publice, quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, digrediens inde itinere nocturno, discrimen vitæ adiit: flamma repente è silvis undique exorta, adeoque omnem comitatum circumplexa, ut Livie pars vestis & capilli amburentur. Munera, quibus à Pompeja Sext. Pompeii sorore in Sicilia donatus est, chlamys & fibula, item bullæ aureæ, durant, ostendunturque

tion soon after brought about amongst the several contending parties, he returned to Rome; and at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife Livia Drusilla, tho' she was then big with child, and had before bore him a son: and died not long after, leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero.

5. Some have fancied that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but upon a very trifling foundation for it, because his mother's grandmother was of Fundi, and because the image of good fortune was by a decree of the senate erected in a publick place there. But as the generality of authors and of better credit say, he was born at Rome, in the Palatium, upon the 16th of the calends of december, when M. Æmilius Lepidus was second time consul, with Lucius Munatius Plancus, after the battle of Philippi; for thus it is registered in the calendar, and the publick acts. And yet there are some who say that he was born the year before in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and others say in the year following, in that of Servilius Isauricus and Anthony.

6. His infancy and childhood was attended with a great deal of danger and trouble. He went along with his parents in their flight every where, whom he had like to have betray'd by his crying at Naples, as they were privately making down to their ship, upon the enemy's breaking into the town; once, when he was taken from his nurse's breast, and again when he was hastily taken from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who in that necessity of haste, were for easing the poor women of their burthen. Being carried thro' Sicily and Achæa, and entrusted some time to the government of the Lacedæmonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence by night, he run the hazard of his life, by a fire suddenly bursting out of a wood on all hands, that enclosed the whole company, so that part of Livie's cloaths and her hair were burnt. The presents made him by Pompeia sister to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, viz. a cloak, and a clasp, and golden bullæ, are yet in being, and shewn at Baia to this day.

adhuc

adhuc Bajis. Post reditum in urbem à M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus, hereditate adira, mox nomine abstinuit : quod Gallius adversarum Augusto partium fuerat. Novem natus annos, defunctum patrem pro Rostris laudavit. Dehinc pubescens, Aetiaci triumpho curram Augusti comitatus est, sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviae filius dexteriore veheretur. Praesedit & Aetiacis ludis, & Trojanis Circensibus, ductor turmae puerorum majorum.

After his return to town, being adopted by Marcus Gallius, a senator, in his will, he entered upon the estate, but soon after declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party against Augustus. When he was but nine years old, he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his father upon the rostra; and afterwards, when he was almost at man's estate, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his triumph for the victory at Actium, riding upon the outside horse of his chariot to the left hand, whilst Marcellus Octavia's son rid upon the right. He likewise presided in the games celebrated upon account of that victory, and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he was commander of a troop of bigger boys.

7. Virili toga sumpta, adolescentiam omnem, spatiumque insequentis ætatis usque ad principatus initium, per hæc fere transiegit : Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris, & alterum in avi Drusi dedit, diversis temporibus, ac locis : primum in foro, secundum in Amphitheatro : rudiaris quoque quibusdam revocatis, auctoramento centenum millium. Dedit & ludos, sed absens : cuncta magnifice, impensa matris ac vitricii. Agrippinam M. Agrippa genitam, neptem Cæcilii Attici, equitis Romani, ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistolæ, duxit uxorem : sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quamquam bene convenientem, rursusque gravidam, dimittere, ac Juliam Augusti filiam confectum coactus est ducere : non sine magno angore animi, cum & Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur, & Juliae mores improbarer; ut quam sensisset, sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem quod sane vulgo etiam existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam & abegisse post divortium doluit : & semel omnino ex occurfu visam adeo contentis & tumentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne unquam in conspectum ejus posthac veniret.

After the taking of the mantle habit, he spent his youth, and the rest of his life, till he came to the government as follows. He gave the people an entertainment of Gladiators, in memory of his father, and another for his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places; the first in the forum, the second in the Amphitheatre, some gladiators that had been honourably discharged, being tempted to engage again, by a reward of a hundred thousand Sesterces. He likewise presented the people with plays, but was not present himself. All which he did in a very splendid manner, at the charge of his mother and father-in-law. He married Agrippina the daughter of Mark Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Cæcilius Atticus a Roman knight, the same that Cicero's epistles are directed to: And after he had his son Drusus by her, he was obliged to part with her, tho' she was perfectly agreeable to him, and was again with child, in order to marry Augustus's daughter Julia. But this he did in the anguish of his soul, for he was exceedingly in love with Agrippina, and did not at all like Julia's behaviour, as who, he perceived, would needs have been kind with him, in her former husband's time; which was too the general opinion of her. After his divorce, he was heartily sorry for parting with her, and once upon meeting her he followed her with his eyes so fixed and prominent, that care was taken, she should never come more in his sight. He lived at first pretty quietly and

Cum

Cum Julia primo concorditer & amore mutuo vixit: mox discedit, & aliquanto gravius ut etiam perpetuo secubaret, intercepto communis filii pignore, qui Aquilejæ natus infans exstinctus est. Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit, cujus corpus pedibus toto itinere prægrediens, Romam

lovingly with Julia, but soon came to a breach with her, and so wide, that he would never bed more with her, after the loss of his son he had by her, which was born at Aquileia, and died an infant. He lost his brother Drusus in Germany, whose body he brought to Rome, travelling all the way on foot before it.

usque pervexit.

8. Civilium officiorum rudimentis regem Archelaum, Trallianos & Thessalos, varia quoque de causa Augusto cognoscere defendit. Pro Laodicenis, Thyatirens, Chis terræ motu afflictis, opemque implorantibus, senatum deprecatus est. Fannium Cæpionem, qui cum Varrone Muræna in Augustum conspiraverat, reum majestatis apud iudices fecit, & condemnavit. Interque hæc duplicem curam administravit, annonæ quæ arctior inciderat, & repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in invidiam venerant: quasi exceptos supprimerent, non solum viatores, sed & quos sacramenti metus ad hujusmodi latebras contulisset.

fear of serving in the wars put Heads in.

9. Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit: deinde ducto ad Orientem exercitu, regnum Armeniæ Tigrani restituit, ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit. Recepit & signa quæ M. Crasso ademerant Parthi. Post hæc comatam Galliam anno fere rexit, & Barbarorum incursionibus, & principum discordia inquietam. Exhinc Rhæticum Vindelicumque bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum gessit. Rhætico atque Vindelico, gentes Alpinas; Pannonico, Breucos & Dalmatas subegit. Germanico, quadraginta millia dedititiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit.

8. In his first essays in the offices of civil life, he pleaded the several causes of king Archelaus, the Trallians, and Thessalians, before Augustus, who sat as judge for the tryal of them. He interceded with the senate in behalf of the Laodiceans, the Thyatireans, and Chians, that had suffered greatly by an earthquake, and begged relief of the Romans. He prosecuted Fannius Cæpio, who had been engaged in a conspiracy with Varro Muræna against Augustus, and procured sentence of condemnation against him. And during these transactions, he had a double charge upon his hands, that of supplying the city with corn, which then happened to be very scarce, and that of purging the work-houses throughout Italy, the masters of which were fallen under an odious suspicion, of seizing and keeping confined, not only travellers, but those too whom the upon seeking such Places to hide their

9. He made his first campaign in the war of Cantabria, in quality of a tribune. After that he led an army to the east, where he restored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes; and being seated upon a tribunal, put a diadem upon his head. He likewise received from the Parthians the standards they had taken from Crassus. After that he governed the province of Gallia Comata for near a year, which was then in great disorder, by reason of the incursions of the barbarians, and the feuds of the grandees. After that he commanded in the several wars against the Rhætians, Vindelicians, Pannonians and Germans. In the Rhætian and Vindelician wars, he subdued the nations in the Alps; and in the Pannonian, the Breucians, and the Dalmatians. In the German war he

Quas

quas ob res & ovans, & curru urbem ingressus est; primus, ut quidam purant, triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, novo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris. Magistratus & maturius inchoavit, & pæne junctim percurrit, quæsturam, præturam, consulatum; interpositoque tempore, consulatum iterum, etiam tribunitiâ potestatem in quinquennium accepit.

ly; and after some interval was a second time made consul and received the Tribunitian authority for five years.

10. Tot prosperis confluentibus, integra ætate ac valentudine statuit repente secedere, seque à medio quam longissime amovere. Dubium uxorisne tædio, quam neque criminari aut dimittere auderet, neque ultra perferre posset; an ut viato assiduitatis fastidio, auctoritatem absentia rueretur, atque etiam augeret, si quando indigni fieri sui Respublica. Quidam existimant, a ductis jam Augusti liberis, loco & quasi possessione usurpati à se diu secundi gradus, sponte cessisse, exemplo M. Agrippæ, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto, Mitylenas abierit: ne aut obstare, aut obrectare præsens videretur. Quam causam & ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem, ac requiem laborum prætendens, comæatam petiit. Neque aut matri suppliciter precanti, aut vitrico, deseri se etiam in senatu conquerenti, veniam dedit. Quin & pertinacius retinentibus, cibo quadriduum abstinuit. Facta tandem abundi potestate, relictis Romæ uxore & filio, confestim Ostiam descendit: ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito, paucosque admodum in digressu osculatus.

Ostia, without speaking a word to any that waited upon him thither; and kissed but very few at parting.

transplanted forty thousand of the enemy, that submitted, into Gaul, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For which actions he entered the city in ovation, but mounted on a chariot, and was the first, as some are of opinion, that was honoured with triumphal ornaments, a mark of distinction that had never been conferred upon any before. He entered upon the publick offices of state very young, and run through the Quæstorship, Prætorship and Consulate almost successively.

10. In the midst of all his prosperity, in the prime of his years, and a good state of health, he all on a sudden took up a resolution to withdraw to a great distance from Rome; whether because he was quite weary of his wife, whom he neither durst complain of, nor divorce, but was no longer able to bear with; or to prevent that indifferency for him, which his constant residence in the city might possibly occasion, and in hopes of supporting and improving his authority by his absence, if the publick should have occasion for his service, is uncertain. Some think, that because Augustus's sons were now grown men, he voluntarily quitted the possession he had long enjoy'd of the second post in the government, as Agrippa had done before him, who, when M. Marcellus was advanced to publick offices, retired to Mitylene, that he might not seem to stand in the way of his rise, or lessen him in any respect by his presence; which reason too Tiberius gave for his retirement afterwards: But then pretending himself quite satiated with honours, and desirous to be relieved from the fatigue of business, he begged leave to withdraw; nor could he be prevailed upon to alter his resolution, either by the passionate entreaty of his mother, or the complaints of his father in law in the senate, that he was deserted by him. And upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to eat any thing for four days together; wherefore leave being at last granted him, he left the city with his wife and son, and went immediately for

II. Ab Ostia oram Campaniæ legens, imbecillitate Augusti nuntiata, paulum substitit, sed increbescente rumore, quasi ad occasionem majoris spei commoraretur, tantum non adversis tempestatibus Rhodum enavigavit, amœnitate & salubritate insulæ jam inde captus, cum ad eam ab Armenia rediens appulisset. Heic modicis contentus ædibus, nec multo laxiore suburbano, genus vitæ civile admodum instituit: sine lictore aut viatore gymnasia interdum obambulans: mutuaque cum Græculis officia usurpans, prope ex æquo. Forte quodam in disponendo die, mane prædixerat, quicquid agrorum in civitate esset visitare se velle: id à proximis aliter exceptum est: jusque sunt omnes ægri in publicam porticum deferri, ac per valetudinum genera disponi. Percussus igitur inopinata re, diu quid ageret incertus, tandem singulos circum: excusans factum etiam tenuissimo cuique, & ignoto. Unum hoc tantummodo, neque præterea quidquam notatum est, in quo exercuisse jus tribunitiæ potestatis visus sit: Cum circa scholas & auditoria professorum assiduus esset, moto inter antrophistas graviore jurgio, non defuit qui eum intervenientem & quasi studiosiorem partis alterius convitio incesse. Sensim itaque regressus domum repente cum apparitoribus prodit: citatumque pro tribunali voce præconis convitiatorem rapit iussit in carcerem. Comperit deinde Juliam uxorem ob libidines atque adulteria damnatam, repudiumque ei suo nomine, ex auctoritate Augusti, remissum: & quamquam lætus animo, tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiae pa-

II. From Ostia coasting along Campania, upon advice of Augustus's being taken ill, he halted a little. But a rumour growing common upon it, as if he stayed with a view to something extraordinary, he sailed away; and with the wind almost full against him, arrived at Rhodes, having been much taken with the pleasantness, and wholesomeness of the island, from the time of his calling there in his return from Armenia. Here contenting himself with a moderate house, and a country-seat nigh the town not much larger, he lived almost like any private gentleman, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia, without any serjeant or officer to attend him, and returning the civilities of the Greeks, with as much complaisance almost as if he had been upon a level with them. He chanced one morning, in settling the manner of his passing the day, to say, he would visit all the sick people in town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick people were brought into a publick portico, and placed in order, according to their several distempers. Being strangely abashed at this unexpected accident, he was for a long time uncertain what to do; yet at last he went round them all, and made his excuse even to the meanest amongst them and such as were wholly unknown to him. There is one instance taken notice of, and but one, wherein he appeared to exercise his tribunitian authority. As he was a constant attendant upon the schools and auditorys of the professors of the liberal arts, upon occasion of a quarrel amongst the disputing sophisters, wherein he interposed to make peace amongst them some body took the liberty to abuse him as partial in the affair. Whereupon withdrawing privately home, he suddenly came abroad with his officers attending him, summoned the person that had offered the abuse before him, by the voice of a publick cryer, and ordered him to be carried to prison. After this he received advice that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lewdness and adultery, and a bill of divorce sent her in his name, by the authority of Augustus: and tho'

trem

rem frequentibus literis, & vel utcunque meritis, quicquid unquam dono dedisset, concedere. Transacto autem tribunitiæ potestatis tempore, confessus tandem nihil aliud secessu devitasse se, quam æmulationis cum Cajo Lucioque suspicionem, petiit ut sibi securo jam ab hac parte, corroboratis his, & secundum locum facile tutantibus, permitteretur revivere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur. Sed neque impetravit: ultroque etiam admonitus est dimitteret omnem curam suorum, quæ tam cupide reliquisset.

not prevail, and was bid to whom he had been so passionately

12. Remansit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem: vix per matrem consecutus ut ad velandam ignominiam, quasi legatus ab Augusto abesset. Enimvero tunc non privatum modo, sed etiam obnoxium, & trepidum egit, mediterraneis agris abditus, vitansque præternavigantium officia, quibus frequentabatur assidue: nemine cum imperio, aut magistratu tendente quoquam, quin diverteret Rhodum. Et acceperunt majoris sollicitudinis causæ. Namque privignum Cajum, Orienti præpositum, cum visendi gratia trajecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lollii comitis & rectoris ejus. Venit etiam in suspicionem per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones, à commeatu castra repetentes, mandata ad complures dedisse ambigua, & quæ tentare singulorum animos ad novas res viderentur. De qua suspicione certior ab Augusto factus, non cessavit efflagitare aliquem, cujuslibet ordinis, custodem factis atque dictis suis.

he was glad of the news; yet he thought it concerned him in point of decency, to interpose in her behalf, by frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her the presents he had made her, how ill soever she had deserved at his hands. When the time of his Tribunitian authority was expired, declaring at last that he had aimed at nothing else in his retirement, than only to decline all suspicion of a rivalry with Caius and Lucius, he petitioned, that since he was now secure in that respect, by reason they were arrived at full manhood, and would easily maintain themselves in the possession of the second post of the empire, he might be permitted to visit his friends, whom he was very desirous to see. But he could lay aside all concern for his relations, fond of leaving.

12. Wherefore he continued at Rhodes much against his will, obtaining with much ado by his mother, the title of Augustus's lieutenant, to conceal his disgrace. But now he lived not only as a private person, but in great danger and perplexity, retiring up into the country, and avoiding the visits of those that sailed that way, which were very frequent; for no one passed for the command of an army, or government of a province in those parts, without putting in at Rhodes. But there were some other things that still gave him greater disturbance; for passing over into Samos to pay a visit to his step-son Caius, that had been made a governor of the East, he found his mind had been soured against him by the ugly insinuations of M. Lollius his companion and governor. He likewise fell under a suspicion of sending by some captains of his own advancing, upon their return to the camp, after a furrow, dark kind of messages to several gentlemen there, as if design'd to discover how they stood disposed to a rebellion. With which jealousy of him being made acquainted by Augustus, he begged incessantly, that somebody of any of the three orders, might be placed as a spy upon him in every thing he said or did.

13. Equi quoque & armorum solitas exercitationes omisit: redegitque se, deposito patrio habitu, ad pallium, & crepidas: atque in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies, & inuisior: adeo ut imagines ejus & statuas Nemaufenses subverterint: ac familiari quodam convivio mentione ejus orta, exstiterit qui Cajo polliceretur, *Confestum se, si juberet, Rhodum navigaturum, caputque exsulis*, sic enim appellabatur, *relaturum*. Quo præcipue, non jam metu sed discrimine coactus est tam suis quam matris impensissimis precibus reditum expostulare: impetravitque, adjutus aliquantum etiam casu. Destinatum Augusto erat, nihil super ea re, nisi ex voluntate majoris filii, statuere. Is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisque in vitricum fuit. Permittente ergo Cajo, revocatus est: verum sub conditione, ne quam partem curamve Reipublicæ attingeret.

14. Rediit octavo post cessum anno, magna, nec incerta spe futurorum, quam & ostentis, & prædictionibus ab initio ætatis conceperat. Prægnans enim Livia, cum an marem editura esset, variis captaret ominibus, ovum incubanti gallinæ subductum, nunc sua, nunc ministrarum manu, per vices usque eo fovit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est. Ac de infante Scribonius mathematicus præclara spondit, *etiam regnaturum quandoque, sed sine regio insigni*: ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Cæsarium potestate. Et ingresso primam expeditionem, ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit, ut apud Philippos sacratæ olim victricium legionum aræ, sponte subitis collucerent ig-

13. He laid aside too his usual Exercises of riding and arms; and quitting the Roman dress, made use of the pallium and crepida; and continued almost two years in this condition, every day more contemptible and odious; insomuch that the Nemaufensians, pulled down all the images and statues of him in their town; and upon mention made of him at Caius's table, some of the company offered Caius, To go over to Rhodes, if he pleased, and bring him the Exile's head, for that was the name he went by. Being alarm'd upon this no longer with bare surmises and apprehensions, but the visible face of danger, he begged again for leave to return, with the most earnest supplications that he and his mother both could make use of, and prevailed, being somewhat help'd in the matter by an accident. Augustus was resolved to determine nothing in the affair, but with the consent of his elder son. He at that time was out of humour with M. Lollius, and for that reason was easily wrought to a compliance in favour of his father in law; and accordingly upon his permission, he was recalled, but upon condition that he should not muddle in the administration at all.

14. He came home in the 8th year of his retirement, with great and certain hopes of his future rise, which from his youth he had conceived by various prodigies and predictions. For Livia when with child of him, being desirous to discover by various ways of divination, whether she was with a son, amongst the rest, took an egg from a hen that was sitting, and kept it warm with her own hands, and her maids by turns, till a fine cock chicken with a large comb was hatched. And Scribonius the astrologer promised mighty things of him, when he was but a child; And that he would come in time to be a king too, but without the usual badge of royal dignity. The dignity of the Cæsars being as yet unknown to the world. And as he was going upon his first expedition, and leading his army through Macedonia for Syria, the altars that had been consecrated at Philippi by the victorious legions, blazed out of themselves all on a sudden with fire. And soon after, a
S 2 nibus.

nibus: & mox cum Illyricum petens, juxta Patavium adisset Geryonis oraculum, forte tracta, qua monebatur ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos jaceret: evenit ut summum numerum jacti ab eo ostenderent: hodieque sub aqua videntur ii tali. Ante paucos vero quam revocaretur dies, aquila, nunquam antea Rhodi conspecta, in culmine domus ejus assedit: & pridie quam de reditu certior fieret, vestimenta mutanti, tunica ardere visa est. Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum, quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admoverat, tunc maxime expertus est, affirmantem nave praevisa gaudium afferri, cum quidem illum, durius, & contra praedicta cadentibus rebus, ut falsum & secretorum temere conscium, eo ipso momento dum spatia- tur una, precipitare in mare destinasset.

15. Romam reversus, deducto in forum filio Druso, statim è Carinis ac Pompejana domo, Esquilias in horros Mæcenatianos transmigravit: totumque se ad quietem contulit, privata modo officia obiens, ac publicorum munera expers. Cajo & Lucio intra triennium defunctis, adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa: coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quidquam postea pro patrefamilias egit: aut jus quod adoptione amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neque donavit, neque manumisit: nec hereditatem quidem, aut legata percepit ulla aliter, quam ut peculio referret accepta: nihil ex eo tempore prætermisum est ad majestatem ejus augendam, ac multo magis postquam, Agrippa abdicato atque se-

he was marching to Illyricum, he called to consult the oracle of Geryon at Patavium, and having drawn a lot by which he was ordered to throw golden tali into the fountain of Aponus, for the satisfaction of his query, he did so, and the highest numbers came up, and those very tali are to be seen to this day at the bottom of the spring. A few days before his return, an eagle, a bird never seen before at Rhodes, sat all day long upon his house top. And the day before he received advice of the liberty given him to come home, as he was changing his cloaths, his tunick appeared to be all on fire. He then had a notable experiment of the art of Thrasyllus the astrologer, whom for his skill in philosophy he had taken into his family; for upon sight of the ship that brought the advice, he said good news was coming, whereas all things going wrong before, and quite contrary to his predictions, he had design'd that very moment to toss him into the sea, as they were walking together, for a cheat, and one he had too hastily trusted with his secrets.

15. Upon his return to Rome, having introduced his son Drusus into the forum, he immediately removed from Pompey's house in the Carinae, to the gardens of Mæcenat in the Esquiliae, and gave himself up entirely to his ease, performing only the common offices of civility in private life, without any preferment in the government at all. But Caius and Lucius being both carryed off in three years time, he was adopted by Augustus, together with their brother Agrippa: being oblig'd in the first place to adopt Germanicus his brother's son. After this he never more preterded to act as master of a family, or retained in the least the rights he had lost by his adoption. For he neither disposed of any thing in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave, nor so much as received any estate left him by will, or any legacy without reckoning it as a part of his peculium, or property allowed him by his father. From that day forward nothing was omitted, that might contribute to the advancement of his grandeur, and much more, when
posito

posito, certum erat, uni spem
successionis incumbere.

16. Data rursus potestas, tribunitia in quinquenni-
um: delegatus pacandæ Ger-
maniæ status: Parthorum le-
gati, mandatis Augusto Ro-
mæ redditis, eum quoque ad-
ire in provinciam iussi. Sed
nuntata Illyrici defectione,
transiit ad curam novi belli:
quod gravissimum omnium
externorum bellorum post
Punica, per xv legiones, pa-
remque auxiliorum copiam,
triennio gessit, in magnis
omnium rerum difficultatibus
summaque frugum inopia. Et
quamquam sæpius revocaretur
tamquam perseveravit; metuens
ne vicinus & prævalens hostis
instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac
perseverantiæ grande pretium
tulit: toto Illyrico, quod
inter Italiam, regnumque No-
ricum, & Thraciam, & Ma-
cedoniam, interque Danubi-
um flumen, & suum maris
Adriatici patet, perdomito &
in ditionem redacto.

17. Cui gloriæ amplior ad-
huc ex opportunitate cumu-
lus accessit. Nam sub id fere
tempus Quintilius Varus, cum
tribus legionibus in Germania
perit: nemine dubitante,
qui victores Germani juncti
se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi
debellatum prius Illyricum
esset. Quas ob res triumphus
ei decretus est, multique &
magni honores. Centuerunt
etiam quidam, ut Pannonicus,
alii ut Invictus, nonnulli ut
Pius cognominaretur. Sed de
cognomine intercessit Augus-
tus, eo contentum repromit-
tens, quod se defuncto suscep-
turus esset. Triumphum ipse
distulit, mœsta civitate clade
Variana. Nihilominus urbem
prætextatus & laurea coronatus
intravit: positumque in Sep-
tici tribum, senatu adstan-
te conscendit: ac medi-

upon the discarding and banishing of
Agrippa, it was visible the hopes of
the succession rested upon him alone.

16. The Tribunitian authority was
again conferred upon him for five years,
and a commission given him to settle
the state of Germany. The Embassa-
dors of the Parthians, after they had
an audience of Augustus, were ordered
to apply to him too in his province. But
upon advice of a rising in Illyricum,
he went over to look after the manage-
ment of that new war, which proved
the most dangerous of all the foreign
wars, since the Carthaginian. This
he managed for three years together,
with fifteen legions and an equal num-
ber of auxiliary forces, under great dif-
ficulties, and a vast scarcity of corn.
And tho' he was several times desired
to come home, he nevertheless persisted,
fearing lest so near and potent an ene-
my, should fall upon them in their re-
treat; which resolution was attended
with good success, for he at last brought
under a thorough subjection all Illyri-
cum, lying betwixt Italy, and the king-
dom of Noricum, Thrace, Macedonia,
the river Danube, and the Adriatick
gulf.

17. Which glory of his received a
great improvement from the juncture
of time wherein this success had hap-
pened. For then it was that Quintilius
Varus was cut off with three legions
in Germany; and no body made any
question, but the victorious Germans
would have joined the Pannonians, had
not the war of Illyricum been first
brought to an end. Wherefore a triumph
was decreed him, with many and great
honours besides. For some were for ha-
ving him called Pannonicus, others in-
vincible, others dutiful. But with re-
spect to the name Augustus interposed,
engaging for him, that he would be well
content with what he was like to leave
him at his death. He put off his tri-
umph, because the city was at that time
under very great affliction, upon account
of the loss of Varus and his army. Ne-
vertheless he entered the city in a tri-
umphal robe, and with a crown of lau-
rel on his head, and mounted a tribu-
nal in the Septa, whilst the senate gave

us inter duos COSS. cum Augusto simul sedir: unde, populo consalutato, circum templa deductus est.

18. Proximo anno repetita Germania, cum animadverteret, Varianam cladem temeritate & negligentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit: semper alias sui arbitrii, contentusque se uno, tunc præter consuetudinem cum pluribus de ratione belli communicavit. Curam quoque solito exactiorem præstitit. Trajecturus Rhenum, comiteum omnem ad certam formulam adstrictum non ante transmisit, quam consistens apud ripam explorasset vehiculorum onera: ne qua deportarentur, nisi concessa aut necessaria. Trans Rhenum vero eum vitæ ordinem tenuit, ut sedens in cespite nudo cibum caperet: sæpe sine tentorio pernoctaret: præcepta sequentis diei omnia, & si quid subito muneris injungendum esset, per libellos daret: addita monitione, ut de quo quisque dubitaret, se, nec alio interprete, quacumque, vel noctis hora uteretur.

19. Disciplinam acerrime exegit: animadversionum & ignominiarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis: atque etiam legato legionis, quod paucos milites cum liberto suo trans ripam venatum misisset, ignominia notato. Prælia, quamvis minimum fortunæ casibusque permetteret, aliquanto constantius inibat quoties lucubrante se, subito ac nullo propellente, decideret lumen, & exstingeretur: confidens, ut aiebat ostento, sibi ac majoribus suis in omni ducatu expertissimo. Sed re prospere gesta, non multum absuit quin a Bructero quodam occideretur: cui inter proximos versanti, & trepidatione detecto, tormentis expressa confessio est cogitatio facinoris.

their attendance standing, and sat together with Augustus betwixt the two consuls; from whence, after he had paid his respects to the people, he was attended by them round the temples.

18. The next year he went again for Germany, where finding that the unfortunate business of Varus had happened, through the rashness and negligence of the commander, he did every thing by the advice of a counsel of war: whereas at other times he used to go upon his own judgement only, and thought himself alone sufficient for the conduct of his affairs. But then contrary to his custom, he advised with many about the management of the war. He likewise took more care than usual. Being to pass the Rhine, and having given particular order about provisions for the army, he would not suffer the waggons to go over, till he had searched them at the water-side, to see they carried nothing but what was allowed or necessary. Beyond the Rhine his way of living was very plain, he would eat sitting on the bare ground, ostentatiously all night, without a tent; and his constant and daily orders, as well as those upon sudden occasions, he gave all in writing, with this injunction, that in case of doubt as to the meaning of them, they should apply to him for satisfaction, even at any hour of the night.

19. He kept the troops to very strict discipline, reviving a great many old customs, relating to the punishing and disgracing of offenders: and setting a mark of infamy upon a lieutenant general, for sending a few soldiers with a freedman of his, beyond the river a hunting. Tho' he left as little as possible in the power of fortune or chance, yet he was always more inclinable than ordinary to engage the enemy, as oft as upon his reading by night, his lamp fell and went out of itself, confiding, as he said, in an omen, that had been sufficiently tried by himself and his ancestors, in the command of armies. But after all his success in the war, he had like to have been slain by a Bructerian, who mixing with those about him, and being discovered by his trembling, was put to the torture, and confessed he had a design upon his life.

20. A Germania

20. A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit; prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetravit. Ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru, seque præfidenti patri ad genua submisit. Batonem Pannonium ducem ingentibus donatum præmiis, Ravennam transtulit: gratiam referens, quod se quondam cum exercitu iniquitate loci circumclusum, passus esset evadere. Prandium dein populo mille mensis, & congiarium tricenos nummos viritim dedit. Dedicavit & concordie ædem: item Pollucis & Castoris, suo patrisque nomine de manubiis.

21. Ac non multo post lege per COSS. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustrum in Illyricum profectus est. Et statim ex itinere revocatus, jam quidem affectum, sed tamen spirantem adhuc Augustum reperit: fuitque una secreto per totum diem. Scio vulgo perflatum, quasi egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio: vox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: *Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.* Nec illud quidem ignoro, aliquos tradidisse, Augustum palam nec dissimulanter morum ejus diritatem adeo improbasse, ut nonnunquam remissiores hilarioresque sermones superveniente eo abrumperet: sed expugnatum precibus uxoris adoptionem non abnuisse: vel etiam ambitione tractum ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret. Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum & prudentissimum principem, in tanto præsertim negotio,

20. After two years, he returned from Germany to town again, and celebrated the triumph he had deferred, attended by his lieutenant generals, for whom he had obtained the honour of triumphal ornaments. And before he turn'd up to the Capitol, alighted from his chariot, and threw himself at his father's feet, who sat by to superintend the solemnity. Bato the Pannonian general he sent laden with rich presents to Ravenna, in gratitude for his having suffered him and his army to march off, from a place where he had so enclosed them, that they were entirely at his mercy. After this he gave the people a dinner at a thousand tables, and besides that thirty sesterces a man; he likewise dedicated the temple of Concord; as also that of Castor and Pollux, which had been raised out of the spoils of the war, in his own, and his brother's name.

21. And a law being not long after preferred and passed by the consuls for his being joyn'd with Augustus in the administration of the provinces, as also to take the census with him, upon the conclusion of that affair, he went into Illyricum. But being immediately fetch'd back, whilst he was yet on his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed, but almost gone, and was with him in private a whole day. I know it is the common belief, that upon Tiberius's quitting the room, after their private conference, Augustus was overheard, by those in waiting about him, to say, Ah! unhappy Roman people, that are like to be in the jaws of of such a slow-grinding beast. Nor am I ignorant that some have pretended to say, that Augustus did so openly and undisguis'dly disapprove of the sowness of his temper, that sometimes upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular merry conversation he was engaged in; and that he was only prevail'd upon by the importunity of his lady to adopt him; or moved by an ambitious view of recommending his own memory from a comparison with such a successor. Yet I cannot but think that so very circumspect and wise a prince, especially in an affair of such great importance, did nothing rashly; but upon weighing
unhij

nihil temere fecisse: sed vitiiis
virtutibusque Tiberii perpen-
sis, potiores duxisse virtutes:
præsertim cum & Reip. causa
adoptare se eum pro concione
juraverit: & epistolis aliquot,
ut peritissimum rei militaris,
utq; unicum populi Romani
præsidium prosequatur. Ex qui-
bus in exemplum pauca hinc
inde subjeci. Vale jucundissime
Tiberi, & rem gere feliciter,
ἐμὸν δὲ τὰς Νέσας πα-
τρώ. jucundissime, & ita
sim felix vir fortissime, & dux
νομιμότητε. Vale. Et ordinem
astivorum tuorum? Ego vero,
mi Tiberi, & inter tot rerum
difficultates, δὲ τὸς αὐτὸν
παδούκην δὲ πατρίδην
non potuisse quemquam prudenti-
us gerere se, quam tu gesseris,
existimo. Hi quoque, qui tecum
fuerunt omnes, consentientur versum

the vices and virtues of Tiberius, judg-
ed the latter to over-balance the former,
especially since he swore publicly in an
assembly of the people, That he adopted
him for the publick good. And in
several of his Letters extols him as a
complete general, and the only security
of the Roman people, out of which I
have subjoined some few things by way
of example. Farewel, my dear Ti-
berius, and may success attend you,
whilst you command for me and the
muses. Farewel my most dear, and
(let me prosper according to my sin-
cerity) most gallant man, and ac-
complish'd general. And again, The
disposition of your summer quarters?
Indeed my friend, I do not think
that amidst so many difficulties, and
with an army so little disposed for
action, any one could have behaved
more prudently than you have done.
All those too that were with you
confess that verſe applicable to you.
illum in te posse dici,

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

This man by vigilance restor'd the state.

Sive, inquit, quid incidit, de
quo sit cogitandum diligentius,
sive quid stomachor, valde, me-
dius fidius Tiberium meum de-
sidero: succurritque versus ille
Homericus,

whether, says he, any thing happens
that requires more than ordinary con-
sideration, or I am out of humour
upon any occasion. I still, by Her-
cules, long for my dear Tiberius.
And those lines of Homer frequently
occur to my thoughts,

Τὴν δ' ἐπιμελῆσαι δὲ ἐν πύλῃσι αἰδοῦσθαι
Ἀμφοὺς νοστήσαντο, ἐπὶ πύλῃσι οἷσιν νοήσαι.

Let but his prudence guard, and I desire
No more, to pass secure the rage of fire.

Attenuatum te esse continuatio-
ne laborum, cum audio & lego,
Dii me perdant nisi cohorrescit
corpus meum: teque rogo ut
parcas tibi: ne si te languere
audierimus, & ego & mater
tua exspiremus, & de summa
imperii sui populus Rom. pericli-
retur. Nihil interest valeam
ipse nec ne, si tu non valebis.
Deos obsecro ut te nobis conser-

when I hear and read that you
are much impaired by the continued
fatigues you undergo, let me perish,
if it does not set my whole body
a trembling: and I beg of you to
spare yourself, lest, if we should
hear of your being ill, the news
prove fatal to both me and your
mother, and the Roman empire should
be endangered. It matters nothing
at all, whether I be well or no,
rent,

vent, & valere nunc & semper patiantur, si non populum Romanum perosi sint.

22. Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit quam Agrippa juvene interempto. Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus occidit, lectis codicillis quibus ut id faceret, jubebatur. Quos codicillos dubium fuit, Augustusne moriens reliquisset, quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret, an nomine Augusti Livia, & ea confcio Tiberio an ignaro, dictasset. Tiberius renuntianti tribuno factum esse quod imperasset. *Neque imperasse se, & redditurum cum senatui rationem respondit:* invidiam scilicet in presentia vitans. Nam mox silentio rem obliteravit.

23. Jure autem tribunitie potestatis coacto senatu, inchoataque allocutione, derepente velut impar dolori congemuisset: utque non solum vox, sed & spiritus deficeret, optavit: ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit. Illatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, cæteris extracuriam signa agnoscentibus, recitavit per libertum. Testamenti initium fuit, *Quoniam sinistra fortuna Cajum & Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Cæsar mihi ex parte dimidia, & sextante heres esto.* Quo & ipso aucta est suspicio opinantium, successorem adscitum eum necessitate magis quam judicio: quando ita præfari non abstinuerit.

24. Principatum, quamvis neque occupare confestim, neque agere dubitasset: & statione militum, hoc est, vi & specie dominationis assumpta, dia tamen recusavit impudentissimo animo: nunc adhortantes amicos increpans: ut

if you be not well. Pray Heaven preserve you for us, and bless you with your health both now and ever, if the Gods have any regard for the Roman people.

22. He did not make the death of Augustus publick, till he had taken off young Agrippa. He was slain by a tribune that commanded the guard about him, upon reading an order in writing for that purpose; which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left behind him at his death, to prevent any occasion of publick disturbance after his decease, or Livia had issued it, and whether with the privacy of Tiberius, or no. When the tribune came to acquaint him, that he had executed his command, he replied, That he had commanded him no such thing, and that he must answer for it to the senate, declining as it seems, the odiousness of the fact for that time. For the matter was buried in silence.

23. Having summoned the senate to meet, by virtue of his Tribunitian authority, and begun a speech to them in relation to the state of the publick, he fetch'd a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction: and wished that not only his voice but his breath too might fail him: and gave his speech to his son Drusus to read. Upon that Augustus's will was brought into the house, and read by a freedman; none of the witnesses to it being let in, but such as were of the senatorian order, the rest owning their hands without doors. The will begun thus. Since my ill fortune has deprived me of my two sons Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Cæsar be heir to two thirds of my estate. Which words countenanced the suspicion of those that were of opinion, he was appointed his successor, more out of necessity than choice, since he could not forbear to preface his will in that manner.

24. Tho' he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by obliging the guards to attend him, which were the security and badge of that authority; yet he pretended, by a most impudent piece of grimace, to refuse it for a long time, one while sharply reprehending his friends

ignaros quanta bellua esset Imperium : nunc precantem senatum, & procumbentem sibi ad genua, ambiguis responsis & callida cunctatione suspendens : ut quisdam patientiam rumperent, atque unus in tumultu proclamaret, *Aut agat, aut desistat* : alter coram exprobraret, *Ceteros quod polliciti sint, tarde prestare* : sed ipsum quod praestet, tarde polliceri. Tandem quasi coactus, & querens miseram & onerosam injungi sibi servitutem, recipit imperium : nec tamen aliter quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. Ipsius verba sunt haec : *Dum veniam ad id tempus quo vobis equum possitis videri, dare vos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.*

Till the time shall come, that give some rest to my old age.

25. Cunctandi causa erat, metus undique imminentium discriminum : ut saepe lupum se auribus tenere diceret. Nam & servus Agrippae, Clemens nomine, non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini compararat : & L. Scribonius Libo vir nobilis res novas clam moliebatur : & duplex seditio militum in Illyrico & in Germania exorta est. Flagitabant ambo exercitus multa extra ordinem : ante omnia ut aequarentur stipendio praetorianis. Germaniciiani quidem etiam principem detrectabant non a se datum : summaque vi Germanicum, qui tum iis praerat, ad capeffendam Rempublicam perurgebant, quanquam obfirmate resistentem. Quem maxime casum timens, partes sibi, quas senatui liberet, tuendas in Rep. depoposcit : quando universae sufficere solus nemo posset, nisi cum altero, vel etiam cum pluribus. Simulavit & valetudinem, quo aequiore animo Germanicus celerem

that solicited him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was : another while keeping in suspense the senate, that requested the same of him, and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answers, and a crafty kind of tergiversation, insomuch that some were out of patience, and one during the confusion of the house upon this occasion cryed out, *Either let him accept it, or decline it at once* ; and another told him to his face, *That others were slow to perform what they promised, but he was slow to promise what he actually performed.* At last, as if he was perfectly forced to it, complaining of that miserable load of slavery, that was laid upon him, he did accept the government, but yet in such a manner, that he gave hopes of his laying it down again some time or other. The words he used upon that occasion were these, *you may think it reasonable to*

25. The occasion of his demurring so much upon the matter, was his fear of the dangers that threatened him on all hands ; insomuch that he said he had a wolf by the ears. For a slave of Agrippa by name Clemens had drawn together a considerable force to revenge his master's death. And L. Scribonius Libo a person of prime quality was underhand attempting a rebellion ; and besides the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were all in an uproar. Both armies insisted upon very high demands, but especially that their pay should be made equal to that of the guards at Rome, and those in Germany utterly refused to own a prince that was not of their own choosing, and urged with all possible importunity Germanicus that commanded them, to take the government upon him, tho' he obstinately refused it. And it was his apprehension from this quarter, that made him beg of the senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper, since the whole no man could be sufficient for, without one or more to assist him. He pretended too to be much out of order, that Germanicus might the more patiently wait in hopes of speedily successionem,

successionem, vel certe societatem principatus, operiretur. Compositis seditionibus, Clementem quoque fraude deceptum, redegit in potestatem: Libonem, ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret, secundo demum anno in senatu coarguit, medio temporis spatio tantum cavere contentus. Nam & inter pontifices sacrificanti simul, pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subjiendum curavit: & secretum petenti nonnisi adhibito Druso filio dedit: dextramque obambulantem, veluti incumbens, quoad perageretur sermo, continuit.

right hand as they walk'd together, under pretence of leaning upon him, 'till the conversation was over.

26. Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paullo minus quam privatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus, præter paucos & modicos non recepit. Natalem suum plebejis incurrentem Circensibus, vix unius bigæ adjunctione honorari passus est. Tempia, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittere se poni: permisitque, ea sola conditione, ne inter simulacra deorum, sed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur. Intercessit & quominus in acta sua juraretur: & ne mensis September, Tiberius, October, Livius, vocarentur. Prænomen quoque IMPERATORIS, cognomenque PATRIS PATRIÆ, & civicam in vestibulo coronam recusavit. Ac ne AUGUSTI quidem nomen, quamquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistolis addidit. Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus, unum paucis diebus, alterum tribus mensibus, tertium absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.

months, and a third in his absence from the city, 'till the ides of May.

ceeding him, or however being taken in to a share of the government with him. After the mutinies in the armys were suppress'd, he got likewise by a stratagem Clemens into his Hands. And that he might not begin his reign by an act of severity, he let Libo rest 'till his second year, and then called him to an account before the senate, being content in the mean while to take only proper precaution for his own security. For upon his attending a sacrifice amongst the high priests, instead of the usual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him: and when he desired a private conference with him, he would not grant his request, but upon the condition that his son Drusus should be by; and he held him fast by the

26. But when he was delivered from his apprehensions, he behaved himself at first with a great deal of moderation, and not much above the level of a private gentleman: and of the many and great honours offer'd him, accepted but of few, and such as were very moderate. His birth-day, which happened to fall in the time of the Plebeian Circensian games, with much ado he suffered to be honoured by the addition of a single chariot, drawn with two horses only. He forbid Temples, Flamens, or Priests to be appointed for him, as also statues and effigies to be erected for him, without his permission; and that he granted only upon this condition, that they should not be placed amongst the images of the gods: but only amongst the ornaments of houses. He likewise interposed to prevent the senate's swearing to maintain his acts; and that the month of September should not be called Tiberius, or October Livy. The prænomens too of imperator, as also the cognomen of father of his country, and a Civic crown to hang constantly at the entrance of his house, he would not accept of. And never made use of the name of Augustus, tho' it was hereditary to him, in any of his letters, but those to kings and princes. Nor had he any more than three consulships, one for a few days, another for three

27. Adulationes adeo aversatus est, ut neminem senatorum aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit: consularem vero satisficientem sibi, ac per genua orare conantem, ita suffugerit, ut caderet supinus: atque etiam si quid in sermone, vel in continua oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare, ac reprehendere, & commutare continuo. Dominus appellatus à quodam, denunciavit ne se amplius contumeliæ causa nominaret. Alium dicentem, *sacras ejus occupationes*; & rursus alium, *auctore eo senatum se adiisse*, verba mutare, & pro auctore suasorem; pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit.

suaſion, and the other for sacred,

28. Sed adversus convicia maloque rumores & famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens, subinde jactabat, *In civitate libera linguam mentemque liberam esse debere*. Et quondam senatu cognitionem de ejusmodi criminibus ac reis flagitante: *Non tantum inquit, orti habemus ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus. Si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis: omnium inimicitia hoc pretextu ad vos deferentur*. Extat & sermo ejus in senatu percivilis: *Siquidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumque reddam: si perseveraverit, invicem eum odero*.

ner, as to be able to give a good Account both of my words and actions; and if he goes on, I shall hate him in my turn.

29. Atque hæc eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellandis venerandisque singulis, & universis, prope excesserat humanitatis modum. Dissentiens in cura à Q. Haterio, *Ignoscas, inquit, rogo, si quid adversus te liberius, sicut senator, dixero*. Et inde omnes alloquens, *Dixi & nunc*

27. He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any senator to approach his chair, as he passed the streets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon business. And when a consular gentleman in begging his pardon for some offence he had given, attempted to fall at his knees, he made from him in such a hurry, that he fell flat on his back. And if any complement was made him, either in conversation, or a set speech, he would not scruple to interrupt and chide the party, and alter what he said. Being once called Lord by some body, he desired he would affront him no more in that manner. And when another called his occupations sacred, and another had expressed himself thus, that by his authority he had waited upon the senate, he obliged them to alter the words, and the one to use instead of Authority, per-

28. He remained unmoved at all the aspersions, scandalous reports, and lampoons, that were spread against him, or his relations; and would now and then say, that in a free state, both tongue and mind ought to be free. And upon the senate's desiring some notice might be taken of such crimes, and those that were charged with them. We have not, says he, so much time upon our hands, that we ought to engage in more business. If you once open a gap for things of this nature, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under this pretence. There goes likewise a saying of his in the senate, very far from being any ways assuming. If, says he, he talks any other ways of me, I shall take care to behave in such a manner, as to be able to give a good Account both of my words and actions.

29. And these things were so much the more remarkable in him, because in the respect he paid either to single persons, or the whole body of the senate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Q. Haterius in the house, Pardon me, Sir, says he, I beseech you, if I shall as a senator speak my mind very freely in opposition to you. And after that addressing to he

& safe

& saepe alias P. C. bonum & salutare principem, quem vos tanta & tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui servire debere & universis civibus saepe, & plerumque etiam lingulis: neque id dixisse me pœnitet, & bonos & equos & faventes vos habui dominos, & adhuc habeo.

have said it. I have always found you good, kind, and favourable masters, and still find you so.

30. Quin etiam speciem libertatis quandam induxit, conservatis senatui ac magistratibus & majestate pristina & potestate: neque tam parvum quidquam, neque tam magnum publici privatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad P. C. referretur. De vectigalibus ac monopolis, de extruendis reficiendisve operibus etiam de legendo vel exauetorando milite, ac legionum & auxiliorum descriptione, denique quibus imperium prorogari, aut extraordinaria bella mandari, quid & qua forma regum litteris rescribi placeret. Præfatum alæ, de vi & rapinis reum, causam in senatu dicere coegit. Nunquam curiam nisi solus intravit: lectica quondam introlatus æger, comites à se removit.

31. Quædam adversus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est. Negante eo, destinatos magistratus abesse oportere, ut præsentis honori acquiescerent, prætor designatus liberam legationem impetravit. Iterum censente ut Trebianis legatam in opus novi theatri pecuniam ad munitionem viæ transferre concederetur, obtinere non potuit quin rata voluntas legatoris esset. Cum senatusconsultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, securus est nemo. Cætera quoque nonnisi per magistratus & jure ordinario a

whole house, he expressed himself thus. I have often said it both now and at other times, O fathers of the senate, that a good prince who has a regard to the welfare of the people, whom you have invested with so large and absolute a power, ought to be a perfect slave to the senate, to the whole body of the people, and often to single persons too: nor am I sorry, I

33. He likewise introduced an appearance of liberty, by preserving to the senate and magistrates their former majesty and power. And all affairs, whether great or small, publick or private, were laid before the senate, as the taxes, monopolys, the business of raising or repairing publick buildings, the levying and disbanding of soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, the answering of letters from foreign princes, were all left to the senate. He obliged a commander of horse charged with rapine and extortion, to answer to the said charge before the senate. He never entered the house but alone; and being once brought thither in a chair, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door.

31. When some things were carried against his advice, he did not so much as complain of it. And tho' he gave it as his opinion, that no magistrates after their election should be suffered to absent from the city, but reside constantly there, to enjoy the honour they had obtained, a prætor elect procured liberty to leave the town, under the honorary title of a free lieutenant. And again when he proposed to the house, that the Trebians might have leave allowed them, to employ some money that had been left them by a will, for the raising of a new theatre, in the making of a causeway, he could not prevail to have the intention of the testator set aside. And when upon a division of the house, he went over to the lesser party, no body followed him. All other things too were transacted:

gebantur : tanta COSS. auctoritate, ut legati ex Africa adierint eos, quærentes trahi se a Cæsare, ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset ipsum quoque eisdem assurgere & decedere via.

wonder, since it was observed, that he used to rise up to them, and give them the way.

32. Corripuit consulares exercitibus præpositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent : quodque de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent : quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi jus haberent. Prætorum colaudavit, quod honore inito, consuetudinem antiquam retulisset de majoribus suis pro concione memorandi. Quorundam illustrium exsequias usque ad rogam frequentavit. Parem moderationem minoribus quoque & personis & rebus exhibuit. Cum Rhodiorum magistratus, quod literas publicas sine subscriptione ad se dederant, evocasset, ne verbo quidem insectatus, ac tantummodo iustos subscribere, remisit. Diogenes grammaticus disputare fabbarris Rhodi solitus, venientem, ut se extra ordinem audiret non admiserat, ac per servulum suum in septimum diem distulerat. Hunc Romæ saluandi sui causa pro foribus adstantem, nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret, admonuit. Præsidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit, *Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.*

33. Paulatim principem exercuit, præstititque : essi varium diu, commodiorem tamen sæpius, & ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo catenus interveniebat ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque & constitutiones quasdam senatus rescidit : & magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus

acted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms : the authority of the consuls being so great, that some ambassadors from Africa waited upon them with a complaint, that they could not have their business dispatched by Cæsar, to whom they had been sent. And no

32. He reprimanded the consular gentlemen at the head of the several armies, for not writing to the senate an account of their transactions, and for consulting him about the conferring of some military presents ; as if they had not a right to grant them all themselves. He commended a prætor, that upon entering on his office revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He attended the corps of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He shewed the like moderation too with regard to persons and things of inferior consideration. He sent for the magistrates of Rhodes, who had dispatched a publick letter to him, without subscribing it, as usual, and without giving them so much as one harsh word, ordered them to subscribe it, and dismissed them. Diogenes the Grammarian that used to read lectures at Rhodes every saturday, had once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and ordered him by a servant to come again seven days after. This same person coming to Rome, and waiting at his door for admission to pay his respects to him, he sent him word to come again at the seven years end. To some governours of provinces, that advised him to load them with taxes, he writ word again, That it was the part of a good shepherd to shear, and not to flea his sheep.

33. By degrees he assumed the exercise of the sovereignty, but for a long time, with great variety of conduct, tho' generally with a due regard to the publick good. At first he only interposed to prevent ill management. Accordingly he set aside some establishments of the senate ; and when the magistrates sat for the administration of justice, he would offer his service as plerumque

plerumque se offerebat consiliarium, assidebatque mistim, vel ex adverso in parte primori: & si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat: iudicesque aut è plano, aut è quaestoris tribunali, legum & religionis, & noxae de qua cognoscerent, admonebat: atque etiam si qua in publicis moribus desidiosa aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit.

the prevalency of custom, or the

34. Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit: mercedibus scenicorum rescissis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum reductis. Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse, tresque millos xxx milibus nummum venisse, graviter conquestus, adhibendum supellætili modum censuit: annonamque macelli senatus arbitratu, quotannis temperandam: dato ædilibus negotio, popinas ganeasque usq; eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi venalia sinerent. Et ut parcimoniam publicam exemplo quoque juvaret, solennibus ipse canis pridiana sæpe ac femesa obsonia apposuit, dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans, *Omnia eadem habere quæ totum.* Quotidianam oscula prohibuit edicto; item strenarum commercium, ne ultra Kalendas Januarias exerceretur. Consueverat & quadruplam strenam & de manu reddere: sed offensus interpellari se toto mense ab iis qui potestatem sui die festo non habuissent, ultra non reddidit.

but being offended at the continual disturbance that was given him all the month long, by those that had not the opportunity of attending him upon the festival, he return'd none after that day.

35. Matronas prostratæ pudicitie, quibus accusator publicus deesset, ut propinqui more majorum de communi sententia coercerent, auctor

an assessor, and sit amongst them, or in the opposite part of the court fronting them. And if it was rumored that any person under prosecution was likely by his interest to come off clear, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground-benches, or the prætor's seat, would remind the judges of the laws, their oath, and the nature of the crime brought before them. And he likewise undertook the correction of the publick manners, where any corruption therein had been introduced, by the magistrates neglect of their duty.

34. He reduced the expence of the publick sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people; by lessening the allowance to stage players for their service, and abridging the number of gladiators upon those occasions. He made grievous complaint to the senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was risen to a prodigious height, and that three barbels had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces, and thereupon moved the house for the enacting of a new sumptuary law: and that the shambles should be subjected to such regulations, as to the senate should appear proper: and the *Ædiles* commissioned to restrain taverns and victualling-houses, so far as not to suffer even the sale of bakes or cakes of any kind. And in order to encourage frugality in the publick by his own example, he would oftentimes at his entertainments upon solemn occasions have at his table victuals that had been served up the day before, and were half-eaten, and half a boar, affirming, That it had all the same good bits as the whole had. He forbid the daily use of the kiss in the way of civility by proclamation; as likewise the practice of presenting new-years-gifts, after the first of January. He had been used to make a return of four times as much as he received in that way, and with his own hand;

35. He authorized the nearest relations to punish by concert amongst themselves, according to ancient custom, married women guilty of adultery, where none appeared to prosecute them

suited.

fuit. Equiti Romano jurisjurandi gratiam fecit, ut uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se nunquam repudiaturum ante juraverat. Fœminæ famosæ, ut ad evitandas legum pœnas jure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri cœperant : & ex juventute utriusque ordinis profligatissimus quisque, quo minus in opera scenæ arenæque e-denda senatus consulto tenerentur, famosi judicii notam sponte subibant : eos easque omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exilio affecit. Senatori latum clavum ademir, cum cognovisset sub Kal. Julii demigrasse in hortos, quo vilius post diem ædes in urbe conduce-ret. Alium & quæstura removit, quod uxorem pridie sortitionem ductam postridie repudiasset.

ter. He likewise turn'd another the day after his province whom he had married but the

36. Externas ceremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit : coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur, religiofas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit : reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pœna perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperassent. Expulit & mathematicos : sed deprecantibus, ac se artem defitores promittentibus, veniam dedit.

37. In primis tuendæ pacis à grassaturis ac latrociniiis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit. Romæ castra constituit, quibus Prætorianæ cohortes, vagæ ante id tempus, & per hospitia dispersæ, con-

publickly. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife ; and allowed him to divorce her, upon a discovery of her being guilty of adultery with her son-in-law. Scandalous women had now begun a practice, of professing themselves prostitutes. Thus divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, in order to avoid the lash of the law. And the most profligate young fellows of the senatorian and equestrian order, to secure themselves against a decree of the senate, prohibiting their acting upon the stage, or fighting as gladiators in the theatre, voluntarily brought themselves under an infamous sentence, by which they were degraded. All these he banished, that none for the future might by the use of such tricks find any security against the force and design of the law. He took from a senator the laticlavian tunick, upon information, that he had before the Kalends of July removed into his Gardens, in order to hire a house cheaper in the city as out of the office of Quæstor, for divorce had been assign'd him by lot a wife, day before.

36. He suppressed all foreign religions, the Egyptian and Jewish rites of worship, obliging all such as were engaged in that kind of superstition, to burn their holy vestments, and all their religious furniture. The Jews he disposed of, under pretence of their serving in the wars, in provinces of an unhealthful air ; and banished from the city all of the rest of that nation, or proselytes to that religion, under a penalty of being condemned to slavery for life, if they did not comply with his orders. He likewise banished the Astrologers ; but upon their begging pardon, and promising to quit their profession, he forgave them.

37. But above all things he was careful to secure the publick quiet against the attempts of cut throats, robbers, and such as were disaffected to the government : for which purpose he posted up and down Italy more guards of soldiers, than had been usual : and formed a camp at Rome for the prætorian battalions, who till then had been disposed of

tinereantur.

tinerentur. Populares tumultus exortos gravissime coercuit: & ne orirentur sedulo cavuit. Cædē in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum & histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit: nec ut revocaret, unquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci. Cum Pollentina plebs finis cujusdam primpilaris non prius ex foro misisset, quam extorta pecunia per vim hæredibus ad gladiatorium munus: cohortem ab urbe, & aliam à Corii regno, dissimulata itineris causa, detectis repente armis, concinentibusque signis, per diversas portas in oppidum immisit: ac partem majorem plebis ac decurionum in perpetua vincula conjecit. Abolevit & jus moremque alylorum, quæ usquam erant Cyzicenis in cives Romanos violentius quædam ausis, publice libertatem ademir, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant. Hostiles motus, nulla postea expeditione suscepta, per legatos compescuit: nec per eos quidem, nisi cunctanter & necessario. Reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis & querelis quam vi repressit. Quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit: ut Maraboduus Germanum, Thracypolim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cujus etiam regnum in formam provinciæ redegit.

would never let go again, as Maraboduus the German, Thracypolis the Thracian; Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom too he reduced into the form of a province.

38. Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium, pedem porta non exulit: sequenti tempore, præter quam in propinqua oppida, & cum longissime, Antio tenus, nusquam absuit; idque perraro & paucos dies, quamvis provincias quoque & exercitus revisurum

in separate quarters here and there in the town. He suppressed with great severity all popular tumults in their first rise, and took all possible care to prevent them. And some people being killed in in a quarrel that happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players, upon whose account the scuffle had happened. Nor could he ever be prevailed upon by any entreaties of the people to recall them. The commonalty of Pollentia having refused to let the Corps of a centurion of the first rank stir out of the forum, till they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money, for a publick show of gladiators, he sent upon them a battalion from the city, and another from the kingdom of Corius; who concealing the occasion of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms all on a sudden uncovered, and trumpets sounding; by whom the greatest part of the common people, and members of the council of state, being seized, he imprisoned them for life. He would not allow of any places of refuge any where. The Cyzicenis for an outrage committed upon some Romans, he deprived of the liberty they had procured by their good services in the Mithridatick war. Disturbances from foreign enemys he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever giving himself the trouble of an expedition upon that score. Nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with a great deal of backwardness, and only when he was forced to it by necessity. Princes that were ill affected towards him, he kept quiet, more by his threats and complaints, than by the force of arms. And some that he wheedled to him by fair words and promises, he

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38. He never set foot out of the gates of Rome, for two years together, after he came to be emperour; and after that never went further from the city, than to some neighbouring towns; and when furthest, only as far as Antium, and that but very seldom, and for a few days; altho' he oftentimes gave out, that he would visit the provinces and

se sæpe pronuntiasset : & prope quotannis profectionem præpararet : vehiculis comprehensis, com meatibus per municipia & colonias dispositis. Ad extremum vota pro itu & reditu suo suscipi passus, ut vulgo jam per jocum *Callipides* vocaretur : quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi, proverbio Græco notatum est.

39. Sed orbatu utroque filio, quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romæ obierat, secessum Campaniæ petiit : constanti & opinione & sermone pæne omnium, quasi neq; rediturus unquam, & cito mortem etiam obiturus : quod paulo minus utrumque evenit. Nam neque Romam amplius rediit : sed & paucos post dies juxta Terracinam in prætorio, cui speluncæ nomen erat, incoenante eo, complura & ingentia saxa fortuito superne delapsa sunt : multisque præter spem evasit.

40. Peragrata Campania, cum Capuæ Capitolium, Nolæ templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis prætenderat, desicasset, Capreas se contulit : præcipue delectatus insula, quod uno parvoque litore adiretur, sepra undique præruptis immensæ altitudinis rupibus, & profundo maris. Statinque revocante assidua obtestatione populo propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas, supra xx hominum millia, gladiatorio munere, amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem, potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit : tanto magis quod ab urbe egrediens, ne quis se interpellaret, edixerat,

41. Regressus in insulam, Reip. quidem curam usque adeo abiecit, ut postea non decurias equitum unquam supplerit : non tribunos militum præfectosque, non pro-

armys, and made preparations for it almost every year, by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for it in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered vows to be put up for his good journey and safe return, insomuch that he was now commonly called in a merry way *Callipides*, who is famous in a Græcian proverb, for being in a great hurry, but without advancing a cubit.

39. But after the loss of his two sons, of which Germanicus died in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he withdrew into Campania ; at which time it was the opinion, and talk too, of almost every body, that he would never come again, and would dye soon. Both which things had like to have been true. For indeed he never more came to Rome ; and a few days after, as he was at supper in a seat of his called the Cave nigh Terracina, a great many huge stones chanc'd to fall, that knocked several of the guests and attendants on the head ; but he unexpectedly escaped.

convivarum & ministrorum elisis, 40. After he had gone round Campania, and dedicated a Capitol at Capua, and a Temple to Augustus at Nola, he retired to Caprea, being wonderfully taken with the island, because it was only accessible by a small shore, being on all sides else surrounded with craggy rocks, of a prodigious height, and a deep sea. But immediately the people of Rome being mighty clamorous for his return, because of a disaster at Fidenæ ; where upwards of twenty thousand people, at a publick diversion of gladiators, had been destroyed by the fall of the amphitheatre, he came back upon the continent, and gave all people free access to him ; and the rather, because at his departure from the city, he had by proclamation forbid any one to disturb him, and declined all company upon the road.

ac toto itinere adeuntes submoverat.

41. Returning to the island, he so far laid aside all care of the government, that he never filled up the decurie of the knights, never changed any military tribunes, or commanders of horse, or governours of provinces, and

vinciarum

vinciarum præsidēs ullos mutaverit : Hispaniam & Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit : Armeniam à Parthis occupari, Mœsiam à Dacis Sarmatisque : Gallias à Germanis vastari neglexerit : magno dedecore imperii, nec minori discrimine.

42. Cæterum secreti licentiam nactus & quasi civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata, tandem profudit : de quibus sigillatim ab exordio referam. In castris tiro etiam tum, propter nimiam vini aviditatem, pro Tiberio, Biberius ; pro Claudio, Caldus ; pro Nerone, Mero vocabatur. Postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco & L. Pisonē noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit : quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis confestim detulit, codicillis quoque jucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos professus. Sestio Gallo libidinoso, ac prodigo senī, olim ab Augusto ignominia notato, & à se ante paucos dies apud Senatum increpito, cœnam ea lege condixit, ne quid ex consuetudine immutaret aut demeret : utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cœnaretur. Ignorissimum quæsturæ candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit, ob epotam in convivio, propinante se, vini amphoram. Asellio Sabino H. S. ducenta donavit pro dialogo, in quo boleti, & ficedulæ, & ostreæ, & turdi certamen induxerat. Novum denique officium instituit a voluptatibus, præposito equite Rom. T. Cæsonio Prisco.

the advancement of his pleasures, into which he put Titus Cæsonius Priscus a Roman knight.

43. Secessu vero Capreeni, etiam fellariam excogitavit sedem arcanarum libidinum :

kept Spain and Syria for several years without any consular lieutenants, and suffered Armenia to be seized by the Parthians, Mæsia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans, to the great disgrace and hazard of the empire.

dedecore imperii, nec minori discrimine.

42. But having now the advantage of privacy, and being quite withdrawn from under the eye and observation of the city, he gave a loose to all the vicious inclinations, which he had smothered but very indifferently before : of which I shall here give a particular account in order. Whilst he was a young soldier in the camp, he was for his excessive inclination to wine, for Tiberius, call'd Biberius ; for Claudius, Caldus ; and for Nero, Mero. And after he came to the empire, and had upon him the charge of reforming the publick manners, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus, and Lucius Piso ; to one of which he gave the province of Syria, and to the other the præfectureship of the city immediately upon it ; declaring them in his patents, very pleasant companions, and always agreeable. He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus a lewd prodigal old fellow, that had been disgraced by Augustus, and reprimanded by himself but a few days before in the senate-house ; upon condition that he should not recede at all from his usual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the questorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off in pledging him at table, an amphora of wine at a draught. He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sesterces, for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the Mushroom and the fig-pecker, the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office for

43. In his recess at Capree, he contrived an apartment for the practice of abominable lewdness ; where he en-

in quam undique conquisiti puellarum & exoletorum greges monstrosique concubitus repertores, quos *spintrias* appellabar, triplici serie connexi invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut adspectu deficientes libidines excitaret. Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum & figurarum adornavit, librisque Elephantidis instruxit: ne cui in opera edenda exemplar impetratæ schemæ deesset. In silvis quoque ac nemoribus passim Venercos locos commentus est, prostantesque per antra & cavas rupes ex utriusque sexus pube, Pannisorum & Nympharum habitu: palamque jam & vulgato nomine insulæ abutentes, *Caprinetum* dictabant.

44. Majore adhuc & turpiore infamia flagravat: vix ut referri audirive, nedum credi fas sit. Quasi pueros primæ teneritudinis, quos pisciculos vocabat, institueret, ut natanti sibi inter femina verarentur, ac luderent: lingua morsuque sensim appetentes, atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, nec dum tamen lacte depulsi, inguini ceu papillæ admoveret: pronior sane ad id genus libidinis & nativæ & ætate. Quare Parrhasii quoque tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub conditione, ut si argumento offenderetur, decies pro ea HS. acciperet: non modo prætulit sed & in cubiculo dedicavit. Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam caprus facie ministri acerram præferentis, nequissime abstinere, quin pæne vix dum re divina peracta, ibidem statim seductum constupraret, simulque fratrem ejus tibicinem: atque utrique habant, crura fregisse.

45. Fœminarum quoque, & quidem illustrium capitibus

certained companys of girls and lusty catamites, and the devisers of a monstrous kind of copulation, whom he called *Spintriaz*, that defiled one another in his presence, to inflame the languid appetite by the sight. He had several chambers adorn'd with pictures and statues in the most lascivious postures, and furnish'd with the books of *Elephantis*; that none might want a Pattern for the execution of any lewd project he was put upon. He likewise contriv'd in woods and groves conveniences for the like lustful enjoyments; where youth of both sexes prostituted themselves, in caves and hollow rocks, in the disguise of *Pans* and *Nymphs*. So that he was openly and commonly called, in allusion to the name of the island, *Caprineus*.

44. But he was still more infamous for an abomination not fit to be mentioned, or heard, much less credited, as that he inured little boys, whom he called little fishes, to play 'twixt his thighs as he was swimming..... and made use of lusty infants, but not yet weaned, for..... being perhaps more disposed for that kind of impurity from his natural temper and age together. Wherefore when a picture done by the hand of Parrhasius, wherein Atalanta was represented as acting a most unnatural piece of complaisance to Meleager, was left him for a legacy, with this proviso, that if he did not like the piece, he might receive in lieu of it a million of sesterces, he not only gave preference to the picture but hung it up in his bed-chamber. He is reported too once at a sacrifice, to have been so much taken with the face of a youth attending with a censer, that before the service was well over, he took him aside and abused him, as also a brother of his that play'd at the sacrifice upon the flute, and soon after broke both their legs, for upbraiding one another with their shame.

mox, quod mutuo flagitium expromox,

45. How much he was guilty of abusing in a most unnatural way, women, quan-

quantopere solitus sit illudere, evidentissime apparuit, Malloniæ cujusdam exitu : quam perductam, nec quidquam amplius pati constantissime recusantem, delatoribus objecit : ac ne ream quidem interpellare desit. *E*cquid pœniteret : donec ea, relicto judicio, domum se abripuit, ferroque transegit, ob scenicitate oris hirsuto atque olido seni clare exprobrata. Unde nota in Attellanico ex odio proximi Indis assensu maximo excepta, percubuit : *Hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurire.*

46. Pecuniæ parcus ac tenax, comites peregrinationum expeditionumq; nunquam salario, cibariis tantum, sustentavit : una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia vitrici profectus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cujusq; primæ sexcenta sestertia, secundæ quadringenta distribuit, ducenda tertiæ, quam non amicorum sed Græcorum appellabat.

47. Princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit. Nam & quæ sola susceperat, Augusti templum, restitutionemque Pompejani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit : neque spectacula omnino edidit & iis, quæ ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comœdum Actium coactus est manumittere. Paucorum senatorum inopia sustentata, ne pluribus opem ferret, negavit se aliis subventurum, nisi senatui justas necessitatum causas probassent. Quo pacto plerisque modestia & pudore deterruit : in quibus Hortalum Q. Hortensii oratoris nepotem, qui permodica re familiari, auctore Augusto, quatuor liberos tulerat.

persuasion of Augustus had brought up four children upon a very small estate

and those of the first quality too, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, whom being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to go further in compliance with his lust, he delivered up to the common practitioners in the business of information ; and when she was upon her trial, frequently called out to her, and asked her, if she repented, till she quitting the court went home, and stabbed herself, openly upbraiding the old stinking leacher with his filthy practice. Upon which account a fly touch upon him in a farce that was acted at the next publick sports, was entertained with great applause, and became common in every body's mouth.

46. He was of a very tenacious niggardly temper, never allowed to such as attended him in his travels or expeditions any salary, but their diet only. He gave them once indeed, and but once, an instance of generosity, which he was put upon too by his step-father ; when distinguishing them into three several classes, according to their quality, he gave the first six, the second four ; and the third two hundred thousand sestercies, which last class he called by the name not of friends, but Greeks.

47. He never during the time of his government raised any noble edifices ; for what alone of that kind he did undertake, as the temple of Augustus, and the rebuilding of Pompey's Theatre, he left at last after many years unfinished. Nor did he ever entertain the people with publick sports and diversions, and was seldom present at those that were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him ; especially after he was obliged to manumit the comedian Actius. Having relieved the poverty of a few senators, that he might not do the same for many more of them, he declared, he should for the future relieve none, but such as gave the house good satisfaction, as to the cause of their necessity : upon which most of the needy senators, out of modesty and shame, declined troubling him : amongst which was Hortalus, grand-son to the famous orator Hortensius, who at the

48. Publice munificentiam his omnino exhibuit : proposito millies H.S. gratuito in triennii tempus : & rursus quibusdam dominis insularum, quæ in monte Cœlio deslagrant, pretio restituto. Quorum alterum magna difficultate nummaria populo auxilium flagitante coactus est facere, cum per senatus consultum sanxisset, ut fœneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem æris alieni statim solverent, nec res expediretur : alterum ad mitigandam temporum atrocitatem. Quod tamen beneficium tantæ estimavit, ut montem Cœlium appellatione mutata vocari Augustum iusserit. Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil unquam largitus est, præterquam singula millia denariorum prætorianis, quod Sejano se non accommodassent : & quædam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solæ nullam Sejani imaginem inter signa coluissent : atque etiam missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans. Ne provincias quidem ulla liberalitate sublevavit : excepta Asia, disiectis terræmotu civitatibus.

49. Procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas convertit animum. Sat constat, Cn. Lentulum augurem, cui census maximus fuerit, metu & angore ad fastidium vitæ ab eo actum, & ut ne quo nisi ipso herede moreretur. Condemnatam & generosissimam fœminam Lepidam in gratiam Quirini consularis prædivitis, & orbi, qui dimissam eam matrimonio post vigesimum annum veneni olim in se comparati arguebat : præterea Galliarum & Hispaniarum, Syriæque & Græciæ prin-

48. There are but two instances of his public bounty, one was an offer to lend gratis for three years a hundred millions of sesterces to such as wanted to borrow ; and the other, when he made good the loss of some large houses burnt down in mount Cælius to the owners, the former of which he was obliged to by the clamours of the people, in a great scarcity of money ; when an act of the senate passed upon a motion of his to oblige all usurers to lay out two thirds of their money in land, and the debtors to pay in the like proportion of their debts, was found insufficient to remedy the grievance. The other he did to qualify in some measure the severity of his government. And this kindness he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered mount Cælius to be called for the future Augustus. To the soldiery he never gave any thing, after his doubling to them the legacy left them by Augustus, except a thousand Denarii a man to the guards, for not siding with Sejanus ; and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had not worshipped the statues of Sejanus amongst their standards. And he would very seldom discharge the veteran soldiers, in hopes of saving by their dying in the service (which from their age there was a prospect of happening soon) the premiums that would have been due upon their discharge. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by any act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been laid in ruins by an earthquake.

49. In a little time he fell to downright rapine. 'Tis certain that Cn. Lentulus the Augur, a man of a vast estate, was terrified and teased out of his life by him, and at the same time obliged to leave him his heir : and that Lepida a lady of a very noble family was condemned by him, to gratify Quirinus a consular gentleman, very rich and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and then charged her with an old design to poison him. And besides that, several persons of the greatest eminence and figure in Gaul, Spain, Syria and Greece had their estates confiscated, upon such wretchedly trifling, and shameless pretences, that the only thing

cipes

cipes confiscatos ob tam leve ac tam impudens calumniarum genus: ut quibusdam non aliud sit objectum, quam quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent, plurimis etiam civitatibus & privatis veteres immunitates & jus metallorum ac vectigalium adempta, sed & Votonem regem Parthorum qui pulsus à suis, quasi in fidem pop. Roman. cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat, spoliatum perfidia, & occisum.

50. Odium adversus necessitudines, in Druso primum fratre detexit: prodita ejus epistola, qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat: deinde & in reliquis, Julix uxori tantum absuit, ut relegate, quod minimum est, officii aut humanitatis aliquid impertirer, ut ex constitutione patris uno oppido clausam, domo quoque egredi, & commercio hominum frui vetuerit: sed & peculio concessio à patre præbitisque annuis fraudavit, per speciem publici juris, quod nihil de his Augustus testamento cavisset. Matrem Liviam gravatus, velut partes sibi æquas potentix vindicantem, & congressum ejus assiduum vitavit: & longiores secretioresque sermones, ne ejus consiliis, quibustamen interdum & egere et uti solebat, regi videretur. Tulit etiam perindigne actum à senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti ita & Livix filius adjiceretur. Quare non parentem patriæ appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est. Sed & frequenter admonuit, quod non majoribus nec famina convenientibus negotiis abstineret: præcipue ut animadverit incendio juxta ædem Vestæ & ipsam intervenisse: populumque & milites, quo enixius opem ferrent adhortatam, sicut

laid to the charge of some of them was that they had too great a part of their estates in money. Likewise old immunities, and the right of digging mines, and exacting duties was taken from several cities and private persons. And Votonos King of the Parthians who had been forced out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a great deal of treasure, in order to put himself under the protection of the Roman people, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and then murdered.

50. He first discovered his hatred of his relations in his brother Drusus, by producing a letter of his, wherein he made a proposal to him, to oblige Augustus by force to restore the public liberty. Soon after he discovered it in the rest too. He was so far from shewing any the least civility or kindness to his wife, that had been banished, and by the order of his father confined to one town, that he forbid her to stir out of the house, or to converse with company. Nay, he deprived her of the property allowed her by her father, and of her yearly income, under pretence of law; because Augustus had not secured them to her in his will. Being weary of his mother Livia, as claiming an equal share in the government with him, he declined seeing of her pretty much, as also all long and private conferences with her, lest he should be thought to be governed by her counsels; which yet he sometimes wanted, and made use of too. He likewise took it very heinously of the senate, when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the son of Livia, as well as Augustus. Wherefore he suffered her not to be called the parent of her country, nor to receive any extraordinary honour from the public. Nay, he frequently admonished her not to meddle with weighty matters, and such as did not suit her sex; especially when he found her appear at a fire that broke out nigh the temple of Vesta, and encouraging the people and the soldiers to work hard, as she had been used to do in her husband's time.

sub marito solita esset.

51. De-

51. Dehinc ad simultatem usque processit, hac ut ferunt de causa: Instanti sæpius, ut civitate donatum in decurias allegeret, negavit alia se conditione allecturum, quam si pateretur adscribi albo, extorium id sibi à matre. At illa commota, veteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate & intolerantia morum ejus è sacratio protulit, atque recitavit. Hos & custodius tamdiu, & exprobratos tam infeste, adeo graviter tulit, ut quidam putent inter causas secessus hanc ei vel præcipuam fuisse. Toro quidem triennio, quo vivente matre absuit, semel omnino eam, nec amplius quam uno die, ac paucissimis vidit horis: ac mox, neque ægræ adesse curavit, defunctamque, & dum adventus sui spem facit, complurium dierum mora, corrupto demum & tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit consecrari: quasi id ipsa mandasset. Testamentum quoque ejus pro irritò habuit, omnesque amicitias & familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris curam moriens demandarat, intra breve tempus affixit: uno ex his equestris ordinis viro & in ancliam condemnato.

52. Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum, neque adoptivum Germanicum patria charitate dilexit. Alterius vitiis infensus: nam Drusus animi fluxioris, remissiorisque vitæ erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est: sed tantum non statim à funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, justitio longiore inhibito, Quin & Ilienſium legatis paullo serius consolantibus, quasi oblitterata jam doloris memoria irridens. Se quoque respondit vicem eorum

51. After that he proceeded to a down-right quarrel with her, upon this occasion, as it said. Upon her being several times very urgent with him to choose amongst the judges, one that had been made free of the city, he told her he would not do it, unless she would allow this reason for it to be put down in the list of the judges names, That the thing had been extorted from him by his mother. At which being in a rage, she produced some letters of Augustus to her, about the sowness and insolence of his temper, and read them. He took it so heavily that these should have been kept so long, and with so much bitterness he now produced against him, that some think this was the principal occasion of his retiring. During the whole three years she lived after, he saw her but once, and that for a few hours only. And when she fell sick soon after, he would not come at her. And when she was dead, he kept those about her so long in expectation of his coming, that the body was corrupted before it was buried, and then he forbid her to be enrolled amongst the Gods, pretending her own order for it. He likewise set aside her will, and in a short time ruined all her friends and acquaintance: even those to whom at her decease she had recommended the care of her funeral, condemning one of them that was a Gentleman of the Equestrian order, to the drudgery of drawing water in a Crane.

52. He had not a fatherly affection either for his own son Drusus, or his adopted son Germanicus, being offended at the vices of the one, for Drusus led a loose dissolute life; for which reason he was not much affected at his death, but almost immediately after the funeral fell to business again, and obliged the publick to do the same. And the Embassadors of the Ilienſians coming somewhat with the latest with their complements of condolance, the remembrance of his loss being now pretty well worn off, he told them by way of banter, that he heartily condoled with them the loss of their excellent country-delere,

dolere, quod egregium civem Hectorem amisissent. Germanico usque adeo obtrecevit, ut & præclare facta ejus pro supervacuis elevarer: & gloriosissimas victorias, ceu damnosas Reipubl. increparet. Quod vero Alexandriam, propter immentem & repentinam famem, inconsulto se adisset, questus est in senatu. Etiam causa mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriæ creditur; quem mox hujus criminis reum putant quidam mandata prolaturum, nisi ea secreta obstarent. Per quæ multifariam inscriptum, & per noctes creberrime acclamatum est, *Redde Germanicum*. Quam suspicionem confirmavit ipse postea: conjuge etiam ac liberis Germanici crudelem in modum afflictis.

53. *Nurum Agrippinam*, post mortem mariti, liberius quiddam questam, manu apprehendit: Græcoque versu, *Si non dominaris, inquit, filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas?* Nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est. Quondam vero inter cenam porrecta à se poma gustare non ausam, etiam vocare desist, simulans, se veneni crimine arcessitum: cum præstructum utrumque consulto esset, ut & ipse tentandi gratia offerret, & illa quasi certissimum exitum caveret. Novissime calumniatus, modo ad statuam Augusti, modo ad exercitus confugere velle, Pandatariam relegavit: convitiantique oculum per centurionem verberibus excussit: Rursus mori inedia destinanti, per vim ore diducto, insulciri cibum jussit. Sed & perseverantem, atq; ita absumptam, criminosis infectatus est, cum diem quoque natalem ejus inter nefastos referendum transisset. Imputavit etiam,

man Hector. He so much affected to lessen Germanicus, that he would decry his noble actions as insignificant, and rail at his most glorious victories as ruinous to the publick, and complained of him to the senate, for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occasion of a great and sudden famine at Rome. And it is believed he took care to have him dispatched by Cn. Piso the lieutenant of Syria; who was afterwards tried for it; and it is supposed by some, would have produced his orders, had he not been therein ordered to the contrary: wherefore the following words were posted up in many places, and frequently bawled out in the night, Give us Germanicus again; which suspicion he afterwards confirmed by the barbarous usage of his wife and children.

53. *His daughter in law Agrippina*, after the death of her husband, complaining upon some occasion, with a great deal of freedom, he took her by the hand, and in a Greek verse delivered himself to this purpose. My dear child, do you think your self injured because you are not Lady paramount? and would never after speak to her. And upon her refusing once at supper to taste some fruit, he presented her, he forbore inviting her to his table; pretending she, in effect, charged him with a design to poison her; whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own; he was to offer the fruit, and she to be privately cautioned against it, as what would infallibly be her death. At last charging her, tho' without any foundation for it, with a design to fly to the statue of Augustus, or the army, he banished her to Pandataria. And upon her reviling him for it, he did, by a Centurion, beat out one of her eyes: And when she resolved to fast to death, he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her throat: But she persisting in her design, and dying soon after, he persecuted her memory with the vilest aspersions, and advised the senate to put her birth-

quod

quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abjecerit : proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiæ agerentur, & Capitolino Jovi donum ex auro sacraletur.

54. Cum ex Germanico tres nepotes, Neronem & Drusum & Caium, ex Druso unum Tiberium haberet, destitutus morte liberorum, maximos natu de Germanici filiis, Neronem & Drusum P. C. commendavit : diemque iuriusque ritocinii, congiario plebi dato, celebravit. Sed ut comperit, ineunte anno, pro eorum quoque salute publice vota suscepta : egit cum senatu, *Non debere talia premia tribui, nisi expertis & etate provectis* : atque ex eo, patefacta interiore animi sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit : variaque fraude inducos ut & concitarentur ad convitia, & concitati perirentur, accusavit per literas, quarumque congestis etiam probis, & illudicarios hostes fame negavit. Neronem in insula Pontia, Drusum in ima parte Palatii, Putant Neronem ad voluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missos laqueos & uncas ostentaret. Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tormentum è culcita tentaverit mandere : amboium sic reliquis dispersis, ut vix quandoque colligi possent.

Drusus, they tell you, was so stuffing of his bed. And the relicks of them both were so dispersed, that it was with much ado they they were brought together again.

55. Super veteres amicos ac familiares, viginti sibi è numero principum civitatis depoposcerat, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis, Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes præstitit : cæteros, alium alia de causa perculit,

day amongst the number of unlucky days in the Kalendar. He likewise reckoned it as a favour, that he had not thrown her body upon the Scale Gemonia. and suffered a vote of the house to pass, to thank him for his clemency, and a present in gold to be made to Jupiter Capitolinus upon it.

54. He had by Germanicus three grand-sons, Nero, Drusus and Caius, and, by his son Drusus one named Tiberius : of which, after the loss of his sons, he recommended Nero and Drusus to the senate : and upon the days of their being solemnly introduced into the forum, distributed money among the people. But when he found, that vows had been offered up by the magistrates in the beginning of the year, for their health, he told the senate, that such honours ought not to be conferred but upon such as had been tried, and were advanced in age. Having thus betrayed the secret disposition of his soul towards them, he occasioned their being persecuted with a variety of informations against them ; and having used divers arts to provoke them to rail at, and abuse him, that he might thereby be furnished with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the senate, and at the same time, with great bitterness accused them of the most scandalous vices. And upon their being declared enemies by the senate, starved them both to death, Nero in the island of Pontia, and Drusus in the lower part of the Palatium. It is believed by some, that Nero was put upon making away with himself, by the executioner, shewing him halters and hooks, as if sent to him by the order of the senate. pined, that he attempted to eat the

55. Besides his old friends, and intimate acquaintance, he desired twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, to advise with upon the publick affairs. Out of all this number, scarce two or three escaped him ; all the rest he destroyed, upon one pretence or another, and amongst them *Ælius Sejanus*,

Inter

Inter quos cum plurimorum clade Alium Sejanum, quem ad summam potentiam, non tam benevolentia provexerat, quam ut esset cujus ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumveniret: nepotemque suum ex Druso filium naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.

56. Nihilo lenior in convictores Græculos, quibus vel maxime acquiescebat. Zenonem quendam exquisitius sermocinantem, cum interrogasset, *quam illa tam molesta dialectos esset*: & ille respondit, *Doridem*: relegavit Ciniariam: exultimans, exprobratum sibi veterem secessum; quod Dorice Rhodii loquuntur. Item cum soleret ex lectione quotidiana quæstiones super coenam proponere: compersissetque, Selencum grammaticum à ministris suis perquirere quos quoque tempore tractaret auctores, atque ita præparatum venire: primum à concubernio removit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

57. Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit, quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricæ præceptor & perspexisse primus sagaciter, & assimilasse aptissime vitus est: subinde in objurgando appellans eum; *ἡλὸν αἵματι πρὸς αἰσχροῦ*. Sed aliquanto magis in principe eluxit, etiam inter initia, cum adhuc favorem hominum moderationis simulatione captaret. Scurram, qui prætereunte funere elato mortuo mandarat ut nuntiaret Augusto, nondum reddi legata, quæ plebi relliquisset, attractum ad se, recipere debitum ducique ad supplicium imperavit, & patri suo verum referre. Nec multo post in senatu Pompeio cuidam, equiti Romano, quidam perneganti, dum vincu-

whose fall was attended with the ruin of a great many more. He had advanced him to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much out of any real affection for him, as by his base underhand contrivances, to ruin the children of Germanicus; thereby to secure the succession to his own grandson by Drusus.

56. He was never a whit better to the Greeks in his family, even those he most delighted in. Having asked one Zeno upon his talking somewhat obscurely, What troublesome kind of Dialect that was, and he replying the Dorick, he banished him to Ciniaria; upon a suspicion that he upbraided him with his former residence at Rhodes, where the Dorick dialect is used. Likewise being used to stare questions at supper, such as the Authors he had been reading the day before furnished him with, and finding that Selencus the Grammarian, used to enquire of those that attended him, what authors he read every day, and so came prepared for him; he first turn'd him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himself.

57. His cruel relentless temper appeared in him, when he was a boy; which Theodorus of Gadara his master in Rhetorick, first discovered in him, and expressed by a very apposite simile, calling him now and then in chiding of him, dirt mix'd with blood; but it appeared still more manifestly in him when he came to be emperor, and in the beginning of his reign too, whilst he was as yet endeavouring to gain the affections of the people, by pretending to moderation. A wag, upon the passing by of a funeral, called out to the dead man, and desired him to tell Augustus, That the legacies he had left the common-people were not yet paid. This fellow he ordered to be brought before him, to receive what was due to him, and then to be led to execution, that he might deliver the message to his father himself. And not long after, when one

la minatur, affirmavit fore ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret: acerba cavillatione simul hominis nomen incessens, veterumque partium fortunam.

by a bitter kind of drollery playing upon the man's name, and the ill fortune of the party.

58. Sub idem tempus, consulente prætorē, an judicia majestatis cogi juberet, exercendas esse leges respondit, & atrocissime exercuit. Statuæ quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret. Acta res in senatu. Et quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quæsitæ est. Damnato reo, paulatim hoc genus calumniæ eo processit, ut hæc quoque capitalia essent; circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse; vestimenta mutasse; nummo vel annulo effigiem impressam, latrinæ aut lupanari intulisse, dictum illum factumve ejus existimatione aliqua læsisse. Periiit denique & is qui honores in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est quo decreti & Augusto olim erant.

At last too a person was condemn'd to dye, for suffering some honours to be decreed for him in the colony where he lived, upon the same day, on which they had formerly been decreed for Augustus.

59. Multa præterea, specie gravitatis ac morum corrigendorum, sed & magis naturæ obtemperans, ita sæve & atrociter factitavit: ut nonnulli verficulis quoque & præsentia exprobrarent, & futura denuntiarent mala:

Pompey stiffly deny'd something or other in opposition to him, in the senate, he threat'ed to clap him in prison; and told him, that of a Pompey he would make a Pompeian of him,

playing upon the man's name, and the ill

58. About the same time, when the prætor consult'd him, whether he pleas'd to have the courts set upon accusations of treason against his person, he reply'd, that the laws ought to be put in execution, and he did put them in execution with a vengeance. A certain person had taken off the head of Augustus from a statue of his, to put another upon it. The matter was brought before the senate; and because the case was not clear, some were examined by torture about it, and the party accus'd being found guilty and condemn'd upon it, this kind of process grew to such a height, that it became capital for a man to tear his slave, or change his cloaths, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamp'd upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house, or the stews; or to reflect upon any thing that had been either said or done by him.

59. Besides he was guilty of so many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners, but more to gratify his own savage humour, that some lampoon'd him for the present calamities of his reign, and at the same time gave warning of the future.

Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?

Dispeream si te mater amare potest.

Non es eques. quare? non sunt tibi millia centum:

Omnia si quæras, & Rhodos exsilium est.

Aurea mutasti Saturni secula, Cæsar:

Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.

Fasidit vinum, quia jam scit iste cruorem:

Tam bibit hunc avidè, quam bibit ante merum.

Adspice felicem sibi non tibi Romule Sullam:

Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.

Nec non Antoni civilia bella morventis,

Nec semet infectas adspice cade manus.

*Et dic Roma perit : regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

Ah savage Wretch, too fierce, too fell to move
The least kind yearning's of a Mother's love !
No knight thou art, as having no estate,
Long suffered'st thou in Rhodes an Exile's fate.
No more the happy golden age we see ;
The Iron's come, and sure to last with thee
Instead of wine he thirsted for before,
He wallows now in floods of human gore.
Reflect, ye Romans, on the bloody times,
Made such by Marius, and by Sylla's Crimes.
Reflect how Anthony's ambitious rage
Twice drencht in blood a wild distracted age.
And say, alas ! Rome's happy days are o'er,
When banish'd Wretches gain the sov'reign power.

Quæ primo quasi ab impatientibus remediorum, ac non tam ex animi sententia, quam bile & stomacho fingerentur, volebat accipi. Dicebatque identidem, Oderint, dum probent. Deinde vera plane certaue esse ipse fecit fidem.

60. In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit, piscatori, qui sibi secretum agenti grandem mullum inopinanter obtulerat, perfricari eodem pisce faciem jussit : territus, quod is à tergo insulæ per aspera & devia crepsisset ad se. Gratulanti autem inter pœnam, quod non & locustam, quam prægrandem ceperat, obtulisset, locusta quoque lacerari os imperavit. Militem prætorianum, ob surreptum è viridario pavonem capite puniit. In quodam itinere lectica qua vehebatur, vepribus impedita, exploratorem viæ primarum cohortium centurionem stratum humi pæne ad necem verberavit. *to be laid on his face upon most to death.*

61. Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit, nunquam deficiente materia : cum primo matris, deinde nepotum & nurus, postremo Sejani

Which satyrical reflections he would needs at first have pass for the effects of choler and rage, in such as were impatient under the discipline of reformation, more than their real sentiments, and he would now and then say, Let them hate me, so long as they do but approve my Conduct. But at length he shewed by his behaviour, they were but too well grounded.

60. A few days after his arrival at Caprea, a fisherman coming unexpectedly upon him, as he was by himself, and presenting him with a large barbel, he ordered his face to be scrubbed with the fish, being affrighted to think he should be able to get up to him over such rugged desert rocks. And the fellow under his punishment, expressing his joy, that he had not likewise made him a present of a huge crab he had taken, he ordered his face to be tore with the crab too. He punished a soldier of the guards with death, for stealing a peacock out of his garden. His chair being hindered in its passage upon the road by some bushes, he ordered the gentleman sent before to examine the road, who was a centurion of the first rank, to be laid on his face upon the ground, and to be whipped al-

61. Soon after he broke out into all manner of cruelty, never wanting matter of one kind or other to work upon. He first fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother, then those fa-

familiares atque etiam notos persequeretur. Post cuius interitum vel sævissimus existit: quo maxime apparuit, non tam ipsum à Sejano concitari solitum, quam Sejanum querenti occasiones subministrasse. Et si commentario, quem de vita sua summam breviterque composuit, ausus est scribere, *Sejanum se punisse, quod compcrisset furere adversus Germanici liberos filii sui*: quorum ipse alterum suspecto jam, alterum oppresso demum Sejano interemit. Sigillatim crudeliter facta ejus exequi longum est: generatim velut exemplaria sceleris enunciare sat erit. Nullus à poena hominum cessavit dies: ne religiosus quidem ac facer. Animadvertum in quosdam ineunte anno novo: accusati damnaque multum cum liberis atque etiam uxoribus suis. Interdictum, ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent: decreta accusatoribus præcipua præmia, nonnunquam & testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. Omne crimen pro capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simpliciumque verborum. Obiectum est poetæ, quod in tragoedia Agamemnonem probris lacecesset: obiectum & historico, quod *Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum* dixisset: animadvertum est statim in auctores, scriptaque abolita, quamvis probarentur aliquot ante annos, etiam Augusto audiente recitata. Quibusdam custodiæ traditis; non modo studendi solatium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis & colloquii usus. Citati ad causam dicendam, partim se domi vulneraverunt, certi damnationis, & ad vexationem ignominiamque vitandam: partim in media curia venenum hauserunt, & tamen colligatis vulneribus, ac semianimes

of his grandsons, and his daughter-in-law; and lastly those of Sejanus; after whose death he became excessively cruel; by which it appeared, that he had not been so much instigated by Sejanus, as supplied with occasions of gratifying his savage temper, when he wanted them. Tho' in a short memoir he composed of his own life, he had the impudence to write, That he had punished SEJANUS, because he found him bent upon the destruction of the children of his son Germanicus, of which he put one to death, when he was now become jealous of Sejanus, and on other, after he was taken off. It would be too tedious to relate all the particular instances of his cruelty; it may suffice to give samples thereof in its several kinds. Not a day pass'd without the punishment of some body or other, not excepting holidays, or those design'd for the worship of the Gods. Some were punished in the beginning of the new year. Many were attacked and condemned together with their wives and children. And the relations forbid to mourn for such as were sentenced to death. Considerable rewards were voted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the witnesses too. Any one's information was taken without exception: and all crimes were capital, even the speaking of a few words, tho' without any ill intention. A poet was called to an account, for abusing Agamemnon; and an historian for calling Brutus and Cassius the last of all the Romans. The authors were immediately put to death, and their writings suppress'd; tho' they had been well approved of some years before, and read over in the hearing of Augustus. Some that were put in prison, were not only deny'd the comfort of study, but debarred all company and conversation whatever. When persons were summoned in order to tryal, they stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the plague and ignominy, that would otherwise ensue; for they were sure to be condemned; or else took poison in the senate-house: but however their wounds were bound up, and they were carried half-dead, and panting for life, to prison. All that were put to
pali-

palpitantesque in carcerem rapti. Nemo punitorum non & in Gemonias abiectus uncoq; tractus. Viginti uno die abiecti tractique sunt: inter eos pueri & foeminae. Immatu-
rae puellae, quia more tradito nefas esset virgines strangulari, viciatæ prius à carnifice, dein strangulatæ. Mori volentibus vis adhibita vendi. Nam mortem adeo leve supplicium putabat, ut cum audisset unum e reis, Carnulium nomine, anticipasse eam, exclamaverit, *Carnulius me evasit*. Et in recognoscendis custodiis, precanti cuidam poenæ maturitatem, respondit, *Nondum tecum in gratiam regis*. Annalibus suis vir consularis inseruit, frequenti quondam convivio, cui & ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum subito & clare à quodam nano adstante mentis inter copreas, cur Paconius, majestatis reus, tam diu viveret: statim quidem petulantiam linguæ objurgasse, cæterum post paucos dies scripsisse senatui ut de poena

death, were constantly thrown down the Gemonie, and then dragged into the Tiber. Twenty were so served in one day, and amongst them boys and women. And because, according to an antient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and then strangled. Such as were desirous to die were forced to live. For he thought death so slight a punishment, that when he heard that one Carnulius, who was under prosecution, had killed himself, he cried out, *Carnulius has escaped me*. And in calling over his prisoners, one begging for the favour of a speedy death, he replied to him, *I am not friends with you yet*. A consular gentleman writes in his annals, that at table, where a great deal of company, and he himself was present, he was on the sudden and aloud ask'd by a dwarf that stood by, amongst the drolls that attended, why Paconius, who was under a prosecution for treason, lived so long; that he reprimanded him immediately for his sauciness, but a few days after writ to the senate, to proceed forthwith to the Punishment of Paconius.

Paconii quam primum statueret.

62. Auxit intenditque favitiam, exacerbatus iudicio de morte filii sui Drusi: quem cum morbo & intemperantia periisse existimaret, ut tandem veneno interemptum fraude Livillæ uxoris atque Sejani cognovit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cuiusquam pepercit: soli huic cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus & intentus, ut Rhodiensem hospitem, quem familiaribus literis Romam evocarar, advenisse sibi nuntiatum, torqueri sine mora jussit, quasi aliquis ex necessariis questionibus adesset: deinde errore detecto, & occidi, ne divulgaret injuriam. Carnificinæ ejus ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa & exquisita tormenta precipitari coram se in mare jubebat: excipiente classario-

62. But he carried his cruelty still higher, being sowed by an information about the death of his son Drusus. He thought he had dyed of a distemper occasioned by his intemperance: But finding he had been poison'd by the contrivance of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, he spared none; but tortured, and put to death without mercy; and was so entirely taken up with the examination of this affair, for whole days together, that when he was inform'd, that a gentleman of Rhodes, in whose house he had lodged, whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome, was come, he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture, as if he had been a party concern'd in that affair; and when he found his mistake, commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publish the injury done him. His place of execution is still shown at Caprea, where he ordered such as were condemn'd to dy, after long and exquisite tortures, to be thrown, before his eyes, from

um manu, & contis atque remis elidente cadavera : ne cui residui spiritus quidquam inesset. Excogitaverat autem inter genera cruciatus, etiam ut larga meripotione per fallaciam oneratos, repente veretris deligatis, fidicularum simul urinæque tormento distenderet. Quod nisi eum & mors prævenisset, & Thrasyllus consulto, ut aiunt, differre quædam, spe longioris vitæ compulisset : plures aliquanto necaturus, ac ne reliquis quidem nepotibus parsurus creditur : cum & Cæsum suspectum haberet, & Tiberium ut ex adulterio conceptum aspernaretur. Nec abhorret à vero : namque identidem Felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.

63. Quam vero inter hæc non modo invisus ac detestabilis, sed præterpidus quoque atque etiam contumeliis obnoxius vixerit, multa indicia sunt. Haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli vetuit. Vicina vero urbi oracula etiam disjicere conatus est : sed majestate Prænestinarum sortium territus, destitit : cum obsignatas devectasque Romam non reperisset in arca nisi relatas rursus ad templum. Unum & alterum consulares oblaris provinciis, non ausus à se dimittere, usque adeo detinuit, donec successores post aliquot annos præsentibus daret : quum interim manente officii titulo, etiam delegaret plurima : assidueque illi per legatos & adjuutores suos exsequenda curarent.

64. Numum ac nepotes nunquam aliter post damnationem, quam catenatos, obstruque lectica, loco movit : prohibitis per militem obviis ac viatoribus respicere usquam, vel consistere.

a precipice into the sea ; where a company of soldiers, belonging to the fleet, waited for them ; and broke their bones with poles and oars, lest they should have any life left in them. Amongst various kinds of torture invented by him, one was to wheedle people to drink a vast quantity of wine, and then to tie up their members with strings, in order to torment them at once, with the twitching of the string, and the stoppage of their urine. And unless death had prevented him, and Thrasyllus, designedly, as some say, had prevailed with him to defer some of his cruel projects, in hopes of longer life, it is believed, he would have been the destruction of many more ; and not have spared even the rest of his grand-children ; for he was jealous of Caius, and hated Tiberius as conceived by adultery. And it is likely enough, indeed ; for he, now and then, would pronounce Priam happy, who survived his whole family.

63. Amidst these transactions, how odious and detestable, under what terrible apprehensions and alarms he lived, is many ways apparent. He forbid the sooth-sayers to be consulted in private ; and without witnesses by. He attempted to suppress the Oracles nigh the city : but being terrified by the manifest appearance of a Divine authority in that of Præneste, he gave over the design. For tho' the lots were sealed up in a box, and carried to Rome, yet they were not to be found in it, till it was returned to the temple. Two consular gentlemen, whom he made governors of provinces, he never durst dispatch thither ; but kept them so long, till several years after he assigned them successors, being then present upon the spot with him : In the mean time, they had the respectivestitles of their office ; and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.

64. He never removed his daughter-in-law and grandson, after their condemnation, any whither but in chains and a close chair, with a guard to hinder all that met them on the road, from standing to gaze at them.

65. Sejanum

65. Sejanum res novas molientem, quamvis jam & natalem ejus publice celebrari, & imagines aureas coli passim videret; vix tandem & astu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Nam primo, ut à se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi assumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe affinitatis ac tribunitiæ potestatis deceptum, inopinantem criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione: cum inter alia P. C. precaretur, mitterent alterum è consulibus, qui senem se, & solum in conspectum, eorum cum aliquo militari præsidio perduceret. Sic quoque diffidens, tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis adhuc Romæ continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitui præceperat. Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quæ, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quidque foret factum, mandaverat. Verum & oppressa conjuratione Sejani, nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa quæ vocatur Jovis.

quite defeated the design of Sejanus against him, yet he was still as much haunted as ever, with fears and apprehensions; insomuch that he stirred not once out of the Villa Jovis for nine months after.

66. Urebant insuper anxiam mentem varia undique convitia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram, vel per libellos in orchestra positos, ingerente. Quibus quidem diversissime afficiebatur: modo, ut præ pudore ignota & celata cuncta cuperet: nonnunquam eadem contemneret, & proferret ultro atque vulgaret. Quin & Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est

65. After Sejanus had form'd his design against him, tho' he saw his birth-day was solemnly kept by the publick, and golden images of him worshipp'd every where, yet it was with difficulty at last, and more by cunning and sly management, than his imperial authority, that he took him off. For in the first place, in order to remove him from about his person, under a pretence of doing him honour, he made him his colleague in his fifth consulship; which, tho' he was then absent from the town, he took upon him for that very purpose, a long time after his former consulship: and having gull'd him with the hopes of a match with a lady of his own blood, and the tribunitian authority, he all on a sudden, whilst he little expected it, charged him with treason. in an abject miserable address to the Senate, wherein amongst other things he begg'd of them to send one of the consuls to fetch him, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of Soldiers. But being still distrustfull and apprehensive of a publick rising, he ordered his Grand son Drusus, whom he kept confin'd at Rome, to be set at liberty, if occasion required, in order to head the Troops, and such as would appear for him. He had Ships likewise in readiness, to transport him to any of the legions he should think proper to apply to. In the mean time he was upon the watch, on the top of a very high rock, for the signals he had order'd to be given, as any thing happened, lest the messengers should be tardy. But tho' he had now

66. During this strange perplexity of mind, he was moreover terribly galled with variety of the most abusive language, that came thick upon him from all quarters; such as were condemn'd to die, every one of them, heaping upon him the vilest reproaches to his face, or by libels scatter'd in the senators seats in the theatre: with which he was very differently affected. Sometimes he wish'd out of shame, to have all smothered and conceal'd: At other times, he would slight what was

literis, parricidia & cædes & ignaviam & luxuriam objeceris, momentisque ut voluntaria morte, maximo justissimoque civium odio quamprimum satisfaceret.

Age of his own people, which he had justly brought upon himself, by putting an end to his life.

67. Postremo semetipse perreus talis epistolæ principio, tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est. Quid scribam vobis. Patres. Conscripti, aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, hoc tempore, Dii me, Deaque pejus perdant, quam quotidie perire sentio, si scio. Existimant quidam, præscisse hæc eum periticia futurorum: ac multo ante quanta se quandoque acerbitas & infamia maneret, prospexisse. Ideoque ut imperium inierit & PATRIS PATRIÆ appellatio nem, & ne in acta sua juraretur obstinatissime recusasse: ne mox majore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inveniretur. Quod sane & ex oratione ejus quam de utraque re habuit colligi potest: vel cum ait, Similem se semper sui futurum: nec unquam mutaturum mores suos, quamdiu mentis sana fuisset: sed exempli causa cavendum, ne se senatus in acta cujusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset. Et rursus: Si quando autem, inquit, de moribus meis, devotoque vobis anima dubitaveritis: quod prius quam eveniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutata vestra de me opinioni eripiat, nihil honoris adjiciet mihi PATRIS appellatio: vobis autem exprobrabit, aut temeritatem delati mihi ejus cognominis, aut inconstantiam contrarii de me judicii rashness in conferring it upon opinion of me.

68. Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto: statura quæ justam excederet. Latus ab

said, and publish it himself. He was moreover severely lash'd in a letter, from Artabanus king of the Parthian upbraiding him with his parriciden murders, cowardise and luxury, and advising him to satisfy the furious

he had justly brought upon himself, by

67. At last being quite weary of himself, he signified the extremity of his misery, in a letter to the senate, which begun thus. What to write to you, venerable fathers, or how to write, or what to write at this time, may all the deities pour upon my head, a more terrible vengeance, than that I perceive myself daily to be sinking under, if I can tell. Some are of opinion that he had a fore-knowledge of these things, from his skill in future events; and that he saw long before the misery and infamy, that would at last come upon him; and for that reason, at the beginning of his reign, had absolutely refused the title of father of his country, and the proposal of the senate to swear to his acts, lest he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found unequal to such mighty honour, which indeed may be fairly gathered from the speeches he made upon both occasions, as when he says, That he should ever be the same, and should never change his manners, so long as he kept his wits, but to avoid giving an ill precedent to posterity, the senate ought to have a care of engaging themselves, to maintain the acts of any one, that might by some ill accident or other be influenc'd to alter his conduct. And again, If you should at any time entertain a jealousy of my conduct and entire affection for you, which Heaven prevent by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of father will add nothing of honour to me, but be a reproach to you, for your me, or inconstancy in altering your

68. He was in his person large and robust, of a stature somewhat above the usual size: broad-shouldered and chested, humeris

humeris & pectore: cæteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes æqualis & congruens, sinistra manu agiliore ac validiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens & integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri, vel etiam adolescentis, talitro vulneraret. Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium submissiore, ut cervicem etiam obregeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur. Facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri, & subriles tumores, cum prægrandibus oculis: & qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam & in tenebris viderent, sed ad breve, & cum primum à somno paruisent: demum rursus hebescebant. Incedebatervice rigida & obstipa: adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus: nullo aut rarissimo: etiam cum proximis, sermone, eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gestulatione. Quæ omnia ingrata, atque arrogantia plena, & animadvertit Augustus in eo, & excusare tentavit sæpe apud senatum ac populum, professus, *Nature vitia esse, non animi*. Valetudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus pæne toto prope illæsa: quamvis à trigésimo ætatis anno arbitrata eam suo rexit, sine adjumento

69. Circa deos ac religiones negligentior; quippe ad dictas mathematicas; persuasionisque plenus, cuncta fato agi. Tonitrua tamen præter modum expavescebat: & turbatiore cælo nunquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine affari negetur id genus frondis.

70. Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit. In oratione Latina securus est Corvinum Messalam: quem senem adolescens observaverat. Sed affectatione & inrositate nimi obscurabat stylum: ut

and in his other parts proportionable. He used his left hand better than his right; and his joints were so strong, that he would bore a fresh sound apple through with his finger, and would wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a filip. He was of a fair complexion, and had his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, but frequently full of pimples, with large eyes, that had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time and in the dark, but for a short time only, and immediately after he awoke out of a sleep; for they soon grew dim again. He walk'd with his neck stiff and unmoved, commonly with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent; very seldom talking to those about him, and when he did, it was very slowly, and with an effeminate motion of his fingers. All which things being disagreeable and full of arrogance Augustus observed in him, and endeavoured to excuse many a time to the senate and people, assuring them, that they were natural defects, that did not proceed from any viciousness of mind. He enjoy'd a very good state of health, and without any interruption, almost, during the whole time of his government; altho' from the thirtieth year of his age, he managed himself with respect to his health according to his own discretion, without any help or assistance from Physicians.

consiliove medicorum.

69. He had small regard to the Gods or matters of religion, being mightily addicted to astrology, and full of a persuasion that all things were govern'd by fate. Yet he was exceedingly afraid of thunder, and in very cloudy weather always wore a laurel crown on his head, because they pretend to say, that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the thunder.

70. He applied himself very diligently to the liberal arts both greek and latin. In his latin stile he affected to imitate Corvinus Messala, an old gentleman that he, when he was a young man, used to attend upon. But he rendered his stile obscure by an excess of affecta-

aliquan-

aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura præstantior haberetur. Compoluit & carmen lyricum, cujus est titulus, *Conquestio de L. Cæsaris morte*. Fecit & Græca poemata, imitatus Euphorionem, & Rhianum, & Parthenium: quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta eorum & imagines, publicis bibliothecis inter veteres & præcipuos auctores dedicavit: & ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt. Maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiæ fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum. Nam & Grammaticos, quod genus hominum præcipue ut diximus, apperebat, ejusmodi fere quæstionibus experiebatur: *Quæ mater Hecubæ? Quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset? Quid Sirenes cantare sint solite?* Et quo primum die, post excelsum Augusti, curiam intravit, quasi pierati simul ac religioni satisfactorius, Minois exemplo, thure quidem ac vino, verum sine tibicine, supplicavit: ut ille olim in morte filii.

71. Sermone Græco, quamquam alias promptus & facilis, non tamen usquequaque usus est. Abstinentique maxime in senatu: adeo quidem ut *Monopolium* nominaturus, prius veniam postularit, quod sibi verbum peregrino utendum esset: atque etiam in quodam decreto patrum, cum *ἐμβλημα* recitaretur, commutandam censuerit vocem, & pro peregrina nostratē requirendam: aut si non reperiretur, vel pluribus, & per ambitum verborum rem enuntiandam. Militem quoque Græce testimonium interrogatum, nisi Latine respondere venit.

72. Bis omnino toto secessus tempore, Romam redire

tion and niceness, that he was thought to talk better extempore, than upon premeditation. He composed too a Lyrick ode under the title of a Lamentation upon the death of L. Cæsar, as also some greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rianus and Parthenius, which poets he was wonderfully taken, and set up their works and statues in the publick libraries amongst the most considerable authors of antiquity: for which reason most of the learn'd men of this time vied with one another in publishing several things upon them, which they addressed to him. What he chiefly minded was the knowledge of the fabulous history, wherein he was really silly and ridiculous. For he used to try the grammarians, which sort of people he chiefly affected, as I have said, with such kind of questions as these, who was Hecuba's mother? what had been Achilles's name amongst the virgins? what song were the Sirens used to sing? And the first day he entered the senate-house after the death of Augustus, as if he intended at once to pay a respect to the memory of his father and the Gods, he did, like as Minos had done formerly upon the death of his son, perform his devoirs with an offering of frankincense and wine, but without musick.

71. Tho' he was ready and quick at the greek tongue, yet he did not use it every where, but chiefly forbore it in the senate-house, insomuch that having occasion to use the word monopolium, he first begg'd pardon for being obliged to trouble the house with a foreign word. And when in a decree of the senate, the word emblemata was read, he advised to have it altered, and one of our own sought for in its stead; or if no proper one could be found, to express the thing by several words, or a periphrasis. He would not suffer a soldier too that as examined as a witness upon a tryal in greek, to make any answer but in latin.

72. He but twice, during the time of his retreats at Caprea, attempted to return
ROMANS,

conatus, semel trirēmi usque ad proximos Naumachiæ hortos subvectus est : disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quæ obviam prodeuntes submoveret. Iterum Appia usque ad septimum lapidem, sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis mœnibus rediit. Primo incertum qua de causa, postea ostento territus. Erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco, quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus, cum consumptum à formicis invenisset, monitus est ut vim multitudinis caveret. Rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturæ in languorem incidit. Quo paululum levatus, Circeios perrexit. Ac ne quam suspicionem infirmitatis daret, castrensibus ludis non interfuit solum, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum jaculis desuper petiit : statimque latere convulso, & ut exæstuarat afflatus aura, in graviolem recidit morbum. Sustentavit tamen aliquamdiu, quamvis Misenum usque devectus, nihil ex ordine quotidiano prætermitteret, ne convivium quidem ac cæteras voluptates, partim intemperantia, partim dissimulatione. Nam Chariclem medicum, quod commeatu absurdum est convivio egrediens, manum sibi osculandi causa apprehendisset, existimans tentatas ab eo venas sibi, remanere ac recumbere hortatus est, coenamque protraxit. Nec abstinuit consuetudine, quin tunc quoque instans in medio triclinio, adstante licitore, singulos valere dicentes appellaret.

stood up in the middle of the room, with an officer attending, and took leave of every one in the

73. Interim cum in actis legisset, dimissos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos, de quibus strictim, & nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se

to Rome, once he came in a trirēme as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all that should offer to come to meet him. And a second time he advanced along the Appian way, within seven miles of the town ; but taking only a view of the walls at a distance, he return'd without coming any nearer. For what reason he came not up to the town the first is uncertain, in the latter excursion he was deterred by a prodigy. He used to divert himself with a snake, whom going to feed with his own hand according to his custom, he found him devour'd by ants, and was thereupon advis'd to have a care of the fury of the mob. Wherefore returning back again in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Astura, but being something better he went on to Cerceii. And to avoid giving any suspicion of his being out of order, he was not only present at the diversions of the camp, but did himself from an eminence encounter a wild boar, let out for the purpose, with javelins. And immediately being taken with a convulsion in his side, and catching cold too upon his over heating himself in the exercise, he relaps'd into a worse condition than he was at first. However he held out for some time ; and sailing as far as Misene, omitted nothing in his usual manner of life, not so much as his entertainments and other pleasures, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles a physician, having obtained leave to retire some time from court, at his rising from table, seiz'd his hand to kiss it ; upon which he supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and take his place again, and thereupon continued the entertainment longer than usual. And after all according to his constant practice, he stood up in the middle of the room, with an officer attending, and company by name.

73. In the mean time, finding upon a perusal of the acts of the senate, that some persons under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing, concerning whom he had writ but very briefly, and no habitum

habitum fremens, repetere Capreas quoquo modo destinavit non temere quidquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Sed & tempestatibus & ingravescente vi morbi retentus, paulo post obiit in villa Lucullana, octavo & septuagesimo ætatis anno, tertio & vigesimo imperii, decimo septimo Kalend. Aprilis, Cn. Acerronio Proculo C. Pontio Nigro coss. Sunt qui putant venenum ei à Cajo datum lentum atque tabificum. Alii in remissione fortuitæ febris cibum desideranti negatum: nonnulli pulvinum injectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti annulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit, *Intellecta defectione, exemptum annulum quasi alicui traditurum parumper tenuisse: dein rursus aptasse digito, & compressa sinistra manu jacuisse diu immobilem: subito vocatis ministris, ac nemine respondente, consurrexisse, nec procul à lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse.*

with his left-hand grasp'd close, and without stirring; when suddenly calling upon his attendants, and no body making answer, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down a little way from his bed.

74. Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem & amplitudinis & artis eximie advectum Syracusis, ut in bibliotheca novi templi poneretur, viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi, *Non posse se ab ipso dedicari.* Et ante paucos quam obiret dies, turris Phari terræ motu Capreis concidit. Ac Miseni cinis è favilla & carbonibus, ad calefaciendum triclinium illatus, extinctus, & jam diu frigidus exarsit repente prima vespere, atque in multam noctem pertinaciter luxit.

75. Mortu ejus ita lætatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes, pars Tiberium in Tiberim claudita

more, than that they had been only named by the informer, complaining in a great chafe that he was treated with contempt, he resolved at any rate to return to Caprea, not daring to attempt any thing upon the occasion, but in a place of security. But being detained by storms, and the violence of his distemper, that increased upon him, he died soon after, in a country-seat of Lucullus's, in the seventy eighth year of his age, and the twenty third of his reign, upon the seventeenth of the calends of April, when Cn. Acerronius Proculus and C. Pontius Niger were consuls. Some are of opinion that he had a slow poison given him by Caius. Others say, that upon his calling for meat in the intermission of a fever he happened to be taken with, it was denied him. Others, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him, at his coming out of a swoon, and calling for his ring, that had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, That finding himself a going, he took his ring off his finger, and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to some body; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time,

74. He had upon his last birth-day brought a large beautiful statue of Apollo at Temenus from Syracuse, in order to set it up, in the library of the new temple, that had been built for that God: but dreamt that he appeared to him, and assured him, that his statue could not be erected by him. And a few days before he died, the watch-tower of Caprea fell down. And at Misene, some embers and coals being brought in to air his parlour, went out and were perfectly cold, but burst out into a flame again in the evening, and continued burning very bright till late at night.

75. The people rejoiced so at his death, that upon the first news of it, they run up and down the city, crying out some, Away with Tiberius,

rent 3

rent : pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent : alii unctum & Gemonias cadaveri minarentur, exacerbati super memoriam pristinae crudelitatis, etiam recenti atrocitate. Nam cum senatusconsulto cautum esset ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur, forte accidit ut quorundam supplicii dies is esset quonotiatum de Tiberio erat. Hos implorantes hominum fidem, quia, absente adhuc Cajo, nemo exstabat qui adiri interpellarique posset, custodes, ne quid adversus constitutum facerent, strangulaverunt, abjeceruntque in Gemonias. Crevit igitur invidia : quasi, etiam post mortem tyranni, scævicia ipermaneret. Corpus ut moveri à Miseno coepit, clamantibus plerisque, Atellam potius deferendum, & in Amphitheatro semiustulandum, Romam per milites deportatum est, crematumque publico funere.

most people cryed out to have it carryed to Atella, and broiled there in the Amphitheatre, yet it was carryed to Rome, and burnt there with the usual ceremony.

76. Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat : alterum suum, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo : obsignaveratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento heredes æquis partibus reliquit, Cajum ex Germanico, & Tiberium ex Druso, nepotes : substituitque invicem. Dedit & legata plerisque : inter quos virginibus Vestalibus, ac militibus universis, plebique Romanæ viritim, atque etiam separatim vicorum magistris.





into the Tiber. Whilst others invoked the Earth the common mother of mankind, and the infernal Gods, to allow no place for the dead, but amongst the wicked, Others threatened his carcass with the hook and the Scale Gemonia, being provoked by a fresh instance of barbarity, over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty. It had been provided by an act of the senate, that the punishment of persons condemn'd to dye, should always be deferred till the tenth day after the sentence. Now it happened that the day the news arriv'd of Tiberius's death, was the day fixed by the law for the execution of some that had been sentenced to dye. These poor creatures implored the protection of all about them ; but because Caius was not in town, and there was no body else to apply to in their behalf, those charged with the care of their execution, for fear of offending against that law, strangled them, and threw them down the Gemonie. Which raised in the minds of people a greater abhorrence of the tyrant's memory than they had before, since his cruelty still took place, even after his death. As soon as his corps began to move from Misene, the

76. He had made about two years before two draughts of his will, one with his own hand, and the other with that of a freed-man of his ; and had them witnessed by some persons of very mean rank. He left his two grandsons Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, heirs to his estate, which they were to share equally ; and if either of them chanced to die, the survivor was to inherit the whole. He gave too a great many legacies, and amongst the rest, to the Vestal virgins, all the soldiers, to every commoner of Rome, and to the overseers of the several petty divisions of the city, something extraordinary.







C. SUET. TRANQUILLI
C A I U S C Æ S A R
C A L I G U L A. IV.

CAPUT I.

1.     Germanicus C. Cæsaris pater, Drusi & minoris Antoniae filius, à Tiberio patris adoptatus, quaesturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret, & post eam, consulatum statim gessit. Misitque ad exercitum in Germaniam, excessu Angusti nuntiato, legiones universas imperatorem Tiberium pertinacissime recusantes, & sibi summam Reipublicae deferentes, incertum constantia an pietate majore, compescuit: atque hoste mox devicto, triumphavit. Consul deinde iterum creatus, ac prius quam honorem iniret, ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus, cum Armeniae regem devicisset, Cappadociam in provinciae formam redegit, annum ætatis agens quartum & trigesimum, diutino morbo Antiochiae obit, non sine veneni suspitione. Nam præter livores, qui toto corpore erant, & spumas quæ per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est: cuius ea natura existimatur, ut tinctum veneno igne confici nequeat.

2. Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberii, ministro & opera Cn. Pisonis. Qui sub idem tempus Syriae præ-

    GERMANICUS the father of C. Caesar, and son of Drusus and the younger Antonia was, after his adoption by Tiberius his uncle, preferred to the Quaestorship five years sooner than the laws allowed of; and immediately after he was out of that office, to the consulship. And being sent to the army in Germany, he quieted the legions, who, upon the news of Augustus's death, did every one of them obstinately refuse to accept of Tiberius for their prince, and offered him the Government. In which affair whether he shew'd more duty to his father, or firmness of resolution, is hard to say. Soon after he defeated the enemy, and triumphed upon it. And then being made consul a second time, before he could enter upon his office, he was obliged to hurry away to settle affairs in the East, where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, he died at Antioch of a lingering distemper, in the thirty fourth year of his age, not without the suspicion of poison: for besides the livid spots that appeared all over his body, and his spunging at the mouth; when his corpse was burnt, his heart was found entire, the nature of which is supposed to be such, as not to admit of any consumption by fire, if it be tainted by poison.

2. He was taken off, as was commonly believed, by the base contrivance of Tiberius, with the assistance of Cn. Piso. Who about the same time being

positus

positus, nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem, aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam egrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus, nullo adhibito modo, affectit: propter quæ, ut Romam rediit, plene discerptus a populo, à senatu capitis damnatus est.

3. Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, & quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam & fortitudinem egregiam: ingenium in utroque eloquentiæ doctrinæque genere præcellens: benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæque hominum gratiæ, ac promerendi amoris mirum & efficax studium. Formæ minus congruebat gracilitas crurum, sed ea quoque paullatim repleta assidua equi vectatione post cibum. Hostem cominus sæpe percussit. Oravit causas etiam triumphalis: atque inter cætera studiorum monumenta reliquit & comœdias Græcæ. Domi forisque civilis: libera ac fœderata oppida sine lictoribus adibat. Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulcra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat. Cæсорum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumulo humaturus, colligere sua manu, & comportare primus aggressus est. Obrectatoribus etiam qualescumque, & quantacumque de causa nactus esset, lenis adeo & innoxius, ut Pisoni decreta sua rescindenti, clientelas diu vexanti, non prius succensere in animum induxerit, quam beneficiis quoque & devotionibus impugnari se comperisset: ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus, quam ut & amicitiam ei more majorum resumeret, mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret.

made governor of Syria, and declaring openly that he must either offend the father or the son, as if there was an absolute necessity for it, he abused Germanicus at that time sick, in the most scandalous and extravagant manner, both by words and deeds: for which, upon his return to Rome, he had like to have been torn to pieces by the people, and was condemned to death by the senate.

3. It is generally agreed that Germanicus had all the noble endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than any before him, as handsomeness of person, an extraordinary courage, a great mastery in the eloquence and other literature both of Greece and Rome; besides a singular humanity, and a most engaging way of gaining the favour and affection of all about him. The smallness of his legs did not answer the handsomeness of his person in other respects: but this too was at length corrected by a constant custom of riding after meals. He frequently in battle encountered and slew the enemy with his own hands. He pleaded causes too after he had the honour of a triumph. And amongst the other fruits of his studies left behind him some greek comedies. And both at home and abroad behaved with the modesty of a private gentle man. He always entered free and confederate towns without his lictors. And wherever he heard in his travels of the sepulchres of famous men, paid his devoirs at them to their memory, by the usual offerings. He buried in one tomb the scattered reliques of those that had been slain with Varus, and was the foremost to put his hand to the work of gathering and bringing them to the place of burial. He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, let them be what they would, and upon what account so ever such, that tho' Piso cancelled his decrees, and for a long time harassed his dependents extremely, he could not find in his heart to show his resentment of such usage of him, till he found himself attacked by magick charms and imprecations, and even then he went no further, than to renounce all friendship with him, ac-

according to ancient usage, and to recommend to his friends about him the revenge of his death, if he came to an untimely end.

4. Quorum virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, sic probatus & dilectus à suis, ut Augustus, (omitto enim necessitudines reliquas,) diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dederit. Sic vulgo favorabilis, ut plurimi tradant, quoties aliquo adveniret, vel sicunde discederet, præ turba occurrentium prosequentiumve nonnunquam eum discrimen vitæ adisse: & Germania vero post compressam seditionem, reverenti, prætorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset, ut duæ tantummodo exirent; populi autem Romani sexum, ætatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicefinum lapidem effudisse se.

5. Tamen longe majora & firmiora de eo judicia in morte ac post mortem exstiterunt. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversæ Deum aræ, Lares à quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expositi. Quin & Barbaros serunt, quibus intestinum, quibusque adversus nos bellum esset, velut in domesticum commune morore consensisse ad inducias. Regulos quosdam barbam posuisse, & uxorū capita rasisse, ad indicium maximi luctus. Regum etiam regem & exercitatione venandi, & convictu Megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitiae instar est.

valent to a cessation of all business with us.

6. Romæ equidem, cum ad primam famam valetudinis attonita & mœsta civitas sequentes nuntios opperiretur, & repente jam vespere incertis auctoribus convalescere tan-

4. He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long time in doubt with himself, whether he should not appoint him his successor, at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular, that many authors tell us, the crowds of such as went to meet upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life. And that upon his return from Germany, after he had quelled the mutinies in the army there, all the battalions of the Guards went to meet him, notwithstanding the public order that only two should go. And that all the rest of the people both men and women of all ages and conditions went as far as twenty miles to attend him to town.

5. Yet they still gave far greater and stronger proofs of their mighty fondness for him, about the time of his death, and afterwards. The day he died, the temples were stoned, the altars of the gods demolished, the lares were by some thrown into the streets, and their new born infants exposed. Nay, they tell you, that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance amongst themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend. That some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their ladies heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings forbore his exercise of hunting, and feasting with his nobles, which amongst the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of publick mourning with us.

6. At Rome, upon the first news of his sickness, the city was in great consternation and concern, waiting impatiently for further advice; when suddenly in the evening, a report without any certain author, run about, that

dem

dem percubisset : passim cum luminibus & victimis in Capitolium concursum est, ac penæ revulsæ templi fores, ne quid gestientes vota reddere moraretur. Expergesfactus e somno Tiberius est gratulantium vocibus, atque undique concinentium,

he was recovered, upon which, the people flock'd with torches and victims to the Capitol, and were fit to force the doors open, they were in such mighty haste to pay the vows they had made for his recovery. Tiberius was awakened out of his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing all round.

Salva Roma, Salva patria, Salvus est Germanicus.

Rome is safe, our Country safe, Germanicus is so.

Sed ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solaciis ullis, non edictis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit; duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Auxit gloriam desideriumque, defuncti etiam atrocitas insequentium temporum: cunctis nec temere opinantibus, reverentia ejus ac metu repressam Tiberii sævitiam, quæ mox eruperit.

But when at last certain advice came of his death, no stop could possibly be put to the mourning of the publick, by any kind of consolation or edicts whatsoever; and it continued during the festival of December: What much contributed to the glory of the deceased, and the endearment of his memory, was the dismal severity of the following times, all people supposing and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon after.

7. Habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam, M. Agrippæ & Juliæ filiam, & ex ea novem liberos tulit: quorum duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus jam pueraescens, insigni festivitate, cujus effigiem habitu Cupidinis in æde Capitolinæ Veneris, Livia dedicavit. Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiescumque introiret, excolabatur. Cæteri superstites patri fuerunt. Tres sexus foemini, Agrippina, Drusilla, Livilla, continuo triennio nate; totidem mares, Nero & Drusus & C. Cæsar. Neronem & Drusum senatus, Tiberio criminante, hostes judicavit.

7. He married Agrippina the daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia by whom he had nine children, two of which died in their infancy, and another somewhat elder, a very witty pleasant boy, whose effigies in the habit of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol: as Augustus did another in his bed-chamber, which he used to kiss, as oft as he entered it. The rest survived their father, three daughters Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla, which were born successively one after another in three years time, and as many sons, Nero, Drusus and C. Cæsar. Nero and Drusus at the accusation of Tiberius were declared enemies to the publick.

8. C. Cæsar natus est pridie Kalend. Septembris, patre suo & C. Fontejo Capitone cons. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus Tiburi genitum scribit: Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambiatino supra Confluentes:

8. Caius Cæsar was born the day before the calends of September when his father and C. Fonteius Capito were consuls. But where he was born is render'd somewhat uncertain, by the different Accounts given of that matter. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus, says he was born at Tibur. Plinius secundus in the country of the Treviri, at a

addit etiam pro argumento aras ibi offendi inscriptas. **ON AGRIPPINÆ PUERPERIUM.** Versiculi, imperante mox eo, divulgati, apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant :

village called *Ambiatinus*, above Confluentes; and he alledges as a proof of it, altars which are there shewn, with this inscription for the delivery of Agrippina. Some verses too that were published in his reign intimate that he was born in the winter quarters of the army.

*In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designatus principis omen erat.*

Born and brought up in camps he seem'd by fate,
Destin'd to rule the mighty Roman state.

Ego in actis Antii invenio editum. Gætulicum refellit Plinius, quasi mentitum per adulationem, ut ad laudes juvenis gloriosique principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi sacra sumeret: abusumq; audentius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus & ipse C. Cæsar: de cujus amabili pueritia immaturoque obitu supra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio temporum. Nam qui res Augusti memoriam mandarunt, Germanicum exacto consulari in Galliam missum consentiunt, jam nato Cajo. Nec Plinii opinionem inscriptio aræ quidquam adjuverit, cum Agrippina his in ea regione filias enixa sit: & qualiscumque partus, sine ullo sexus discrimine, puerperium vocetur; quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras, sicut & pueros pueros dictarent. Exstat & Augusti epistola ante paucos quam obiret menses, ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Cajo hoc (neque enim quisquam jam alius infans nomine pari tunc supererat) *Puerum Cajum xv Kalend. Junii, si Di volent, ut ducerent Talarium & Asellium heri cum his constitui. Mitto prater ea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico; si vellet, ut retineret. Vale-*

I find in the publick registers that he was born at Antium. Pliny charges Gætulicus, as guilty of a downright forgery, only to sooth the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving a lustre to his birth, from a city sacred to Hercules; and says that he advanced this ly with the more assurance, because the year before the birth of Caius, Germanicus had a son of the same name, born at Tibur, concerning whose amiable child-hood and untimely death I have spoken above. Pliny, it's plain must be mistaken, by the account left us of those times. For the writers of Augustus's history, all agree that Germanicus at the Expiration of his consulship, was sent into Gaul, after the birth of Caius. Nor will the Inscription upon the altar help out Pliny's opinion at all, because Agrippina was brought to bed of two daughters in that country, and any delivery, without regard to sex, is called, puerperium, because the ancients were used to call girls pueræ, and boys puelli. There is likewise extant a letter of Augustus, writ a few months before his death, to his grand-daughter Agrippina, about the same Caius, (for there was at that time no other child of her's living under that name.) Yesterday I gave order for Talarium and Asellius to set forward for your parts, if the Gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the calends of June. I send along with him a physician of mine, of whom I writ to Germanicus, to keep if he pleased. Farewell, my dear Agrippina, and take what care you can to come safe and well to
your

his mea Agrippina, & dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum. Abunde arbitror parere, non potuisse ibi nasci Cajum, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe sit. Versiculorum quoque fidem eadem hæc elevari: & eo, facilius quod hi sine auctore sint. Sequenda igitur est quæ sola Actorum restat & publici instrumenti auctoritas: præsertim cum Cæsar Antium, omnibus semper locis atque secessibus prælatum, non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit: tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium Imperii.

9. Caligula cognomen castrense joco traxit, quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur. Apud quos quantum præterea per hanc nutrimenorum consuetudinem amore & gratia valuerit, maxime cognitum est: cum post excessum Augusti tumultuantes & in furem usque præcipientes, solus haud dubie conspectu suo flexit. Non enim prius destiterunt quam ablegari eum ob seditionis periculum, & in proximam civitatem demandari animadvertissent. Tunc demum ad poenitentiam versi, represso ac reposito vehiculo, invidiam quam sibi fieret deprecari sunt.

10. Comitatus est patrem & in Syriacæ expeditione. Undereversus primum in matris, deinde ea relegata, in Livie Augustæ proaviæ suæ contubernio mansit: quam defunctam prætextatus etiam tum pro Rostri laudavit. Transiitque ad Antoniam aviam, & inde vicesimo ætatis anno accitus Capreas à Tiberio, uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit; barbamque posuit: sine ullo honore, qualis contingerat tirocinio fratrum ejus. Hic omnibus insidiis tentatus elicientium, cogentiumque se

your Germanicus. I suppose it is abundantly evident, that Cæsar could not be born there, whether he was carried from the city when almost two years old. The same considerations too must needs set aside the credit of the verses; and the rather, because the author is unknown. Wherefore the only authority we have to depend upon in this matter, is that of the acts and the public register: especially since Cæsar ever gave the preference to Antium above all other his places of retirement, and was as fond of it, as he could be of his native soil. And, it's said too, upon his growing weary of the city, designed to have transferred the seat of empire thither.

tædio urbis transferre eo destinasse.

9. He got the name of Caligula, from the merriment of the soldiers with him in the camp, because he was brought up amongst them in the dress of a common soldier. And how much his education amongst them recommended him to their favour and affection, appeared sufficiently in that furious mutiny of the army, after the death of Augustus, when the sight of him only, gave them a turn. For they persisted in their outrage, till they observed he was sent off, and a conveying to a neighbouring city, to secure him against the danger of that uproar. Then at last they began to relent, and stopping the chariot he was in, earnestly begged, that they might not be exposed to the hatred and resentment of the world, which such a proceeding must needs bring them under.

10. He attended his father too in his expedition into Syria. After his return he lived first with his mother, and when she was banished, with his great grandmother Livia Augusta; in praise of whom, after her decease, tho' he was then but a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostre. He then went into the family of his grandmother Antonia, and afterwards in the twentieth year of his age, being sent for by Tiberius to Caprea, he in one and the same day, took the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without any of the honours that had been paid to his brothers upon the like occasion. Here tho' all imaginable arts were used, to force from

ad querelas, nullam unquam occasionem dedit : perinde oblitterato suorum casu ac si nihil cuiquam accidisset : quæ vero ipse pateretur, incredibili dissimulatione transmittens. Tantique in avum, & qui juxta erant, obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum, *Nec servum meliorem ullum, nec deterioorem dominum fuisse.*

11. Naturam tamen sævam atque probrosam, ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat : quin & animadversionibus poenisque ad supplicium datorum cupidissime interesset & ganeas atque adulteria capillamento celatus, & veste longa noctibus obiret : ac scenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret : facile id fane Tiberio patiente, si per has mansuescieri posset ferum ejus ingenium. Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus perspexerat, ut aliquoties prædicaret. *Exitio suo omniumque Cajum vivere : & se natricem (serpentis id genus) populo educare.*

12. Non ita multo post Juniam Claudillam M. Silani nobilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. Deinde augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, prius quam inauguraretur, ad Pontificatum traductus est : insigni testimonio pietatis atque indolis : cum deserta desolataque reliquis subsidiis aula, Sejano vero tunc suspecto, mox & oppresso, ad spem successionis paullatim admovebatur. Quam quo magis confirmaret, amissa Junia ex partu, Enniam Næviam Macronis uxorem, qui tum prætorianis cohortibus præerat, feliciter ad stuprum, pollicinus & matrimonium suum, si potius Imperio fuisset : deque ea re & jurejurando & chirographo cavir. Per hanc insi-

him a complaint against Tiberius ; yet he never gave any the least handle of that kind against him, taking no more notice of the ill usage of his relations, than if nothing amiss had befallen any one of them ; and for his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and behaved with that obsequiousness to his grand-father and all about him, that it was deservedly said of him, that there never was a better slave, nor a worse master.

11. However, he could not even then refrain the cruelty and lewdness of his natural disposition. He was exceedingly fond of seeing executions, and would stroll about the streets in the night-time, disguised in a periwig and a long coat, and was passionately addicted to the theatrical arts of singing and dancing. All which Tiberius connived at very willingly, in hopes they might perhaps correct the barbarous roughness of his temper, which the sagacious old prince had so perfect an acquaintance with, that he would often declare, That Caius lived for the destruction of himself, and mankind, and that he brought up a water-snake for the Roman people, and a Phaeton for the world.

12. Not long after, he married Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus, a gentleman of a very great family. And then being chosen Augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated, he was advanced to the pontificate, with no small commendation of his dutiful behaviour, and great capacity. And the court being now left desolate and destitute of all other supports, Sejanus being at that time suspected, and soon after taken off, he was by degrees raised to the hopes of succeeding. Tiberius in the government, For the more effectual securing of which ; upon Junia's dying in child-bed, he engaged in a lewd commerce with Ennia Næviam, the wife of Macro, at that time commander of the guards, promising to marry her, if ever he came to the empire ; and gave her not only his oath, but a note under his hand for it too. Having by her means insinuated himself

nuatus Macro, veneno Tiberium aggressus est, ut quidam opinantur : spirantique adhuc detrahi annulum : & quoniam suspicionem retinens dabat, pulvinum iussit injici : atque etiam fauces manu sua oppressit : liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acta. Nec abhorret à veritate, quum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea, et si non de perfecto, at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum. Gloriatum enim esse assidue, in commemoranda sua pietate, ad ulciscendam necem matris & fratrum, introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberii dormientis : & misericordia correptum, abjecto ferro recessisse : nec illum, quamquam sensisset, aut inquirere quidquam aut exsequi ausum. that Tiberius, tho' he was sensible enough of it, yet durst not take any notice, or revenge it at all.

13. Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum vel, ut ita dicam, hominum genus, voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximæ parti provincialium ac militum, quod infantem plerique cognoverant : sed & universæ plebi urbanæ ob memoriam Germanici patris miseratoremque prope afflictæ domus. Itaque ut a Miseno movit, quamvis lugentis habitu, & funus Tiberii prosequens, tamen inter altaria & victimas ardenteisque tædas, densissimo & lætissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina, fidus & pullum, puppum & & alumnus appellantium.

14. Ingressoque urbem, statim consensu senatus, & irumpentis in Curiam turbæ, irrita Tiberii voluntate, qui testamentum alterum nepotem suum prætextatum adhuc coheredem ei dederat, jus arbitriumque omnium rerum

far into Macro's favour, he attempted to poison Tiberius, as some are of opinion, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body; and because he seemed to hold it fast, a pillow to be thrown upon him, seizing and squeezing him by the throat at the same time, with his own hand. At the horrid barbarity of which fact, a freed-man of his crying out, he was immediately crucified for it. And the thing is likely enough; for some authors tell us, that afterwards, tho' he did not own his having any hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared he had formerly such a design; and, to magnify his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, that in order to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard; but being seized with a fit of compassion, threw it away, and retired; and

13. Having thus got the empire, he therein fulfilled the wish of the Roman people, shall I say, or mankind. He had been much long'd for by the greatest part of the provincials and soldiers, most of which had known him, when he was a child; as also by the whole body of the commonalty at Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus his father, and compassion for the family almost quite destroyed. Wherefore, upon his moving from M. sene, tho' he was in mourning, and attended the corpse of Tiberius, yet he made his way amidst altars, victims, and lighted flambeaux, with prodigious crowds of people every where attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other lucky names, by those of their star, chicken, pretty puppet, dear child.

14. Upon his entering the city, immediately by the consent of the senate and the people, who broke into the house, Tiberius's will was set aside, who had left his other grand-son, then a minor, joynt-heir with him, and the whole power and management of all affairs was put into his hands,

illi permissum est : tanta publica læticia, ut tribus proximis mensibus, ac ne totis quidem, supra centum sexaginta millia victimarum cæsa tradantur. Cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniæ insulas trajecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt : ne minimam quidem occasionem quoquam omittente in testificanda sollicitudine & cura de incolumitate ejus. Ut vero in adversam valetudinem incidit, pernoctantibus conatis circa Palatium, non defuerunt qui depugnatos se armis pro salute ægri, quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent. Accessit ad immensum civium amorem notabilis etiam externorum favor. Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii præse ferens, amicitiam ejus ultro petiit : venitque ad colloquium legati consularis : & transgressus Euphratem, aquilas & signa Romana, Caesarumque imagines adoravit.

15. Incendebat & ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis. Tiberio cum plurimis lacrymis pro conatione laudato funeratoque amplissime, confestim Pandatariam, & Pontias, ad transferendos matris fratrisque cineres festinavit, tempestate turbida, quo magis pietas emerneret : adiitque venerabundus ac per semet in urnas condidit. Nec minore scena Ostiam, præfixo in biremis puppe vexillo, & inde Romam Tiberi subvectos, per splendidissimum quemque equestris ordinis, medio ac frequenti die duobus fertulis Mausoleo intulit. Inferiasque his ætinna religione publice instituit : & eo amplius matri

so much to the joy and satisfaction of the publick, that in less than three months after, above a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been offered in sacrifice. And upon his passing, a few days after, into the islands upon the coast of Campania, vows were made for his safe return ; every one greedily embracing any slight occasion of testifying their care and concern for his safety. But when he fell ill, the whole body of the people continued all night about the palatium, and some engaged themselves by vow, to expose their persons in combat as gladiators for his recovery, and others engaged in like manner to lay down their lives for his, which they signified by bills publickly posted up in the town. To this prodigious love of his own countrymen for him, was added a remarkable respect paid him by foreigners. For Artabanus king of the Parthians, who had always shewn a hatred and contempt of Tiberius, courted his friendship, had an interview with a consular lieutenant of his, and passing the Euphrates adored the eagles, with the other Roman standards, and the images of the Caesars.

15. And this vast respect of the world for him, he very much improved, by practising all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered with abundance of tears, a speech in praise of Tiberius, and interred him with the utmost pomp and magnificence, he immediately hastened over to Pandataria and the Pontian islands, to bring from thence the ashes of his mother and brother ; and to testify the dear regard he had for their memory, in a very tempestuous season too. He approached with a profound veneration, and put them into the urns with his own hands. And having brought them in the like formality to Ostia, with a streamer upon the stern of his Ship, and from thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were bore by Persons of the greatest figure in the equestrian order, on two biers, into the Mausoleum, at noon-day. He appointed yearly offer-

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Circenses, carpentumque quo in pompa traduceretur. At in memoriam patris, Septembrem mensem Germanicum appellavit. Post hæc, Antonie avi quicquid unquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatusconsulto concessit. Patrum Claudium equitem Romanum ad id tempus collegam sibi in consularu assumpsit. Fratrem Tiberium die virilis togæ adoptavit, appellavitque principem juventutis. De sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adjiceretur, **NEQUE ME LIBEROSQUE MEOS CHARIORES HABEO QUAM CÆSAREM ET SORORES EJUS.** Item relationibus consulum: **QUOD BONUM FELIXQUE SIT C. CÆSARI SORORIEUSQUE EJUS.** Pari popularitate damnatos relegatosque restituit: criminumque, si qua residua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit. Commentarios ad matris fratrumque suorum causas pertinentes, ne cui postmodum delatori aut testi maneret ullus metus, convectos in forum, & ante clare obtestatus deos neque legisse neque attigisse quidquam, concremavit. Libellum de salute sua oblatum non recepit, contendens, *Nihil sibi admittum cum cuiquam invisus esset: negavitque se delatoribus aures habere.*

and at the same time said, he
16. Spintrias monstrous
rum libidinum ægre, ne profundo mergeret, exoratus, urbe submovit. Titi Labieni, Cordi Crematii, Cassii Severi scripta senatusconsultis abolita, requiri, & esse in manibus lectitarique permitti: quando maxime sua interesset ut facta quæque posteris tradantur. Rationes imperii ab

ings to be solemnly and publickly made in honour of their memory; and to that of his mother Circensian games besides, and a chariot in the procession. The month of September he called Germanicus in honour of his father. And then by a decree of the senate heaped upon his grand-mother Antonia all the honours that ever Livia Augusta had received. His uncle Claudius, who till then had continued in the Equestrian order, he took for his colleague in his consulship. He adopted his brother Tiberius on the day he took upon him the mantle, habit, and conferred upon him the title of Prince of the youth. And as to his Sisters he ordered an addition in all the oaths taken upon his account, in these words, Nor do I love my self or my own children more dearly than I do Caius and his Sisters. And commanded all proposals of the consuls to the senate to be prefaced thus. May what we are going to offer prove fortunate and happy to C. Cæsar and his Sisters. With the like popularity he restored such as had been condemned and banished, and granted an act of Grace for all crimes passed: and to deliver such as had been informers or witnesses against his mother and brothers from all apprehension, he brought all the records or memoirs relating to their tryals into the Forum, and then with a loud voice calling the gods to witness, that he had not read or meddled with them at all, he burnt them. And a memoir that was offered him relating to his own security he would not receive, declaring, that he had done nothing to render him odious to any body: he had no ears for informers.

16. The Spintrias, those practitioners in a monstrous kind of new-invented lewdness, he was indeed prevailed upon not to throw into the sea, as he had intended; but however he banished them the city. He permitted the writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Crematius, and Cassius Severus, which had been suppressed by an act of the senate, to be sought up and read by every body; since it would be for his own advantage

Augusto proponi solitas, sed a Tiberio intermissas, publicavit. Magistratibus liberam jurisdictionem, & sine sui appellatione concessit. Equites Romanos severe citiosque, nec sine moderatione recognovit: palam adempto equo, quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominia inesset: eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur, nominibus modo in recitatione præteritis. Ut levior labor judicantibus foret, ad quatuor priores quintam decuriam addidit. Tentavit & comitiorum more revocato, suffragia populo reddere. Legata ex testamento Tiberii, quamquam abolito, sed & Juliae Augustæ quod Tiberius suppresserat, fide, ac sine calumnia solvenda perfolvit. Centum annuam Italiam rebus publicis incendiis, & furibus, ac si quibus regna restarent, adjecti fructum omnium decigaliorum, & redditum mediæ temporis, ut Antiocho Comageno HS. millies confiscatum. Quoque magis nullius non boni exempli fautor videretur, mulieri libertinæ octoginta donavit, quod excruciatæ gravissimis tormentis de scelere patroni reticuisset. Quas obres inter reliquos honores decretus est ei clypeus aureus: quem quorannis certo die collegia sacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, senatu prosequente, nobilibusque pueris ac puellis, carmine modulato, laudes virtutum ejus canentibus. Decretum autem ut dies, quo cepisset imperium, Palilia vocaretur, velut argumentum rursus conditæ urbis.

men: children of both sexes, celebrating the praise of his virtues in song. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he began his reign should be called Palilia, in token of the city's being at that time, as it were new-founded.

[illegible]

17. *Constitutus quatuor gestis: primum ex Kalendis Iulii per duos menses: secundum ex Kalendis Januariis per triginta dies: tertium usque in Idus Januarii: quartum usque in VII Idus eadem. Ex omnibus duos novissimos coniunxit. Tertium autem Lugduni inivit solus: non, ut quidam opinantur, superbia negligentiae, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegam rescisse absens non potuerat. Congiarium populo his debet trecenos HS. toties abundantissimum epulum senatus equestrisque ordini, etiam conjugibus ac liberis utrorumque. Posteriori epulo, forensia insuper viris, pueris ac foeminis fascias purpureae ac conchylii distribuit. Et ut læticiam publicam in perpetuum quoque augeret, adiecit diem Saturnalibus, appellavitque *Juvenalem*.*

18. *Munera gladiatoria partim in Amphitheatro Tauri, partim in Septis aliquot edidit: quibus inseruit catervas Afrorum Campanorumque pugilum ex utraque regione electissimorum. Neque spectaculis ipse semper praesedit: sed interdum aut magistratibus aut amicis praesidendi munus iniegit. Scenicos ludos & assidue, & varii generis, multifariam fecit, quodam etiam & nocturnos, accensis tota urbe luminibus. Sparsit & miscilia variarum rerum, & panaria cum opsonio viris dividit. Qua epulatione equiti Romano contra se hilarius avidiusque velcenti, partes suas misit: sed & senatori ob eandem causam codicillos, quibus praetorem eum extra ordinem designabat. Edidit & Circenses plurimos à mane usque ad vesperam, interjecta modo Africanarum venatione, modo Trojæ decursione: quosdam autem*

17. *He bore four consulsips, the first from the Kalends of July for two months: the second from the Kalends of January for thirty days: the third till the ides of January, and the fourth till the seventh of the same ides: of all which he held the two last successively. The third he entered upon by himself at Lugdunum: not out of pride, or neglect of the usage of his country: but because at that distance he could not possibly know that his colleague died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice distributed to the people three hundred sesterces a man, and as often gave a very plentiful entertainment to the senate and Equestrian order, with their Ladys and children. In the latter he presented moreover to the men furs of garments, and to the women and children red scarfs. And to make an addition to the publick joy for ever, he added a day to the Saturnalia, which he called *Juvenalis*.*

18. *He presented some shows of gladiators partly in the Amphitheatre of Taurus, and partly in the Septa, with which he intermixed troops of the choicest boxers from Campania and Africa. He did not always preside himself upon those occasions, but gave a commission to the magistrates or his friends, sometimes to supply his place. He very frequently entertained the people with stage-plays of various kinds, and in several parts of the town, and sometimes by night, with lights set up all over the town. He likewise made scrambles amongst the people, and distributed to every man a basket of bread with other viſuals, upon which occasion he sent his own share to a Roman knight, that was placed opposite to him, and eat very merrily and heartily: and so a senator for the same reason: a patron whereby he, in a manner extraordinary, appointed him a praetor. He likewise exhibited a great many Circensian games from morning till night, with the hunting of wild-beasts from Africa intermixed, or the Trojan games, and some of these games were very extraordinary, the Circus being over-*

præcipuos, minio & chryso-
colla contritæ Circo : nec
ullis nisi ex senatorio ordine
aurigantibus. Commisit &
subitos, cum è Geletiana ap-
paratum Cinci prospicientem
pauci ex proximis Mænianis
postulassent.

19. Novum præterea atque
inauditum genus spectaculi
excogitavit. Nam Baiarum
medium intervallum Puteola-
nas ad moles trium millium
& sexcentorum fere passuum
ponte conjunxit, contractis
undique onerariis navibus,
& ordine duplici ad ancoras
collocatis, superjectoque ag-
gere terreno, ac directo in Ap-
piæ viæ formam. Per hunc
pontem ultro citro commea-
vit, biduo continenti. Primo
die phalerato equo, insignif-
que quercica corona, & securi,
& cetrâ, & gladio, aureaque
chlamyde. Postridie quadri-
gario habitu, curiculoque
bijugo famosorum equorum,
præ se ferens Darium puerum
ex Parthorum obsidibus : comi-
tante prætorianorum agmine,
& in essedis cohorte amicorum.
Scio plerosque existimasse, ta-
lem à Cajo pontem excogita-
tum æmulatione Xerxis, qui
non sine admiratione aliquan-
to angustiores Hellespontum
contrabulaverit. Alios, ut
Germaniam & Britanniam,
quibus imminabat, alicujus
immensi operis fama territa-
ret. Sed avum meum narra-
ntem puer audiebam, can-
sam operis ab interioribus
aulicis proditam, quod Thra-
syllus mathematicus, anxio de
successore Tiberio & in verum
nepotem proniori affirmasset,
Non magis Cajum imperaturum,
quam per Bajanum sinum equis
discursurum.

he would ride on horseback

20. Edidit & peregre spec-
tacula, in Sicilia Syracusis
astycos Indos, & in Gallia

spread with vermillion and chryscolla
and none rid the chariots but gentle-
men of the senatorian order. And
some he presented upon the sudden,
when upon his viewing from the Gelo-
tiana the furniture of the Circus, he
was desired so to do by a few people
from the neighbouring Mænians.

19. He invented besides a new kind of
spectacle, and such as had never been
heard of before; for he made a bridge of
about three miles and a half in length
from Baia to the Moles of Puteoli, draw-
ing together from all parts ships of bur-
then, and fixing them in two rows by
their anchors, and over-laying them
with earth, in form of the Appian
way. He passed and repassed this
bridge for two days together. The first
day mounted upon a horse with rich
accoutrements, wearing on his head a
crown of oaken leaves, armed with a
battle-ax, light shield and sword, and
in a cloak made of cloth of gold. The
day following in the habit of a chario-
teer, and mounted upon a chariot
drawn by two celebrated horses, ha-
ving a young boy, Darius by name, one
of the Parthian hostages, with a body
of the guards attending him, and a
company of his friends mounted on
British chariots. I am sensible, most
people were of opinion, that this bridge
had been invented by Caius, in imita-
tion of Xerxes, who, to the wonder
of the world, laid a bridge over
the Hellespont, which is somewhat
narrower than the distance betwixt
Baia and Puteoli. that others thought
he did it to strike a terror into Ger-
many and Britain, which he was just
going to invade, with the fame of
some prodigious work. But I once
when a boy heard my grand-father
say, that the reason given out by some
courtiers of the greatest intimacy with
him, was, that when Tiberius was in
some concern about the nomination of
a successor, and more inclinable to
pitch upon his grandson, Thrasylus the
astrologer had assured him, That Caius
would no more be emperor, than
over the bay of Baia.

20. He likewise exhibited publick
diversions in Sicily, Grecian games
at Syracuse, and miscellaneous sports
Lugduni

Lugduni miscellos. Sed & certamen quoque Græcæ Latineque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus præmia victos contulisse, eorundem & laudes componere coactos. Eos autem qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obargari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.

21. Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompei absoluit. Inchoavit autem aquæductum regione Tiburi, & Amphitheatrum juxta Septa: quorum operum à successore ejus Claudio, alterum peractum, omissum alterum est. Syracusis collapsa vetustate moenia, Deorumque ædes restructæ. Destinaverat & Sami Polycratis regiam restituere, Miletæ Didymeum peragere, in jugo Alpium urbem condere, sed ante omnia Isthmum in Achaia perfodere. Miseratque jam ad dimeniendum opus primpilarem.

22. Hastenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt. Compluribus cognominibus assumptis (nam & PIUS & CASTRORUM FILIUS, & PATER EXERCITUM, & OPTIM. MAX. CÆSAR vocabatur) cum audiret forte reges, qui officii causa in urbem adveniant, concertantes apud se super cœnam de nobilitate generis, exclamavit, Εἴς τοῖς βασιλεῖς, Εἴς βασιλεῖς. Nec multum abfuit quin statim diadema sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret. Verum admonitus, & principum & regum se excessisse fustigium, divinam ex eo majestatem asserere sibi cœpit. Datoque negotio, ut simulacra numinum religione & arte præclara,

at Lugdunum in Gaul: as also a contest for pre-eminence in the Grecian and Roman eloquence, in which, they tell you, such as were baffled bestowed rewards upon the best performers, and were obliged to compose speeches in their praise; but that those who performed the worst, were forced to blot out what they had writ with a sponge or their tongue, unless they chose rather to be well caned, or thrust over head and ears in the next river.

21. He finished the works that were left imperfect by Tiberius, that is, the temple of Augustus, and the theatre of Pompey. He began likewise the Aqueduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an Amphitheatre nigh the Septa, of which works the one was finished by his successor Claudius, and the other let alone. The walls at Syracuse, that by length of time were much gone to ruin, were repaired, as also the temples of the Gods. He had a design too to rebuild the palace of Polycrates at Samos, to finish the temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, to build a city upon the top of the Alps, but above all things to make a cut through the Isthmus in Achaia: and sent a centurion of the first rank to measure out the work.

22. Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said of him bespeaks him rather a monster than a man. He assumed various titles, as Dutiful, the son of the camp: the father of the armys, and the greatest and the best Cæsar. And upon hearing some kings, that came to the city to pay their respects to him, contending amongst themselves at supper, about the nobleness of their birth, he cried out, Let there be but one prince, one king. And he was strongly minded to have taken a diadem immediately, and to have turned the imperial dignity into the form of a kingdom. But being told, that he had far exceeded the grandeur of princes and kings, he upon that began to claim to himself a divine majesty. And having ordered all the images of the Gods that were famous for the veneration paid

inter

interque Olympici Jovis, apponuntur e Græcia, quibus caput gemino sum imponeret. Partem palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque æde Castoris & Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens sæpe inter fratres deos medium se adorandum adeuntibus exhibebat : & quidam eum LATIALEM JOVEM consalutaverunt. Templum etiam numini suo proprium, & sacerdotes & excogitatissimas hostias instituit. In templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum. Amiciebaturque quotidie veste, quali ipse uteretur. Magisteria sacerdotii dirissimus quisque & ambitione & licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant. Hostiæ erant phœnicopteri, pavones, terraones, Numidicæ, meleagrides, phasianæ, quæ generatim per singulos dies immolarentur. Et noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atque concubitum : interdum vero cum Capitolino Jove secreto fabulabatur, modo insulxans, ac præbens invicem aures, modo clarius, nec sine jurgiis. Nam vox comminantis audita est,

Εἰς γαῖαν Δαναῶν μετὰ σὲ,

Into the land of GREECE I will transport thee.

donec exoratus, ut referebat, & in contubernium ultro invitatus, super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso, palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit. Mox quo propior esset, in area Capitolina novæ domus fundamenta jecit.

23. Agrippæ se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem ejus volebat : succensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Cæsarum infererent, Præ-

them, or their beauty, and which was that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own. He carried on a part of the Palatium as far as the forum; and the temple of Castor and Pollux being transformed into a kind of porch to his house, he would often stand betwixt the two brothers, and so present himself to be worshipped by all comers, and some saluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. He ordered likewise a temple and priests, and the most choice victims for his own Godhead. In his temple stood an image of gold exactly of the same size with himself, which was daily dressed up in the same sort of garment, as he made use of himself. The richest persons in the city stood candidates for the honour of being his priests, and purchased it one after another at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, Numidica, turkey-hens, pheasants, each sacrificed their several days. And in the night he used constantly to invite the moon when full to his embraces. In the day time he talked in private with Jupiter Capitolinus, one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him, sometimes he would talk aloud, and in railing language. For he was overheard to threaten the God in the following terms,

till being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the God, as he said, and being invited to live with him, he made a bridge over the temple of Augustus, whereby he joined the Palatium and the Capitol together; and soon after, to be still nearer him, he laid the foundation of a new house in the Capitol.

23. He was not willing to be thought or called the grand-son of Agrippa, because of the obscurity of his birth: and he was angry if any one either in prose or verse ranked him amongst the Cæsars. He pretended his mother was dicabat

dicabat, autem matrem suam ex incesto quod Augustus cum Julia filia commisisset, procreatam. Ac non contentus hac Augusti infectatione, Accruias Siculæque victorias, ut funestissimæ Romæ & calamitosas, secuit solennibus festis celebrari. Liviam Augustam pro matre *Phyllem* stolatim mentem appellans, et in ignominiatu quadam adstantium epistola arguens, ut esset quasi materno avocato, et non publicis monumentis ceterum in Aufidium Lingonem Romæ honoribus functum. Avie Antonie secretum petenti, denegavit, nisi ut interveniret Macro præfectum. Ac per istiusmodi indignitates & cordia, causa existit mortis: dato tamen, ut quidam putant, & veneno. Nec defunctæ ullum honorem habuit: prospexitque triclinio ardentem rogi. Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem, repente immisso tribuno militum, interemit. Silanum item socerum ad necem, scandasque novacula fauces, compulit: caufatus in utroque, quod hic ingressum se turbatus mare non esset secutus, ac spe occupandi urbem, si quid sibi per tempestates accideret, remansisset: ille antidotum oboluisse, quasi ad præcavenda venena sumptum: cum & Silanus impatientiam nausæ vitalset & molestiam navigandi, & Tiberius propter assiduam & ingravescentem tussim medicamento usum esset. Nam Claudium patrum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit.

24. Cum omnibus sororibus suis stupri consuetudinem fecit: plenoque convivio singulas infra se vicissim collo-

bored in incest, which Augustus committed with his daughter Julia. And not content with this vile reflection upon the memory of Augustus, he forbid his victories at Accruias, and upon the coast of Sicily, to be celebrated by festivals as usual; pretending they had been of the most dismal and pernicious consequence to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augustus's mistress in a woman's dress, and made her impudently reflect upon her being a sister to the senate, as of an ignominious birth, and descended from a grandfather on the mother-side that was only a member of the council of state at Lunde; whereas, it's certain from publick monuments, that Aufidius Lunge bore publick offices at Rome. His grandmother Antonia, desiring some private conference with him, he denied her, unless Macro commander of the guard might be present, and by such kind of affronts and ill usage made the occasion of her death, but without giving her a dose of poison as some think. Nor did he pay her the least respect or memory after her decease, and beheld from his palace her pile on fire. He surprized his brother Tiberius by suddenly sending a tribune to dispatch him. He forced too Silanus his father-in-law to kill himself, by cutting his throat with a razor. The pretence he alledged for these murders, was, that the latter had not followed him upon his putting to sea in stormy weather, but staid behind in order to seize the city, if he should happen to be left in the voyage. The other, he pretended, smelt of an antidote, which he had taken to prevent his being poisoned by him: whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea-sick, and of the trouble of the voyage; and Tiberius had only made use of a medicine for a cough he had upon him constantly, that grew worse and worse. For as to his successor Claudius, he only saved him to make sport with.

24. He lived in the practice of incest with all his Sisters, and at table when a great deal of company was present, he plated them every one by

cabat

cabat uxore supra cubante. Ex his Drusillam vitasse virginem, præextatus adhuc, creditur. Atque etiam in concubitu ejus quondam deprehensus ab avia Antonia, apud quam simul educabantur. Mox Lucio Cassio Longino consulari collocatam abduxit, & in modum justæ uxoris propalam habuit. Heredem quoque bonorum atque Imperij æger instituit. Eadem defuncta, justitium indixit: in quo risisse, lavisse, cœnasse cum parentibus, aut conjuge liberisve, capitale fuit. Ac moeroris impatiens, cum repente nocturque profugisset ab urbe, transcurrissetq; Campaniam, Syracusas petiit. Rursusque inde prope rediit, barba capilloq; promisso. Nec unquam postea quantiscumque de rebus, ne pro concione quidem populi, aut apud milites, nisi per nomen *Drusille* dejeravit. Reliquas sorores, nec cupiditate tanta, nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas sæpe exoletis suis prostraverit. Quo facilius eas in causa *Æmilii Lepidi* condemnavit, quasi adulteras, & insidiarum adversus se conficias. Nec solum chirographa omnium requisita fraude ac stupro divulgavit, sed & tres gladios in necem suam præparatos Marti ultori, addito elogio, consecravit.

25. Matrimonia contraxerit turpius, an dimiserit, an tenuerit, non est facile discernere. *Liviam Orestillam* C. *Pisoni* nubentem, cum ad officium & ipse venisset, ad se deduci imperavit, intraque paucos dies repudiatam biennio post relegavit: quod repetisse usum prioris mariti tempore medio videbatur. Alii tradunt, adhibitum cœ-

turns below him, whilst his lady lay above him. It is believed he deflowered one of them *Drusilla*, whilst he was yet a minor; and was taken in her embraces by his grand-mother *Antonia*, with whom they were educated together. And when she was afterwards married to *Lucius Cassius Longinus* a consular gentleman, he took her from him, and kept her openly as his wife: and in a fit of sickness did by his will appoint her heiress of his estate and the Empire too. After her death he ordered a publick mourning for her, during which it was capital for any one to laugh, use the bath, or sup with his parents, wife or children. And bring inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily and in the night time from the city; and after he had gone through *Campania* went for *Syracuse*, and then suddenly return'd without shaving his beard, or trimming his hair all that while. Nor did he ever after that in matters of the greatest importance, not in the assemblies of the people or the soldiers, swear any otherwise, than by the divinity of *Drusilla*. The rest of his sisters he did not treat with that fondness or regard, but would oftentimes prostitute them to his catamites. And therefore he the more readily condemned them in the case of *Æmilius Lepidus*, as guilty of adultery, and pry to that conspiracy against him. Nor did he only divulge their own hand-writing relating to the affair, which he procured by base and lewd means, but likewise consecrated to *Mars* the revenger three swords that had been prepared to stab him, with an inscription, setting forth the occasion of their consecration.

25. Whether he married his wives, parted with them, or kept them with greater infamy, is not easy to say. Being at the wedding of *C. Piso* with *Livia Orestilla*, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own house, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after banished her; because it was thought she had upon her divorce returned to the embraces of her former husband. Some say, that being invited to the wedding supper,

C. CÆSAR CALIGULA. 18.

ne nuptiali, mandasse ad Pisonem, contra accumbentem, *Noli uxorem meam premere*: statimque e convivio abduxisse eam secum, & proximo die edixisse, *MATRIMONIUM SIBI REPERTUM EXEMPLO ROMULI ET AUGUSTI*. Lolliam Paullinam, C. Memmio consulari, exercitus regenti, nuptam, facta mentione aviæ ejus, ut quondam pulcherrimæ, subito ex provincia evocavit, ac perductam à marito conjunxit sibi, brevique missam fecit, interdicto cujusquam in perpetuum coitu. Cæsoniam neque facie insigni, neque ætate integra, matremque jam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriæ ac lasciviæ perditæ, & ardentius & constantius amavit: ut sæpe chlamyde peltaque & galea ornata, & juxta adequitantem, militibus ostenderit: amicis vero etiam nudam. Quam enixam uxorio nomine dignatus est, uno atque eodem die professus, & maritum se ejus, & patrem infantis ex ea natæ. Infantem autem Juliam Drusillam appellatam, per omnium dearum templa circumferens, Minervæ gremio imposuit, alendamque & instituendam commendavit. Nec ullo firmiore indicio sui feminis esse credebatur, quam feritatis: quæ illi quoque tanta jam tunc erat, ut infestis digitis, ora & oculos simul

he sent a messenger to Piso over-again, him in these words, do not press upon my wife, and that he immediately carried her out of the entertainment with him: and the next day published a proclamation, signifying that he had got a wife as Romulus and Augustus had done. Lollia Paulina, that was married to a Consular gentleman general of an army, he suddenly sent for from the province where she was with her husband, upon mention made of her grand-mother, as formerly a very beautiful lady, and married her, but shortly after parted with her, discharging her at the same time, for ever having any thing to do with man more. He loved with a most passionate and constant affection, Cæsonia that was neither handsome nor young, and was besides the mother of three daughters by another man, but a woman of desperate luxury and lasciviousness. Her he would oftentimes shew to the soldiers dress'd up in a military cloak, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side. And to his friends he shewed her naked. After she had a child, he honoured her with the name of wife, in one and the same day, declaring himself her husband, and father of the child that was born of her. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the Goddesses, laid it in the lap of Minerva, and recommended to her the care of her education and instruction. He took her to be his own for no other reason so much as the savage cruelty of her temper, which was such when she was but an infant, that she would with her nails fly at the faces and eyes of the children at play with her.

26. Leve ac frigidum sit his addere quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit, Ptolemæum regis Jubbæ filium, confobrinum suum (erat enim & is M. Antonii ex Selena filia nepos) & in primis ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam, adjutores imperii, quibus omnibus pro

indulgentium infantium incesset. 26. It would be trifling and frivolous to add to all this his treatment of his relations and friends: as Ptolemy king Juba's son, his cousin, (for he was the grandson of M. Anthony by his daughter Selena) and especially Macro himself, and Ennia too, by whose assistance he had got the empire, all which friends their alliance and services met with a cruel death from him.

B b

necessitudinis

necessitudinis jure, proque meritorum gratia, cruenta mors perfoluta est. Nihilominus reverentior leniorve erga senatum. Quosdam summis honoribus sanctos, ad esse dum sibi occurrere rogatos per aliquot passuum milia, & coenanti, modo ad pluteum, modo ad pedes stare succinctos linteo, passus est: alios cum clam interemisset, citare nihilo minus ut vivos perseveravit, paucos post dies voluntaria morte perisse mentitus. COSS. oblitus de natali suo edicere, abrogavit magistratum, fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate Respubl. Quaestorem suum in conjuratione nominatum flagellavit veste detracta, subjectaque militum pedibus, quo firme verberaturi insisterent. Simili superbia violentiaque ceteros tractavit ordines. Inquietatus fremitu gratuita in Circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnes fustibus abegit. Elisique per eum tumultum viginti amplius equites Romani, totidem matronæ super innumeram turbam ceteram. Scenicis ludis, inter plebem & equitem causam discordiarum ferens, decimas maturius dabat, ut equestria ab infimo quoque occuparentur. Gladiatorio munere, reductis interdum flagrantissimo Sole velis, emitti quemquam vetabat: remotoque ordinario apparatu, tabidas feras vilissimos senio confectos, gladiatores quoque pegmares, patres familiarum notos, sed insignes debilitate aliqua corporis, subiciebat. Ac nonnunquam horreis præclusis populo famem indixit.

house-keepers, but such as were remarkable for some bodily infirmity. And sometimes shutting up the publick granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

Nor was he at all more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the senate. Some that had bore the highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his chaise in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins tied about them; and others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he would nevertheless continue to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended they had laid violent hands upon themselves. The consuls forgetting to give notice by proclamation of his birthday he displaced, and the government was for three days without any to fill that high office. A question of his that was named as concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having first stripped off his cloaths, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the work, that they might stand the faster. With the like insolence and violence did he treat the other orders. Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places at midnight in the Circus, which they were to have gratis, he drove them all away with clubs: and in that bustle above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death in the crowd, with as many married women, besides a vast number of other people. When stage-plays were acted, to set the commonalty and the Equestrian order together by the ears, he would scatter the money-tickets sooner than usual; that the seats assigned the knights might be all seized by the mob. In the show of gladiators, sometimes when the sun was violently hot, he would order the cover of the theatre to be drawn off, and forbid any one to be let out; and withdrawing the usual apparatus for the entertainment, presented only wild-beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only for the pegma, besides noted

27. *Sevitiam ingenii per hæc maxime ostendit. Cum ad saginam ferarum muneri præparatarum variis pecudes compararentur, ex novis lanjandos adnotavit: & custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantammodo intra porticum mediam à calvo ad calvum ducti imperavit. Votum exegit ab eo qui pro salute sua gladiatoriam operam promiserat: spectavitque ferro dimicantem: nec dimisit nisi victorem, & post multas preces. Alterum qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit verbenatum infultatumque, qui votum repositos per vicus agerent, quoad præcipitaretur exagere. Multos honesti ordinis, deformatos prius stigmatum notis, ad metalla aut ad viarum munitiones, aut ad bestias condemnavit, aut bestiarum more quadrupedes cavea coerent, aut medios ferra dissecuit. Nec omnes gravibus ex causis, verum male de munere suo opinatos, vel quod nunquam per Genium suum dejerassent. Parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogebar. Quorum uni valetudinem excusanti lecticam misit: alium è spectaculo pœnæ, epulis statim adhibuit, atque omni comitate ad hilaritatem & jocos provocavit. Curatorem munerum ac venationum per continuos dies in conspectu suo catenis verberatum non prius occidit, quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore. Atellane poetam, ob ambigui joci versiculum, media Amphitheatri arca igni cremavit. Equitem Romanum obiectum feris, cum se innocentem proclamasset, re-*

27. *He shew'd the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following behaviour. When cattle was not to be had but at a high price, for the feeding of his wild beasts design'd for the diversion of the publick, he ordered criminals to be made use of for that purpose, and upon taking a view of his prisoners that were drawn up in a row before him, without troubling himself to examine the cause of the commitment of any one of them, only standing in the middle of the portico where they were, he ordered them to be led away to execution from bald-pate to bald-pate. He exacted from one the performance of his vow, who had engaged himself to expose his life as a gladiator for his recovery, and looked on whilst he fought, nor would he quit him till he came off conqueror, and after a great many entreatys. Another that had vowed to sacrifice his life upon the same account, but had no stomach to the performance, he delivered dressed up with sacred greens and ribbons to some boys, who drove him along the streets, demanding from him the execution of his vow, till he was thrown headlong from the town-rampart. He deformed many persons of honourable rank by branding them with hot irons in the face, and then condemned them to the mines, or to working in the making of Causeys, or to fighting with wild beasts, or would shut them up in cages like wild beasts, tied neck and heels, or saw them in two. And not all of them for occasions of any importance, but only for reflecting upon his publick sports for the entertainment of the people, or because they had never sworn by his genius. He obliged parents to be present at the execution of their sons. And to one that excused himself because he was not well, he sent his own chair: another he invited to his own table immediately after the fight, and with mighty complaisance was for engaging him in a merry jocular con-*

daxit : abscissaque lingua, rursus induxit.

ing of wild beasts, he ordered to be beat with chains for several days together in his sight, and did not put him to death, till he was offended with the stench of his putrified brain. He burnt alive the writer of a farce, in the middle of the Amphitheatre, for a merry verse with a double meaning. A Roman knight that was exposed by him to wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he fetch'd him back again, and cutting out his tongue, ordered him to be brought again.

28. Revocatum quendam à vetere exilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesset, respondente eo per adulationem, Deus semper oravi, ut quod evenit, perveniret Tiberius, & tu imperares : opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem impre cari, misit circum insulas, qui universos contrucidarent. Cum discepti senato rem concupisser, subornavit qui ingredientem curiam, repente hostem publicum appellantes, invaderent, graphis que confossum lacerandum cæteris traderent. Nec ante satius est quam membra & artus & viscera hominis tracta per vicus, atque ante se congesta vidisset.

29. Immanissima facta augebat atrocitate verborum. Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat, quam, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἀσταρξέψια. Monenti Antonia avæ, tanquam parum esset non obedire, Memento, ait, Omnia mihi & homini licere. Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum præmuniri medicamentis suspicabatur. Antidotum, inquit, adversus Cæsarem ? relegatis sororibus, non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios minabatur. Prætorium virum ex secessu Anticyræ, quam valetudinis causa petierat, propagari sibi commeatum sæpius desiderantem, cum mandasset

versation. The overseer of his publick diversions of gladiators and the hunt-

28. Asking a certain person, whom he restored to his country after a long banishment, how he used to spend his time, and he in flattery replying, I was always praying the Gods for what has happened, that TIBERIUS might dye, and you be emperour. He supposing upon it, that all those he had banished prayed for his death too, he sent round the islands to have them all dispatch'd. Being very desirous to have a senator torn to pieces, he employed some to call him a publick enemy, fall upon him, as he entered the house, and stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear in pieces. Nor was he satisfied, till he saw the members and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged thro' the streets, piled up on a heap before him.

29. He aggravated his barbarous actions by as barbarous expressions. He said, he commended and liked nothing in his nature so much as to use his own word, his ἀσταρξία, or inflexible rigour. Upon his grand-mother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if it was but a small matter to give no regard to it, he said, Remember that all things are lawful for me. When he was going to put his brother to death, whom he suspected to take antidotes for fear of poyson, What, says he, an Antidote against Cæsar. And when he banished his sisters, he threateningly told them, that he had not only islands at command, but swords too. A prætorian gentleman having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, for leave to continue longer, he ordered him to be slain, and added interimi

interimi, adiecit, *Necessariam esse sanguinis missionem, cui tam diu non prodesset elleborum.* Decimo quoque die, numerum puniendorum ex custodia subscribens, *Rationem se purgare dicebat.* Gallicis Græcisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis, gloriabatur *Gallogræciam sese subegisse.*

30. Non temere in quemquam, nisi crebris & minutis ictibus animadverti passus est: perpetuo notoque jam præcepto, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat.* Punto per errorem nominis alio quam quem destinaverat, ipsum quoque paria meruisse dixit. Tragicum illud subinde jactabat,

Qderint dum metuant.

Let them hate me, so they do but fear me.

Sæpe in cunctos pariter senatores ut Sejani clientes, aut matris ac fratrum suorum delatores, investus est: prolatis libellis, quos crematos simulaverat, defensione Tiberii scævitia quasi necessaria, cum tor criminantibus credendum esset. Equestrum ordinem, ut scenæ arenæque devotum assidue proscribit. Inensus turbæ faventi adversus studium suum exclamavit, *Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.* Cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, & qui postulerent, *Tetrinios esse ait.* Retiarum tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes, sine certamine ullo toridem secutoribus succubuerant: cum occidi juberentur, unus resumpta fuscina, omnes victores interemit. Hanc ut crudelissimam cædem & deflevit edicto, & eos qui spectare sustinissent, execratus est.

withal, That bleeding was necessary for one that had found no benefit by the use of Hellebor for so long a time. He used every tenth day to subscribe the number of prisoners appointed for execution, and thus he called clearing his accounts. And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he boasted he had conquered Gallogræcia.

30- He hardly suffered any one to be put to death, but by slight and frequently repeated strokes, this being a well known and constant order of his, upon those occasions, Strike so, that he may feel himself die. Having by a mistake of his name punished one person for another, he said, he had deserved as much. He had frequently in his mouth those words of the Tragedian,

He would often inveigh against all the senators without exception, as the clients of Sejanus, and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the memoirs, which he had pretended to burn; and excusing the cruelty of Tiberius, as necessary, since it was impossible to disbelieve so many accusers. He was continually abusing the whole Equestrian order, as infinitely fond of acting upon the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Being in a rage at the people for favouring a party in the Circensian games in opposition to him, he cried out, I wish the Roman people had but one neck. And when Tetrinius the highwayman was prosecuted, he said, the prosecutors too were all Tetrinius's. Five Retarii in tunicks fighting in a company, yielded to so many pursuers, without any dispute for victory, and being ordered to be all slain, one of them taking up his fork again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation, as a most cruel butchery, and curs'd all those that were able to endure the sight of it.

1. Queri

31. Quæ etiam palam de conditione temporum suorum solebat, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. Augusti principatum claudæ Varianæ: Tiburini ruina spectulorum apud Fidenas memorabile factum: sui oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cades, famem, pestilentiam, incendia hiatum aliquem terræ operabatur.

32. Animum quoque remitterenti, ludoque & epulis dedito, eadem dictorum factorumque sævitia aderat. Sæpe in conspectu prandentis vel comessantis sævæ questionum per tormenta habebantur. Miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat. Puteolis dedicatione pontis, quem excogitatum ab eo significavimus, cum multos e litore invitasset ad se, repente omnes præcipitavit. Quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes, contis remisque detrusit in mare. Romæ publico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argentæam laminam, carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscissis, atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo qui causam poenæ indicaret, per cœtus epulantium circumduceretur. Mirmillonem e ludo rudibus secum latuentem, & sponte prostratum, confodit ferrea sica, ac more victorum cum palma discucurrit. Admota altaribus vicima, succinctus poparum habitu, elato alte malleo, cultarium mactavit. Lautiore convivio effusus subito in cachinnos, COSS. qui juxta cubabant, quidnam rideret blande quærentibus, Quid,

31. He used too openly to complain of the condition of the times, because they were not rendered remarkable by any public calamities. That the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus; and that of Tiborius by the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ; but that his was like to be forgotten in the world, by a continued series of prosperity. And he would now and then wish for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, fires, or that the earth would open.

32. And this barbarous cruelty both in his language and actions never forsook him in the midst of his diversions, in his gaming or feasting. Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing. A soldier that was an artist at beheading, used at such times, to take off the heads of prisoners fetch'd without distinction from the jails for that purpose. At Puteoli, upon his first mounting the bridge, which we have already taken notice he contriv'd there, he invited several people from the shore to him, and then all on a sudden threw them head-long into the water. Some that got hold of the rudders of the Ships he thrust down with poles and oars into the sea. At Rome, in a public feast, a slave having stole a little silver from the beds, he deliver'd him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and to lead him round the several companies with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label, signifying the cause of his punishment. A gladiator that was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poyard, and then run about with a branch of palm in his hand, after the manner of those who come off conquerors in the games. And when a victim was to be offered in sacrifice, he attending in the dress of the Pope, and holding the ax aloft some time, at last instead of the beast knock'd down an officer attending there to cut up the sacrifice. And at an extra-
inquit,

inquit, nisi uno meo natu singulari utrumque vestrum frui possit? *very civilly asking him the occasion.* Nothing, replied he, but that upon a single nod of mine you may both of you have your throats cut.

33. Inter varios jocos, cum assitens simulacro Jovis, Apellem tragedum consulisset, uter, illi major videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit; collaudans subinde vocem deprecantis, quasi etiam in gemitu prædulcem. Quoties uxoris vel amiculæ, collum excollaretur, addebat, *Tam bona cervix, simulac jussero, demetur.* Quin & subinde jactabat, *Exquisitum se vel fidei de Cæsonia sua, cur eam tantopere diligeret.*

34. Nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia sævitiaque pæne adversus omnis ævi homines grassatus est. Statuas virorum illustrium, ad Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in Martium campum collatas, ita subvertit atque disjecit, ut restitui salvis titulis non valuerint. Vetuitque posthac viventium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem, nisi consulto se & auctore, poni. Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis. *Cur enim sibi non licere, dicens, quod Platoni licuit, qui eum e civitate quam constituebat ejecerit?* Sed & Virgilii & Titi Livii scripta & imagines, paulum abfuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoverit: quorum alterum, ut nullius ingenii, minimaque doctrinæ; alterum, ut verosum in historia negligenterque carpebat. De juris quoque consultis, quasi scientiæ eorum omnem usum aboliturus lœpe jactavit, *Se mehercle effecturum, ne quid respondere possent præter eum.*

ordinary entertainment, falling suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and the consuls who were next him, the occasion. Nothing, replied he, but that

34. Amongst divers other jests, this was one. As he stood by the statue of Jupiter, he asked Apelles the Tragedian, which of them he thought bigger? and upon his demurring about it, lash'd him most cruelly, now and then commending his voice, whilst he begged pardon, as very sweet in the midst of groans. As oft as he kiss'd the neck of his wife or mistress, he would say, So fine a neck must be taken off, whenever I please. And now and then he would threaten to put his CÆSONIA to the torture, in order to find out the reason why he loved her so much.

34. He behaved with a degree of envy and ill-nature equal to his pride and cruelty against men of all ages almost. He so demolish'd and dispers'd the statues of several illustrious persons that had been removed by Augustus for want of room, from the court of the Capitol into the field of Mars, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And for the future forbid any statue to be erected for any man living, in any place whatever, without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of suppressing Homer's poems. For why, he said, might not he do, what PLATO had done before him, who had turn'd him out of his commonwealth. He had like too to have banish'd the writings of Virgil and Titus Livy together with their images out of all libraries, censuring the one as a man of no wit, and very little learning; and the other, as a long-winded careless historian. He would often talk of the lawyers, as tho' he wou'd quite take away the use of their profession, swearing by Hercules, That he would put it out of their power to answer any questions in law, otherwise than by referring to him.

35. Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique admittit; Torquato torquem; Cincinnato crinem; Cn. Pompejo stirpis antiquæ Magni cognomen. Prolemaum, de quo retuli, & accersitum e regno, & exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus, ingressum spectacula, convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpuræ abollæ animadvertit. Pulcros & comatos, quoties sibi occurrerunt, occipitio rasō deturpabat. Erat Esus Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem & speciem Colosso dictus. Hunc ē spectaculis detractum, repente & in arenam deductum, Thraci, & mox hoplomacho comparavit; bisque victorem constringi, sine mora iussit; & pannis oblitum vicatim circumduci, ac mulieribus ostendi, deinde jugulari. Nullus denique tam abjectæ conditionis, tamque extremæ sortis fuit, cuius non commodis obtestaret. Nemorensi regi, quod multos jam annos potiretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit. Cum quodam die muneris, essedario Porio ob prosperam pugnam servum suum manumittenti studiosius plausum esset, ita se propripuit e spectaculis, aut calcata lacinia togæ, præceps per gradus iret indignabundus, & clamitans, *Dominum gentium populum ex re levissima plus honoris gladiatori tribuentem, quam consecratis principibus, aut presenti sibi.*

amongst the gods, or to himself

36. Pudicitia neque suæ neque alienæ pepercit. M. Lepidum, Mnestrem pantomimum, quosdam obides dilexisse fertur, commercio mu-

35. He took from the noblest persons in the city, the ancient marks of distinction, used by their familys, as from Torquatus the chain, from Cincinnatus the lock of hair, and from Cn. Pompey, of an ancient family, the surname of Great. Ptolemy, mentioned above, whom he sent for out of his kingdom, and received very honourably, he suddenly took off, for no other reason, but because he observed that upon entering the Theatre, at a publick diversion of gladiators, he drew the eyes of all the spectators upon him, by the splendor of his fine scarlet robe. As oft as he met with handsome men, that had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be shaved, to make them appear ridiculous. There was one Esus Proculus the son of a centurion of the first rank, who being a very lusty comely person, went by the name of Colosso. This gentleman he ordered to be dragged out of his seat into the middle of the theatre, and matched with a gladiator in light armour, and another compleatly armed, and upon his worshipping them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led cloathed in rags up and down the streets of the city, and shewn in that pickle to the women, and afterwards butchered. There was no man of so abject and mean condition, whose excellency in any kind he did not envy. The rex nemorensis having many years enjoy'd the honour of the priesthood, he procured an able bodied antagonist to oppose him. One Porius an Essedarian having at a publick show of gladiators, manumised a slave of his for his success in fighting, and being clapt extremely for it, he arose in such a hurry from his seat, that treading upon the lap of his toga, he came tumbling down the steps, full of indignation, and crying out, That a people that were masters of the world paid a greater respect to a gladiator for a trifle, than to princes received there present amongst them.

36 He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of other people. He is said to have been inflamed with an unnatural passion for M. Lepidus, Mnestre the

tui stupri. Valerius Catullus consulari familia juvenis, stupratum à se, ac latera sibi contubernio ejus defessa, etiam vociferatus est. Super fororum incesta, & notissimum prostituta Pyralidis amorem non temere ulla illustriore foemina abstinuit: quas pleumque cum maritis ad cænam vocatas, præterque pedes suos transeuntes, diligenter ac lente, mercantium more considerabat: etiam faciem manu allevans, si quæ pudore submitterent. Quoties deinde libuisset, egressus triclinio, cum maxime placitam sevocasset, paullo post, recentibus adhuc lascivie notis, reversus, vel laudabat palmam, vel vituperabat; singula enumerans bona malave corporis, atque concubitus. Quibusdam, absentium maritorum nomine, repudium ipse misit, jussitque in Aetra referri.

37. Nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit, commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum, atque cænarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur; pretiosissimas margaritas aceto liquefactas forberet; convivis ex auro panes & opsonia apponeret, aut frugibus hominem esse oportere dictitans, aut Cæsarem. Quin & nummos non mediocris summæ e fastigio basilicæ Juliæ per aliquot dies sparsit in plebem. Fabricavit & de cedris Liburnicas, gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum & porticuum & tricliniorum laxitate, magnaque etiam vitium & pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus discumbens de diè inter choros ac symphonias,

pantomimick, and some hostages; and to have engaged with them in a practice of mutual pollution. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a consular family, bawled it out publicly, that he had belaboured the emperor in that vile way, till his sides ached with the work. Besides his incest with his sisters, and his notorious passion for the prostitute Pyralis, there was hardly any lady of considerable distinction, that he did not make free with, which he used commonly to invite along with their husbands to supper; and as they passed by his feet, viewed them very nicely and deliberately, like those who traffick in slaves; and if any out of modesty held down their faces, lifting them up with his hand. Then, when he had a fancy to it, he would quit the room, and send for her he liked best, and soon after return with the marks of lewdness fresh upon him; and would before the company commend or disparage her, running over the advantages or defects of her person and behaviour in private. He sent some a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and ordered it to be put down in the publick acts.

37. In extravagance he outwent the contrivance of all the prodigals that ever lived, inventing a new kind of bath, strange kind of dishes and suppers, so that he would bath in precious unguents, both warm and cold, drink pearls of immense value dissolved in vinegar; and serve up for his guests bread and other victuals all of gold, often saying, That a man ought either to be a good husband, or an emperor. Nay, he scattered money likewise to a prodigious sum amongst the people from the top of the Julian coast, for several days together. He built too ships with ten banks of oars after the Liburnian fashion, whose sterns were decked with jewels, and sails were party-coloured, with large baths, porticos and rooms of entertainment, and with great variety too of vines, and other fruit-trees. In these he would sail along the coasts of Campania, feasting in the day time amidst consorts of musick. In the building of

litora Campaniæ peragraret. In extructionibus prætoriorum atque villarum omniratione posthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiscibat, quam quod posse effici negaretur. Et jactæ iraque moles infesto ac profundo mari, excisæ rupes durissimi silicis, & campi montibus aggere æquari, & complanata fossuris montium juga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum moræ culpa capite lueretur. Ac ne singula enumerem, immensas opes, totumque illud Tiberii Cæsaris vicies ac septies millies HS. non toto ventente anno absumpsit.

38. Exhaustus igitur atque egens, ad rapinas convertit animum, vario & exquisitissimo calumniarum & auctionum & vectigalium genere. Negabat jure civitatem Romanam usurpare eos quorum majores sibi posterisque iam impetrassent, nisi filii essent. Neque enim intelligi debere posteros ultra hunc gradum. prolataque Divorum Julii & Augusti diplomata ut vetera & obsoleta dessebat. Arguebat & perperam editos census, quibus postea quacumque de causa quidquam incrementi accessisset. Testamenta primipilariū, qui ab initio principatus Tiberii, neque illum, neque se heredem reliquissent, ut ingrata rescidit. Item cæterorum, ut irrita & vana, quoscumque quis diceret herede Cæsare mori destinasse. Quo metu injecto, cum jam & ab ignotis inter familiares, & à parentibus inter liberos palam heres nuncuparetur, derisores vocabat: quod post nuncupationem vivere perseverarent, & multis venenatas matæas misit. Cognoscebat autem de talibus causis, taxato prius

his palaces and country-seats, in defiance to all sense and reason, he desired to effect nothing so much, as what was said to be impossible. Accordingly moles were formed in a deep and turbulent sea, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, and plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging, and with incredible speed too, for all remissness was sure to be capital. And, not to reckon up particulars, he lavish'd away a most prodigious estate, and all the treasure that had been amassed together by Tiberius Cæsar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year's time.

38. Being therefore quite exhausted and in want of money, he fell to plundering his subjects, by all the ways and means of false accusation, confiscation and taxes, that could be invented. He declared those had no right to the freedom of Rome, whose ancestors had obtained it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons, for that none under that degree ought to be reckoned as posterity. And when the grants of Julius and Augustus were produced upon those occasions, he put on a shew of concern, but said they were old and out of date. He charged too all those with giving in a false account of their estates, who after the taking of the census, had by any means whatever improved them. He made void the wills of all those that had been centurions of the first rank in the army, as testimonies of their base ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign, they had not made either that prince or himself their heir. The like he did too by the wills of all others, if any one did but pretend to say, that they design'd at their death to leave Cæsar their heir. The publick being terrified at this proceeding, he was now, by persons unknown to him, joyn'd heir with their friends, and by parents with their children. And these he said bantered him, in pretending to live any longer after such an appointment; and accordingly sent many of them poison'd

modo summæ, ad quem conficiendum consideret, confecto demum excitabatur. Ac ne paullulum quidem moræ patiens, super quadraginta reos quondam ex diversis criminibus una sententia condemnavit, gloriatusque est expergefactæ somno Cæsoniæ, quantum egisset, dum ea meridiaret. Auctione proposita, reliquias omnium spectaculorum subjecit, & venditavit: exquirens per se pretia & usque eo extendens, ut quidam immenso coacti quædam emere, ac bonis exuti venas sibi inciderent. Nota res est, Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante, monitum à Cajo præconem, ne prætorium virum crebro capitis motu nutantem sibi præteriret: nec licendi finem factum, quoad tredecim gladiatores HS. nonagies ignorantibus addicerentur.

He takes of assent, till thirteen gladiators were knocked off to him at nine millions of sesterces.

39. In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta, & supellectilem, & servos, atque etiam liberos, immensis pretiis vendidisset: invitatusacro, quidquid instrumenti veteris aulæ erat, ab urbe repetiit: comprehensis ad deportandum meritoriis quoque vehiculis, & pistri-nensibus jumentis: adeo ut & panis Romæ sæpe deficeret, & litigatorum plerique, quod occurrere absentes ad vadimonium non possent, causa caderent. Cui instrumento distrahendo nihil non fraudis ac lenocinii adhibuit: modo avaritiæ singulos increpans, & quod non pueret eos loquutores esse quam se: modo poenitentiam simulans, quod principalium ærum privatis copiam faceret. Comperebat provincialem locu-

He used to sit for the trial of such causes himself, determining beforehand the sum, for the raising of which he proposed to sit, and after he had made it up quitted the bench. And he was upon those occasions a man of mighty dispatch, condemning by one single sentence forty persons, charged with different accusations, upon which he boasted to Cæsonia at her awaking. What a great deal of business he had done, whilst she was taking her noon-nap. He exposed to sale in the way of auction, all that was left of the furniture of his publick shows for the diversion of the people, and obliged the company to take of his ware at a price so extravagant, that some were ruined in their fortunes by it, and bled themselves to death. It is a well known story that is told of Aponius Saturninus, who happening to take a nap as he sat by at the sale, Caius called out to the salesman not to overlook the Prætorian gentleman that nodded to him so frequently; and accordingly the fellow went on with his work, pretending to take his nod for tokens.

39. Having sold off too in Gaul all the cloaths, furniture, slaves, and even freemen belonging to his sisters, at prodigious prices, he was so pleased with the money he made of them, that he sent for all the old furniture of the court from the city; taking up for the conveying of it to him all the hackney carriages, together with the horses and mules belonging to the bakers every where upon the road, that they often wanted bread at Rome; and a great many that had suits at law in hand, by reason they could not make their appearance in due time, according to their bail-bond, lost their causes. And in the selling off of this furniture, all manner of wheedling and cheating was employ'd. Sometimes he would rail at his customers for their covetousness, and because they were not ashamed to be richer than him; another while he would pretend to be sorry he had parted with what belonged the court to

pletem

pletem ducenta HS. numerasse vocatoribus, ut per fallaciam convivio interponeretur, nec tulerat moleste tam magno aestimari honorem coenae suae. Huic postero die sedenti in auctione misit, qui nescio quid frivoli ducentis millibus traderet: diceretque *cannaturum apud Caesarem vocatu ipsius*. he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sesterces for, and that he should sup with Caesar upon his own invitation.

40. Vectigalia nova atque inaudita, primum per publicanos, deinde quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit: nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributum aliquid imponeret. Pro eduliis, quae tota urbe venirent, certum statumque exigebatur. Pro litibus atque judiciis ubicunque conceptis, quadagesima summae, de qua litigaretur: nec sine poena, si quis composuisset vel donasse negotium convinceretur. Ex gerulorum diurnis quaestibus pars octava, ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret. Additumque ad caput legis, ut tenerentur publico, & quae meretricium, & qui lenocinium fecissent: necnon & matrimonia obnoxia essent.

41. Huiusmodi vectigalibus indictis, neque propositis, cum per ignorantiam scripturae multa commissa fierent, tandem flagitante populo Romano proposuit quidem legem; sed & minutissimis literis, & angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret. Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in palatio constituit; distinctisque & instructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus matronae ingenuique starent. Misit circum fora, & basilicas nomenclatores

private persons. He had discovered that a rich gentleman of that province, had given two hundred thousand sesterces to those that were employed by him to invite company to his table, to be admitted to that Honour. and he was well enough pleased to find it valued at so high a rate. He sent the Day following some bauble or another to him, as he was sitting at the sale, which he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sesterces for, and that he should sup with Caesar upon his own invitation.

40. He levied his new taxes, and such as were never heard of before, at first by the publicans, but afterwards, because the Money arising from thence was prodigious, by centurions and tribunes of the guards, no kind either of things or persons being exempted from the payment of some duty or other. For all eatables that were sold in the city a certain excise was exacted. For all law-suits and trials in what court soever, the fortieth part of the sum in dispute, and such as were convicted of agreeing or dropping the matter in debate, were made liable to a penalty. Out of the day-wages of porters, he received an eighth part, and of the gains of common humpets, as much as they received for one bout. And a clause was inserted in the law, that all those should be liable to pay, who kept women for prostitution or sale, and that matrimony itself should not be exempt.

41. These taxes being laid, but the act by which they were laid being never exposed to publick view, great blunders were committed for want of a sufficient knowledge of the law. At length, upon the importunate request of the people, he hung up the act, but writ in a very small character, and in a very narrow place, that no body might transcribe it. And, to leave no sort of extortion untried, he set up a stew in the palatium, with a great variety of apartments furnished in a manner suitable to the dignity of the place; in which married women and boys free-born stood ready for the reception of all comers. He sent too his nomenclators

latores ad invitandos in libidinem juvenes senesque : præbica advenientibus pecunia fenebris, appositique nomina palam subnorarent, quasi adjuvantium Cæsaris reditus. Ac ne ex lusu quidem alexa compendium spernens, plus mendacio atque etiam perjurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proximo collatori demandata vice sua, progressus in atrium domus, cum prætereuntes duos equites Romanos locupletes sine mora corripui, confiscarique jussisset, exultans rediit, gloriantique nunquam se prosperiore alexa usum.

42. Filia vero nata, pauperetatem, nec jam imperatoria modo sed & patria conquerens onera, collationes in alimoniam atque dotem puellæ recepit. Elixit & strenas ineunte anno se recepturum : stetitque in vestibulo ædium Kalendis Januariis ad captandas stipēs, quas plenis ante eum manibus ac sinu omnis generis turba fundebat. Novissime contractandæ pecuniæ cupidine incensus, sæpe super immensos aureorum acervos patentissimo diffusos loco, & nudis pedibus spatians, & toto corpore aliquandiu volutatus est.

43. Militiam resque bellicas semel attigit, neque ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus sinmenque Clitumni Mevaniam processisset : admonitus desupplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat expeditionis Germanicæ imperum cepit; neque distulit, sed legionibus & auxiliis undique excitis, delectibus ubique acerbissime ætis, contracto & omnis generis com meatu, quantum nunquam alius, iter ingressus est : con-

about the forums and courts, to invite both young and old to his brothel : And lent money to such as came upon interest, clerks attending to take down the names of them, as of persons that were promoters of the emperor's revenue. Gaming too was a method of raising money he did not think below his notice, for by the help of lying and forswearing together he made it turn to considerable account. And once learning the management of his play to a fellow-gamster that sat next him, he slept to the door, and spying two rich Roman knights passing by, he ordered them immediately to be seized, and their estates confiscated; and then returning to his company full of joy, he boasted that he had never had better luck at game in his life.

42. After his daughter was born, complaining of his poverty, and the burthens that lay heavy upon him, not only as he was emperor, but as he was a father too, he received contributions for her maintenance and fortune. He likewise gave notice by proclamation, that he would receive new-years gifts the first of january following, and stood at the door of his house accordingly, to receive the presents which people of all ranks threw down before him by handfulls and lapfulls. At last being inflamed with a furious desire of feeling money, he would oftentimes walk over great heaps of gold coin spread upon a large floor, and rowl his whole body over and over again upon them.

43. He never but once meddled with military affairs at all, and that not upon any sedate and deliberate consideration, but in his journey to Mevania, to see the grove and river of Clitumnus, being put in mind of recruiting his company of Batavians which he had about him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany, and without more ado, drew together several legions and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and made new levys every where with the utmost rigour; and laying in provisions of all kinds, beyond what had ever been done by any man upon the like occasion, he put

fecitque modo tam festinan-
ter & rapide, ut prætorianæ
cohortes contra morem sig-
na jumentis imponere, & ita
sublequi cogerentur: inter-
dum adeo segniter & delicate
ut octophoro veheretur, atq;
à propinquarem urbium ple-
be verri sibi vias, & con-
spergi propter pulverem exi-
geret.

44. Postquam castra attigit,
ut se acrem & severum ducem
ostenderet, legatos, qui au-
xilia ferius ex diversis lo-
cis adduxerant, cum igno-
minia dimisit. At in exerci-
tu recensendo, plerisque cen-
turionum maturis jam, &
nonnullis ante paucissimos
quam consummaturi essent
dies, primos pilos ademir,
causatus senium cujusque &
imbecillitatem: cæterorum
incredula cupiditate, commo-
da emeritæ militiæ ad sex
millium summam rescidit.
Nihil autem amplius quam
Adminio Cinobellini Britan-
norum regis filio, qui pul-
sus à patre, cum exigua manu
transfugerat, in deditionem
recepto: quasi universa tra-
dicta insula, magnificas Ro-
mam literas misit: monitis
speculatoribus ut vehiculo
ad Forum usque & Curiam
pertenderent, nec nisi in æ-
de Martis, ac frequente sena-
tu, COS S. traderent.

45. Mox deficiente belli
materia, paucos de custodia
Germanos trajici, oculique
trans Rhenum jussit: ac sibi
post prandium, quam tumultu-
osissime adesse hostem nun-
tiari. Quo facto, proripuit
se cum amicis & parte equi-
tum prætorianorum in proxi-
mam silvam, truncatisque ar-
boribus, & in modum tropæorum

himself upon his march; and he persua-
ed it with so much haste and hurry
sometimes, that the guards were obliged
contrary to custom, to lay their stan-
dards upon the backs of horses or mules,
and so follow him. Sometimes again he
would march with that launess and
niceness, that he would be carried in a
chair by eight men, and order the roads
to be swept by the commonality of the
neighbouring cities, and sprinkled with
water too, to lay the dust.

44. After he had reached the camp,
to shew himself a brisk and severe ge-
neral, he cashiered the lieutenant-ge-
nerals, that came up late with the
auxiliary forces from divers parts.
And in reviewing the army, he took
their companys from most of the centu-
rions of the first rank, that had now
served up their legal time in the wars,
and from some but a few days before
their time would have been up; al-
ledging against them their great age
and infirmity; and railing at the co-
vetous humour of the rest of them, he
reduced the premiums due to such as
had served up their time to the sum of
six thousand sesterces. And tho' he did
no more than receive the submission of
Adminius the son of Cinobellinus a Bri-
tish prince, who being forced from his
native country by his father, came over
to him with a small body of troops, yet
as if the whole island had been surren-
dered up to him, he sent bouncing let-
ters to Rome upon it, ordering the
bearers, to proceed in their chaise di-
rectly up to the forum, and the se-
nate house, and not to deliver the
letters but to the consuls in the tem-
ple of Mars, and before a full as-
sembly of the senators.

45. Soon after this for want of an
enemy, he ordered a few Germans of
his guard, to be carried over and con-
cealed on the other side of the Rhine,
and word to be brought him after din-
ner, in a mighty hurry, that the enemy
was advancing. Which being accord-
ly done, he immediately posted away
with his friends, and a part of the
horse-guards into the next wood, and
cutting away the branches of some trees

adnotata

adornatis ad lumina reuersus, eorum quidem qui secuti non essent, rimidicatem & ignaviam corripuit: comites autem & participes victoriæ, novo genere ac nomine coronarum donavit: quas distinctas Solis ac Lunæ siderumque specie, *exploratorias* appellavit. Rursus obsides quosdam abductos è literario ludo, clamque præmissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insēcutus, veluti profugos ac reprehensos in catenis reduxit: in hoc quoque mimo præter modum intemperant. Repetita coena renuntiantes coactum agmen, sicut erant loricated ad discumbendum adhortatus est. Monuit etiam notissimo Virgilii versu, *Durarent, secundisque se rebus servarent.* Atque inter hæc absentem senatum populumque gravissimo objurgavit edicto, quod *Cesare præliante, & tantis discriminibus obiecto, tempestiva convivia, circum & theatra & amœnos secessus celebrarent.*

their country houses, whilst their emperor was fighting, and exposing his person to the greatest dangers.

46. Postremo, quasi perpetraturus bellum, directâ acie in litore Oceani, ac ballistis machinisq; dispositis, nemine gnaro ac opinante quidnam cœpturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent, galeasque & sinus repleant, imperavit: *spolia Oceani vocans, Capitolio Palatioque debita.* Et in indicium victoriæ altissimam turrem excitavit: ex qua, ut ex Pharo, noctibus ad regendos navium cursus, ignes emicarent: pronuntiatique militi donativo, centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus. *Abite, inquit, leti, abite locupletes.*

and dressing them up in the manner of trophies, he return'd by torch-light, upbraiding those that did not follow him with timorousness and cowardise; but presented the companions and sharers of his victory, with a new kind of crowns, and under a new name, with the representation of the sun, moon and stars upon them, which he called *exploratorias*. Again some hostages by his order were taken out of a school, and privately sent off; upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the horse, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in chains, proceeding to an extravagant height in this piece of military farce too. Upon sitting down to table again, when some came to acquaint him that the army was all come in, he ordered them to sit down as they were in their coats of mail, animating them in the words of that well known verse of Virgil, *To hold it out, and reserve themselves for happier circumstances.* In the mean time he chid the senate and people of Rome by a very severe proclamation, For revelling and frequenting the diversions of the Circus and Theatre, and enjoying themselves in

46. At last, as if he was resolved to make an end of the war at once, drawing up his army upon the shore of the ocean, with his balista and other engines of war, whilst no body was able to conceive or imagine what he was going to do, on a sudden he commanded them to gather up the sea-shells, and fill their helmets and laps of their coats with them, calling them the spoils of the Ocean due to the Capitol and the Palatium: and raised a very high tower as a monument of his success, to put lights upon in the night time, for the direction of ships at sea; and then promising the soldiers a donative, of an hundred denarii a man, as if he had outdone the highest examples of generosity, *Go your ways, says he, and be merry, go and be rich.*

47. Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi, præter captivos & transfugas barbaros, Gallorum quoque procerissimum quemque, & ut ipse dicebat, *ἐξιοβρεμύστερον*, ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ac seposuit ad pompam, coegitque non tantum rutulare, & submittere comam, sed & sermonem Germanicum addiscere, & nomina barbarica ferre. Præcepit etiam, triremes, quibus introierat Oceanum, magna ex parte itinere terrestri Romam devehit. Scripsit & procuratoribus, *Triumphum apparerent quam minima summa, sed quantum nunquam aliis fuisset: quando in omnium hominum bona jus haberent.*

yet such a one as had never power and authority to seize

48. Priusquam provincia decederet, consilium inlit nefandæ atrocitatis, legiones, quæ post excessum Augusti seditionem olim moverant, contruendandi: quod & patrem suum Germanicum ducem, & se infantem tunc obsedissent. Vixque à tam præcipiti cogitatione revocatus, inhiberi nullo potuit modo, quin decimare velle perseveraret. Vocatas itaque ad concionem inermes, atque etiam gladiis depositis, equitatu armato, circumsevit. Sed cum videret, suspecta re, plerosque dilabi ad restimenda, si qua vis fieret, arma, profugit concione: confestimque urbem petiit, deflexa omni acerbitate in senatum; cui ad avertendos tantorum dedecorum rumores palam minabatur: querens inter cætera, fraudatum se iusto triumpho, cum ipse paulo ante, ne quid de honoribus suis ageretur, etiam sub mortis poena denunciasset.

triumph, whereas he had but just before forbidden upon pain of death, any honours to be decreed him.

47. Upon his applying himself to make proper preparations for his triumph, besides prisoners and such as had deserted from the barbarians, he chose out the tallest men in all Gaul, and such as he said were fittest for a triumph, and some of the most considerable persons in the province, and reserved them to grace the solemnity: and obliged them not only to die their hair of a yellowish colour, and let it grow long, but to learn the German tongue, and take upon them names that were used in that country. He ordered likewise the triremes, in which he had entered the ocean, to be carried a good part of the way to Rome by land. He writ too to the collectors of his revenue in the city, To make proper preparations for a triumph, against his arrival, at as small an expence as possible; but been before it, since they had full the estates of all men whatever.

44. Before he left the province, he formed a design of the most horrid cruelty, to massacre the legions that had mutinied upon the death of Augustus, for seizing and detaining by violence his father Germanicus their commander, and himself then an infant in the camp. And tho' he was with great difficulty dissuaded from so rash a design, yet in spite of all that could be said or done to hinder him, he resolved however to put to death every tenth man. Accordingly he ordered them to assemble unarm'd, and without so much as their swords; and when they were met, surrounded them with armed horse. But finding that a great many of them, from a suspicion of some design upon them, were making off, to arm for their defence, in case any violence was offered them, he got away as fast as he could, out of the assembly, and immediately marched for Rome, bending now all his fury against the senate, whom he publicly threatened, to divert the reports that run about concerning these horrid designs of his: He complained amongst other things, that he was defrauded of a fair

49. Aditus ergo in itinere à legatis amplissimi ordinis, ut maturaret orantibus, quam maxima voce. *Veniam, inquit, veniam, & hic mecum,* capulum gladii crebro verberans quo cinctus erat: Edixit & reversi se, sed iis tantum qui optarent, equestri ordini & populo; nam se neque civem neque principem senatus amplius fore. Vetuit etiam quemque senatorum sibi occurrere: atque omisso, vel dilato triumpho, ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est. Intraquo quartum mensem periiit, ingentia facinora ausus, & aliquanto majora moliens. Siquidem proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandriam, commigrare, interemto prius utriusque ordinis electissimo quoque. Quod ne cui dubium videatur, in secretis ejus reperti sunt duo libelli, diverso titulo; alteri GLADIUS, alteri PUGIO index erat. Ambo notas & nomina continebant mori destinatorum. Inventa & arca ingens, variorum venenorum plena: quibus mox à Claudio demersis, infecta maria traduntur, non sine piscium exitio, quos enecatos æstus in proxima litora ejecit.

the sea by the order of Claudius, so infected the waters, they say, that the fish were poisoned, and thrown out dead upon the neighbouring shores.

50. Statura fuit eminenti, pallido colore, corpore enormi, gracilitate maxima cervicis & crurum, & oculis & temporibus concavis, fronte lata & torva, capillo raro, ac circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cætera. Quare transeunte eo, prospicere ex superiore parte, ac omnino quacumque de causa capram nominare, criminolum & exitiale habebatur. Vultum vero natura horridum ac tetrum etiam ex industria efferebat, componens ad spe-

49. He was in his march waited upon by deputies from the senatorian order, begging of him to hasten his return; to whom he replied with a loud voice, I will come, I will come, and this along with me, frequently striking the hilt of the sword he had on. He declared too by proclamation, That he was coming, but for those only that wish'd for him, the Equestrian order and the people; for that he would no longer behave as a fellow-citizen or a prince to the senate. He forbid likewise any of the senators to come to meet him, and either dropping or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation upon his birth-day, and within four months was slain, after he had ventured upon the greatest villanys that ever man committed, and whilst he was attempting still greater. For he had entertained a design of removing to Antium, after that to Alexandria; but first resolved to murder all the flower of the Equestrian and Senatorian orders: Which is put beyond all question by two books that were found in his cabinet under different titles, the one being call'd SWORD, and the other DAGGER. They both of them contained privy marks, and the names of such as had been destined by him to destruction. A huge chest was found likewise fill'd with variety of poisons, which being afterwards thrown into

50. He was tall, of a very pale complexion, ill-shaped, his neck and legs being very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his forehead broad and grim, and his hair thin, and quite gone about the crown. All over the other parts of his body he was very hairy. Wherefore it was reckoned a heinous and a capital crime for any to look down from above, as he was passing by, or so much as to name a goat upon any account whatever. His countenance, which was by nature horrible and frightful, he purposely render'd more so, forming it by a glass into a

culum

culum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem. Val-tudo ei neque animi neque corporis constitit. Puer comitiali morbo vexatus : in adolescentia ita patiens laborum erat, ut tamen nonnumquam subita defectione ingredi, stare, colligere semet ac sufferre vix posset. Mentis valetudinem & ipse senserat : ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus à Cæsonia uxore, amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur insomniæ maxime : neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat : ac ne his quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus : ut qui inter cæteras, pelagi quondam speciem colloquentem secum videre visus sit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliæ cubandique tædio, nunc toro residens, nunc per longissimas porticus vagus, invocare identidem atque expectare lucem consueverat.

51. Non immerito mentis valetudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem vicia, summam confidentiam, & contrā nimium metum. Nam qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua & fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero majora propriere se è sfrato, sub lectumque condere solebat. Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi, irrisis multorum locorum miraculis, repente à Messana noctu profugit, Æni verticis fumo ac marmure pavefactus. Adversus Barbaros quoque minacissimus, cum trans Rhenum inter angustias dentumque agmen iter essedo faceret, dicente quodam, Non mediocrem fore consternationem, secunde hostis appareat, equum illico conscendit : ac propere versus ad pontes, ut eos calonibus & impedimentis stipatos re-

most terrible and hideous appearance. He was crazy both in body and mind, being troubled when a boy with the falling sickness. When he arrived at the years of manhood, he would endure fatigue tolerably well, yet so that sometimes he would be seized with such a faintness, that he could scarce walk, stand, recover when sinking, or support himself. He was himself sensible of the disorder of his mind, and had now and then thoughts of retiring to purge his brain. It is believed he had a love-potion given him by his wife Cæsonia, that threw him into a phrenzy. What most of all disordered him, was want of sleep ; for he seldom got more than three or four hours rest in a night, and even then he slept not very quietly, but was disturbed by strange appearances : as once he fancied the ocean talk'd to him. Wherefore being weary with lying so much of the night awake, he would one while sit upon the bed another while walk in the longest porticus about his house, and now and then call and look out for day.

51. To this crazy constitution of mind may, I think, very justly be imputed two faults he had of quite contrary nature to one another, an excess of assurance and fear. For he that despised the gods so much, upon any little thunder and lightning, would shut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his coat, and if it thundered and lightened much, would get up, and hide himself under the bed. In his visit to the isle of Sicily, after he had made a jest of many strange things which that country presents, he ran away suddenly in the night from Messina, being frightened sorely at the smoke and noise of mount Ætna. And tho' he was with his tongue very valiant against the barbarians, yet upon passing a narrow defile in Germany in his chaise, with his troops crowded close about him, somebody happening to say, There would be no small consternation amongst them, if an enemy should appear, he immediately mounted his horse, and scowring off to the bridges in vast haste, but finding them crowded perit,

perit, impatiens moræ, per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est. Mox etiam audita rebellione Germaniæ, fugam & subsidia fugæ, classes apparabat, uno solatio acquiescens, transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas provincias, si victores Alpium juga ut Cimbrî, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent: unde credo percussoribus ejus postea consilium natum, apud tumultuantes milites ementiendi, ipsum sibi manus intulisse, nuntio malæ pugnæ perterritum.

upon the occasion of his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, in a fright occasioned by news brought him of the defeat of his army.

52. Vestitu calceatugue, & cætero habitu neque patrio, neque civili, ac ne virili quidem, ac denique humano, semper usus est. Sæpe depictas gemmasque indutus penulas, manuleatus & armillatus in publicum processit: aliquando sericatus, & cycladatus: ac modo in crepidis vel cothurnis, modo in speculatoria caliga, nonnunquam stocco muliebri, plerumque vero aurea barba fulmen tenens, ac fuscinam, aut caduceum, deorum insignia, atque etiam Veneris cultu conspectus est. Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem assidue gestavit: interdum & Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum è conditorio ejus.

53. E disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiæ plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus & promptus: utique si perorandum in aliquem esset, irato & verba & sententiæ suppetebant: pronuntiatio quoque & vox, ut neque eodem loco præ ardore confisteret & exaudiretur à procul stanti-

with soldiers, servants and carriages, he was in such a huge hurry, that he was handed above the heads of the people quite over. And soon after upon hearing of the war breaking out again in Germany, he was making ready to quit Rome, and providing fleets for the purpose, comforting himself with this consideration, that if the enemy should prove victorious, and possess themselves of the tops of the Alps, as the Cimbrî had done, or of the city, as the Senones had, he should still have the transmarine provinces in reserve. And for this reason I suppose it was, that those who killed him thought fit to give out amongst the soldiers, who were all in an uproar, that he had laid violent hands upon himself.

52. In his cloaths, shoes, and other parts of his dress, he neither kept to the fashion of his country, or his sex, or such as was suitable to a human creature. He would oftentimes appear abroad dressed up in an embroidered cloak set with jewels, in a tunic with sleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms, sometimes all in silk and in a woman's dress: and sometimes in the crepide or buskins, sometimes in a sort of shoes used by the meaner soldiers, or those of women, and commonly with a golden beard fixt to his chin, holding in his hand a thunder-bolt, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of distinction belonging to the gods only. Sometimes too he was seen in the dress of Venus. He wore too very commonly the triumphal dress, even before his expedition, and sometimes the thorax of Alexander the great, taken out of the vault where his body lay.

53. Of the liberal sciences he meddled very little with philology, but applied himself very closely to the study of eloquence, being indeed elegant and ready enough in his delivery, especially, if he was angry, he had words and sentences in abundance. His pronunciation was so vehement, and his voice so strong, that he could not stand still in a place, and was heard at a great distance. When he came to harangue, he shrouded

bus. Peroraturus *stricturum* se *lucubrationis* sue *telum* minabatur: lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem, *commissiones* meras componere, & *harenam* esse sine *calce* diceret. Solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere, & *mag-norum* in *senatu* reorum *accusationes* *defensione*sq; *meditari*: ac, prout *stylus* cesserat, vel *onerare* *sententia* sua quemque, vel *sublevare*: *equestri* quoque *ordine* ad *audiendum* *invitato* per *edicta*.

54. Sed & aliorum generum artes studiosissime, & diversissimas exerovit. Thrax & auriga, idem cantor, atque saltator. Batuebat pugnatoreis armis, aurigabat exstructo plurifariam circo. Canendi ac saltandi voluptate ira efferebatur, ut nā publicis quidem spectaculis temperaret, quo minus & *tragoedo* pronuntianti concineret: & *gestum* *histrionis* quasi laudans vel corrigens palam effingeret. Nec alia de causa viderur eo die quo periit, *pervigilium* indixisse, quam ut initium in scenam *prodeundi* *licentia* temporis *aspicaretur*. Saltabat autem nonnumquam etiam noctu: & quondam tres consulares secunda *vigilia* in *palatium* accitos, multaue & extrema metuentes super *pulpitum* collocavit: deinde repente *magno* *tibiarum* & *scabellorum* *crepitu*, cum *palla* *tunica*que *talari* *prosiluit*, ac *defaltato* *cantico* abiit. Atque hic tam docilis ad cætera, *natare* nesciit.

55. Quorum vero studio teneretur, omnibus ad infamiam favit. *Mnestrem* *pantomimum* etiam inter spe-

ened the sword of his *lucubration*; and so much despised a soft smooth stile, that he said Seneca, who was then in mighty vogue, Writ only boyish declamations, and that his language was meer sand without lime. And when plunders came off with success, he wrote answers to their speeches. And would exercise himself in penning accusations or vindications of persons of figure that were impeached before the senate. And according to his success therein, would distress or relieve the party by his vote in the house, inviting the Equestrian order by proclamation to hear him.

54. He likewise applied himself with great eagerness to the practice of various other arts, as fencing, riding the chariot, singing and dancing. He practised in fencing with the weapons used in fighting; and drove the chariot in Circus built in several places. He was so excessively fond of singing and dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatre, from singing along with the tragedians, and imitating the gestures of the actors in the way of approbation, or correction. And it was thought he ordered a *pervigilium* upon the day he was slain, for no other reason, but to take the opportunity, that the licentiousness of such a season gave him, of making his first appearance upon the stage. He danced sometimes by night too. And once sending for three consular gentlemen in the second watch of the night, who were under terrible apprehensions upon it, he placed them by the stage, and then all on a sudden came bouncing out, with a huge noise of flutes and scabells, dressed up in a *palla* and a *tunic* reaching down to his heels; and after he had danced out a song, went off again. And yet he that learnt other things so well, could not swim.

55. Such as he once took a fancy too, he favoured even to madness. He used to kiss Mnesther the pantomimick publicly in the theatre, and if any

Acaculæ

stacula osculabatur : ac si quis saltante eo vel leviter obstreperet, detrahi iustum manu sua flagellabat. Equiti Romano tumultuanti, per centurionem denunciavit abiret sine mora Ostiam, perferretque ad Ptolemæum regem in Mauritaniam codicillos suos. Quorum exemplum erat, *Ei, quem istuc nisi, neque boni quidquam neque mali feceris.* Thraces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus præposuit. Mirmillonum armaturas rescidit. Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo *Columbinum* appellavit. Sic certe inter alia venena scriptum ab eo repertum est. Præsinæ factioni ita addictus & deditus, ut cœnaret in stabulo assidue, & maneret. Agitatori Cythico comessatione quadam in apophoretis vicies H.S. contulit. Incitato equo, cuius causa pridie Circenses ne inquietaretur, viciniæ silentium per milites indicere solebat, præter equile marmoreum & præsepe eburneum præterque purpurea tegumenta, ac monile è gemmis, domum etiam, & familiam, & suppellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine ejus invitati acciperentur : consulum quoque traditur destituisse.

56. Ita bacchantem atque grassantem non desuit plerisque animus adoriri. Sed una alteraque conspiratione detecta, aliis per inopiam occasionis cunctantibus, duo consilium communicaverunt, perfeceruntque : non sine conscientia potentissimorum libertorum præfectorumque prætorii : quod ipsi quoque, etsi falso, in quadam conjuratione,

one made the least noise while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged out of his seat, and scourged him with his own hand. A Roman knight once making some bustle, he sent him by a centurion, a command to go forthwith down to Ostia, and carry a letter of his to king Ptolemy in Mauritania. The words of which were these, Do neither good nor harm to the bearer. He made some gladiators captains of his German guards. He took from the gladiators called Mirmillones some of their arms. One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being slightly wounded, he ordered some poison to be infused into the wound, which from thence he called Columbinum. For thus it's certain it was found put down with his own hand amongst other poisons. He was so extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers that rid in green, that he supped and lodged for some time constantly in the stable where their horses were kept. And at a certain revel he made a present of twenty hundred thousand sesterces to one Cythicus a driver of a chariot. The day before the Circensian games, he used by his soldiers to injoin the whole neighbourhood silence, that the repose of his horse Incitatus might not be disturbed, for whom, besides a marble stable, an ivory manger, scarlet body cloaths, and a bracelet of jewels, he appointed a house, with a retinue of slaves, and fine furniture, for the handsome reception of such as were invited in the horse's name to sup with him. It's said too, that he design'd to have made him consul.

56. During this frantick and savage behaviour, a great many had a good mind to be upon him ; but one or two conspiracies coming to light, and others keeping off for want of opportunity, at last two laid their heads together, and accomplish'd their design, not without the privacy of some of the greatest favourites amongst his freedmen, and the commanders of the guard ; because having been named, tho' falsely, as concern'd in one conspi-

quasi

quasi participes nominati, suspectos tamen se & invilos sentiebant. Nam & statim seductis magnam fecit invidiam, districto gladio affirmans sponte se periturum, si & illis morte dignus videretur: nec cessavit ex eo criminari alterum alteri, atque inter se omnes committere. Cum placuisset Palatinis ludis spectaculo egressum meridie aggredi, primas sibi partes Cassius Chærea tribunus cohortis prætoris depoposcit: quem Cæsar seniolem jam ut mollem & effœminatum denotare omni probro consuevit: & modo, signum petenti, PRIAPUM aut VENEREM dare; modo, ex aliqua causa agenti gratias, osculandam manum offerre, formatam commotamque in obscœnum modum.

57. Futuræ cædis multa prodigia extiterunt. Olympiz simulacrum Jovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit, ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint. Supervenitque illico quidam Cassius quoque nomine, jussit se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Jovi. Capitolium Capuæ Idibus Martiis de cælo tactum est: item Romæ cella Palatini atriensis. Nec defuerunt qui conjectarent altero ostento periculum à custodibus domino portendi: altero, cædem rursus insignem, qualis eodem die facta quondam fuisset. Consulenti quoque de genitura sua, Sulla mathematicus certissimam necem appropinquare affirmavit. Monuerunt & sortes Antiatinæ ut à Cassio caveret. Quia causa ille Cassium Longinum Asiæ tum proconsulem occidendum delegaverat, immemor Chæream Cassium

racy against him, they perceived he was jealous of them, and hated them ever after. For he had immediately endeavoured to bring the odium of the soldiery upon them by drawing his sword, and declaring, That he would kill himself, if they thought him worthy of death, and he was continually ever after accusing them to one another, and setting them all together by the ears. The conspirators having resolved to fall on him as he came at noon from the Palatine games, Cassius Chærea; a tribune of a battalion of the guards, desired he might begin the onset. This Chærea was now an elderly man, whom Cæsar was used to treat in the most scurrilous abusive manner, as a soft effeminate fellow: and when he came for the watch-word, he would give him Priapus or Venus; and when he return'd him thanks upon any occasion he would offer him his hand to kiss in a figure and gesture of lewd imitation.

57. There were several prodigies that gave notice of his approaching fate. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken down and brought to Rome, all on a sudden burst out into such a violent fit of laughter, that the machines employed in the work being all in disorder upon it, the workmen ran away. And immediately thereupon came in one Cassius by name, who said that he was commanded in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The capital at Capua was struck with lightning upon the ides of march, as also at Rome too, the apartment of the principal slave about the palatium, which some construed as a presage, that the master thereof was in some danger of his life from his own guards: and the former they thought a sign of such notable execution, as had formerly happened upon the same day. Sylla the astrologer too being consulted by him about his nativity, assured him, That death would unavoidably and speedily befall him. The oracle of fortune at Antium, likewise forewarned him of Cassius; for which reason he had given orders for the putting to death of
nomin-

nominari. Pridie quam periret, formiavit consistere se in cælo juxta folium Jovis impulsamque ab eo dextri pedis pollice, & in terras præcipitatum. Prodigiæ loco habita sunt etiam quæ forte illo ipso die paullo prius acciderant. Sacrificans respersus est phœnicopteri sanguine. Et pantomimus Mnesther tragœdiam saltavit quam olim Neoptolemus tragœdus ludis, quibus rex Macedonum Philippus occisus est, egerat. Et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo actor prœcipiens se ruina sanguinem vomuit, ut plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scena abundavit. Parabatur & in noctem spectaculum, quo argumenta inferorum per Ægyptios & Æthiopes explicarentur.

58. Nono Kalend. Feb. hora quasi septima, cunctatus an ad prandium surgeret, marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere, tandem suadentibus amicis egressus est. Cum in crypta per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scena operas evocati præpararentur, ut eos inspiceret hortareturque restitit. Ac nisi princeps gregis algere se diceret, redire ac representare spectaculum voluit. Duplex de hinc fama est: alii tradunt alloquenti pueros, à tergo Chæream cervicem gladio cæsim graviter percussisse, præmissa voce, Hoc age. De hinc Cornelium Sabinum, alterum è conjuratis tribunum, ex adverso trajecisse pectus: alii, Sabinum, submota per consocios centuriones turba, signum more militiæ petiisse, & Cajo Jovem dante, Chære-

Cassius Longinus at that time præ-consul of Asia, never considering that Chærea was called Cassius too. The day before his death, he dreamt that he was standing in heaven by the throne of Jupiter, and tumbled headlong with a great push from the great toe of his right foot down upon the earth. Some things too were look'd upon as ominous presages, that happened the very day of his death a little before it. As he was at sacrifice he was bespattered with the blood of a flamingo. And the Pantomimick Mnesther danced a tragedy, which the tragedian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games, in which Philip the king of the Macedonians was slain. And in the mimus called Laureolus, wherein the actor running out in a hurry and falling vomited blood, several of the secondary actors vying with one another to give the best specimen of their art, made the whole stage run down with blood. And for the night a sort of play was design'd, wherein the fabulous accounts of the infernal regions were to be represented by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

58. Upon the ninth of the kalends of February, and about the seventh hour of the day, being in some doubt whether he should rise to dinner, his stomach being out of order, with what he had eaten the day before, at last by the advice of his friends he came out. And some boys of noble extraction, that had been sent for from Asia to act upon the stage, standing to wait for him in a private portico, thro' which he was to pass, he made a stop to view and speak to them; and, but that the chief of them said he had got cold, he would have gone back, and made them have acted just then. There are two different accounts given of what follow'd. Some say, that as he was speaking to the boys, Chærea came behind him, and gave him a great cut in the neck, crying out first, Mind this. That then a tribune by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the conspirators run him thorough the breast. Others say that whilst the crowd were kept at a distance by some Centurions that were privy to the design, Sabinus

am exclamasse, *Accipe ratum*; respicientique maxillam iactu discidisse. Jacentem, contractisque membris clamitantem se vivere, ceteri vulneribus triginta confecerunt. Nam signum erat omnium, *Repete*. Quidam etiam per obscoena ferrum adegerunt. Ad primum tumultum lectionarii cum asseribus in auxilium accurrerunt: mox Germani corporis custodes, ac nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam etiam senatores innoxios interemerunt.

some of the conspirators, and concern'd in the affair.

59. Vixit annis *xxix*, imperavit triennio & x mensibus, diebusque *viii*. Cadaver ejus clam in hortos *Lamianos* asportatum, & tumultuario rogo semiambrustum levi cespere obrutum est. Postea per sorores ab exilio reversas erutum, crematum, sepultumque. Satis constat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos: in ea quoque domo in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem sine aliquo terrore transactam, donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit. Periit una & uxor *Cæsonia*, gladio à centurione confossa; & filia parieti illisa.

60. Conditionem temporum illorum etiam per hæc existimare quivis possit. Nam neque cæde vulgata statim creditum est. Fuitque suspicio, ab ipso *Cajo* famam cædis simulatam & emissam: ut eo pacto erga se hominum mentes deprehenderet. Neque conjurati cuiquam imperium destinaverunt. Et senatus in asserenda libertate adeo consensusit, ut *COSS.* primo non in curiam, quia *Julia* vocabatur, sed in *Capitolinum*

came, according to custom, for the word, and that *Caius* gave him *Jupiter*, upon which *Cherea* cryed out, Here's for thee thy wish fulfilled, and then as he look'd about, cut off one of his jaws with a stroak. The rest dispatched him with thirty wounds, as he lay double u. on the ground; crying out that he was still alive: for the word amongst them all was *Strike again*. Some likewise run their swords thro' his privy parts. Upon the first bustle the chairmen came running in with their poles to his assistance, and presently after this his German guards, who killed some senators too, that were not

59. He lived twenty nine years, and reign'd three, besides ten months, and eight days. His body was privately carried into the *Lamian Gardens*, where it was half burnt upon a pile hastily raised, and then as carelessly buried. It was afterwards taken up again by his sisters, upon their return from banishment, effectually burnt, and buried. It is certain, before that, the keepers of the gardens were sadly disturbed by apparitions; and that ne'er a night passed in the house where he was slain, without some terrible fright or other, till it was burnt quite down. His wife *Cæsonia* was killed along with him, being stabbed by a centurion, and his daughter had her brains knocked out against a wall.

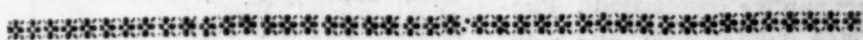
60. Any one may easily make an estimate of the miserable condition of those times by these ensuing circumstances. For after his death was made publick, it was not presently credited. People were jealous that the report of his being killed had been contrived and spread by himself, on purpose to discover how they stood affected towards him. Nor had the conspirators pitched upon any one to succeed him. And the senate were so unanimous in their resolution to assert the liberty of their country, that the consuls assembled them at first not in the usual place
convocarent

convocarent. Quidam vero sententiæ loco abolendam Cæsarum memoriam ac di-ruenda templa censuerunt. Observatum autem notatum-que est in primis, Cæsares omnes, quibus Caii præno-men fuit, ferro periisse, jam inde ab eo qui Cinnanis temporibus sit occisus.

of meeting because that had it's name from Julius Cæsar, but in the Capitol. And some proposed to the house to abolish the memory of the Cæsars, and level their temples with the ground. It was particularly taken notice of upon this occasion, that all the Cæsars, that had the prænomen of Caius, died by the sword, ever since him that was slain in the times of Cinna.



C. SUET. TRANQUILLI
TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS
DRUSUS CÆSAR. V.



CAPUT I.

1. PATREM Claudii
P Cæsaris Drusum,
P olim Decimum,
P mox Neronem præ-
nomine, Livia, cum Augusto
gravida nupsisset, intra men-
sem tertium peperit: fuit-
que suspicio, ex vitrico per
adulterii consuetudinem pro-
creatum. Statim certe vulga-
tus est versus:

LIVIA having married Au-
L gustus, when she was big
L with child, was within
L three months after brought
to bed of Drusus the father of Claudius
Cæsar, who had at first the prænomen
of Decimus but afterwards that of
Nero: and it was suspected he was be-
got in adultery by his father-in-law.
However the following verse became
immediately very common upon it.

Τὸς δ' αὖτ' ἔν τριμήνῳ παῖδ' ἔσται.

The Great can children have in three months time.

Is Drusus in quæsturæ præ-turæque honore, dux Rhæti, deinde Germanici belli, Ocea-num septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit: transque Rhenum fossas novi & immensi operis effecit, quæ nunc adhuc DRUSINÆ vocantur. Hostem etiam fre-quenter cæsum, ac penitus in intimas solitudines actum,

This Drusus during the time of his being quæstor and prætor, commanded in the Rhætic and German wars, and was the first of all the Roman gene-rals that sailed the northern ocean. He made 100 some prodigious trenches beyond the Rhine, which to this day are called by his name. He overthrew the enemy in several battles, and drove them up a great way into the desert parts of their country; contin-
E c non

non prius destitit insequi, quam species barbaræ mulieris humana amplior, victorem tendere ultra sermone Latino prohibuisset. Quas ob res ovandi jus, & triumphalia ornamenta percepit: ac post præturam confestim inito consulatu, atq; expeditione repetita, supremum diem morbo obiit, in æstivis castris, quæ ex eo *Scelerata* sunt appellata. Corpus ejus per municipiorum coloniarumq; primores, fuscipientibus obviis scribarum decuriis, ad urbem devectum, sepultumque est in Martio campo. Cæterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit: circa quem deinceps statto die quotannis miles decurreret, Galliarumq; civitates publice supplicarent. Præterea senatus inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum cum tropæis via Appia decrevit, & Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque ejus. Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi. Nam ex hoste super victorias, opima quoque spolia captasse, summoque sæpius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie infectatus: nec dissimulasse unquam pristinum se Reip. statum quandoque restitutum, si posset. Unde existimo nonnullos tradere aulos, suspectum eum Augusto, revocatumque ex provincia: & quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis, ne præmitterem, retuli, quam quia verum aut verisimile putem: cum Augustus tantopere & vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est: & defunctum ita pro concione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, *similes ei Cæsares suos facerent: sibi que tam honestum*

ing the pursuit of them, 'till a barbarian woman of more than human size appeared to him; and in the Latin tongue forbid him to proceed any further. For which exploits he had the honour of an ovation, and the triumphal ornaments. After his prætorship, he immediately took upon him the consulate, and returning again to Germany, died in the summer-camp, which from thence was called the wicked camp. His corps was transmitted to Rome by the principal persons of the several borough-towns and colonies upon the road, being every where met and received by the publick scribes of each place, and buried in the field of Mars. The army erected a monument in honour of his memory, round which the soldiers used yearly upon a certain day to march in solemn procession, and persons deputed from the several cities of Gaul made their supplications to his ghost. Besides, the senate amongst various other honours, decreed for him a triumphal arch of marble with trophies in the Appian way, as also the cognomen of Germanicus for him and his posterity. He was looked upon as a person far from an assuming temper, yet of a keen appetite for glory. For besides his victories he brought off the spoils called opima, and frequently singled out and pursued the German commander up and down their army, with the utmost hazard of his life, and often declared that he would some time or other, if possible, restore the old government. For which reason, I suppose, some have ventured to write, that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him; and because he made no haste to comply with the order, took him off by poison: which I mention, that I may not be thought guilty of an omission, more than because I think it true or probable at all, since Augustus loved him so dearly whilst living, that he always in his wills made him joint-heir with his sons, as he once declared in the senate, and upon his decease extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the gods to make his Cæsars like him, and to grant him as honourable an exit
quando

quandoque exitum darent, quam illi dedissent. Nec contentus elogium tumulo ejus versibus à se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitæ memoriam prosa oratione composuit. Ex Antonia minore complures quidem liberos tulit: verum tres omnino reliquit, Germanicum, Livillam, Claudium.

2. Claudius natus est, Julio Antonio Fabio Africano cons. Kalend. Augustis Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est: appellatusque Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Mox fratre majore in Juliam familiam adoptato, Germanici cognomen assumpsit. Infans autem relictus à patre, ac per omne fere pueritiæ atque adolescentiæ tempus, variis & tenacibus morbis confectus est; adeo ut animo simul & corpore hebetato ne progressa quidem ætate, ulli publico privatoque muneri habilis existimaretur. Diu, atque etiam post tutelam receptam, alieni arbitrii, & sub pædagoگو fuit: quem *Barbarum olim superjumentarium, ex industria sibi appositum, ut se quibuscumque de causis quam levissime coherceret, ipse quodam libello conqueritur.* Ot hanc eandem valetudinem & gladiatorio munere, quod simul cum fratre memoriæ patris edebat, palliolatus novo more præfedit: & togæ virilis die, circa mediam noctem, sine solenni officio lectica in Capitolium latus est. *manly habit, he was carried in a chair at midnight into the Capitol, without the usual ceremony.*

3. Disciplinis tamen liberalibus ab ætate prima non mediocre operam dedit, ac sæpe experimenta cujusq; etiam publicavit. Verum ne sic quidem quidquam dignitatis assequi, aut spem de se com-

out of this world as they had given him. *And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb an elegy in verse composed by himself, he writ the history of his life too in prose.* He had by the younger Antonia several children, but left only three behind him, Germanicus, Livilla and Claudius.

2. *Claudius was born at Lugdunum in the consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very day, upon which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus, and was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus.* Soon after upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he took the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almost the whole time of his minority, and for some while after he came to be a man, was afflicted with a variety of stubborn distempers, insomuch that his mind and body being very much impaired thereby, he was even after his arrival at an age of maturity, never thought sufficiently qualified for any publick or private employment. And therefore he was for a long time after he came at age of maturity, under the government of a pædagogue, who, he complains in a certain memoir, was a barbarous wretch, and formerly a master-mule-driver, that was made his governor, on purpose to correct him most severely on every trifling occasion. *And by reason of this crazy constitution of body and mind, he presided in the show of gladiators, which in conjunction with his brother he gave the people, in honour of his father's memory, muffled up in a pallium, contrary to custom.* When he took upon him the

3. *However he applied himself very early and closely to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in every one of them.* But yet for all that could never attain to any publick post in the Government, or give any better hopes
E e 2 modicam

modiorem in posterum facere potuit. Mater Antonia portentum cum hominis dictabat, nec absolutum à natura, sed tantum inchoatum : ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiores aiebat filio suo Claudio. Avia Augusta pro despectissimo semper habuit : non affari, nisi rarissime : non monere, nisi acerbis & brevi scripto, aut per interminutios solita. Soror Livilla, cum audisset quandoque imperatorum, tam iniquam & tam indignam sortem populo Rom. palam & clare detestata est. Nam & avunculus major Augustus quid de eo in utramque partem opinatus sit, quocertius cognoscatur, capita ex ipsius epistolis posui.

4. Collocutus sum cum Tiberio, ut mandasti, mea Livia, quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus. Consentit autem uterque nostrum, semel esse nobis statuendum, quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam si est ἀγχιος, ut ita dicam, ὀλόκληρος, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eisdem articulos & gradus producendus sit, per quos frater ejus productus fuit? Sin autem ὑλαπῶδαι, sentimus eum, καὶ βεβλά-αδαι, καὶ οἱς τὴν πρῶτην σωματικὴν καὶ οἱς τὴν ἑνὸς ψυχῆς ἀρετιότητα, prabenda materia deridendi & istum & nos non est hominibus, ταῖς τοιαῦτα σκαπτήν καὶ μυκ-τηρίζην κωδοσιν. Nam semper astuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum delibera-
tabimus, μὴ περὶ ποικιλι-
ῶν, posse eum gerere ho-
nores arbitremur n.c. ne. In
presentia tamen quibus de-
rebus consulas, curare cum ludis
Martialibus triclinium facendo-

of himself for the future. His mother Antonia frequently called him a mon-ster of a man, that had been only begun, but never finished by na-ture. And when she would upbraid any one with dulness, she said he was more a fool than her son Claudius. His grand-mother Augusta always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely spoke to him, and when she did admonish him upon any occasion, it was in writing, very briefly and severely, or by messengers. His sister Livilla upon hearing that it would be his fortune to be Emperor, openly and loudly expressed her abhorrence of the Roman people's falling under a fate so severe and so much below their grandeur. And to let the reader into the sentiments of Augustus his great uncle about him as well for him as against him, I have here subjoined some passages out of his letters.

4. I have had some talk with Tiberius, according to your desire, my dear Livia, what must be done with your grandson Tiberius at the games of Mars. We are both agreed in this, that once for all we ought to determine what course to take about him. For if he be really perfect and entire, as I may say, with regard to his intellectuals, why then should we scruple to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him indeed unfinished, and defective both in body and mind, we must not give the world occasion to laugh both at him and us, who are forward enough to make matters of this kind the subject of mirth and derision. For we shall never be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, with-out coming at once to a resolution of this point, whether he be really capable of publick offices, or no. As to what you consult me about at present, I am not against his super-intending at the feast of the priests, if he will suffer himself to be go-vernied by his kinsman Silanus's son, that he may do nothing to set

tum; non displicet nobis, si est passurus se ab Silani filio, homine sibi affini, admoneri, ne quid faciat quod conspici & derideri possit. Spectare eum Circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis. Expositus enim in prima fronte spectaculorum conspicietur. In Albanum montem ire eum non placet nobis, aut esse Romæ Latinarum diebus. Cur enim non praeficitur urbi, si potest fratrem suum sequi in montem? Habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias, quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui: ne semper inter spem & metum fluctueamus. Licebit autem, si voles, Antonia quoque nostræ des hanc partem epistolæ hujus legendam. Rursus alteris literis: Tiberium adolescentem ego vero, dum tu aberis, quotidie invito ad cœnam, ne solus cœnet cum suo Sulpicio & Athenodoro: qui vellem diligentius, & minus μετεωρε, deligeret sibi aliquem, cujus motum & habitum & incessum imitaretur misellus:

people a staring or laughing at him for. But I do not approve of his seeing the Circensian games from the pulvinar. He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre. Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban mountain, or be at Rome during the Latin festival. For why is he not made præfect of the city, if he is capable of attending his brother into the mountain? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter. I am of opinion we ought to settle this affair once for all, that we be not always in suspense betwixt hope and fear. You may, if you please, give our kinswoman Antonia this part of my letter to read. *Again in another letter he has the following words.* I shall invite the youth Tiberius every day during your absence to supper, that he may not sup alone with his friend Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wish he was more cautious and mindful in the choice of some person, whose motion, air and gait, might be proper for the poor creature's imitation.

Ἀτυχῶ παντὶ ἐν τοῖσι συνδαισίσι λίαν.

In things of consequence he sadly fails.

ubi non aberravit ejus animus, satis apparet ἢ τῶς Ἰουλιῶς αὐτῷ δ' ἰνερ. Item tertiis literis, Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantem potuisse, peream, nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσφαῶς loquatur, qui posset, cum declamat, σασφαῶς dicere quæ dicenda sunt, non video. Nec dubium est quin post hæc Augustus constituerit, & reliquerit eum nullo præter Auguralis sacerdotii honore impenitum: ac ne heredem quidem, nisi inter tertips, ac pene extraneos, e parte sexta

Where his mind does not run astray, a noble strain sufficiently shews itself in him. *Likewise in a third letter he says,* Let me dye, my dear Livia, if I am not astonish'd, that your Grand-son Tiberius should declaim to please me; for how he that talks so darkly, should be able to declaim so clearly and properly, I cannot imagine. *And no doubt but Augustus did after this come to a resolution upon the matter, and accordingly left him invested with no other honour but that of the augural priesthood; and named him amongst the heirs of the third degree, and such as were but far off allied to his family, and for a sixth part of his estate only,*

municipavit

nuncupavit : legatoque non amplius quam octingentorum sestercentium profecutus.

5. Tiberius patruus petenti honores consularia ornamenta detulit. Sed instantius legitimos flagitanti, id solum codicillis rescripsit, *Quadragesima aureos in Saturnalia & Sigillaria misisse ei.* Tunc demum abjecta spe dignitatis, ad orium concessit, modo in horris & suburbana domo, modo in Campaniæ secessu delitescens: atq; ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam, ebrietatis quoque & aleæ infamiam subiit.

6. Cum interim, quamquam hoc modo agentis, nunquam aut officium hominum, aut reverentia publica defuit. Equestris ordo his patronum eum perferendæ pro se legationis elegit : semel cum deportandum Roman corpus exposceret : iterum cum oppressum Sejanum apud eosdem gratularetur. Quin & spectaculis advenienti assurgere, & lacernas deponere solebat. Senatus quoque, ut ad numerum sodalium Augustali sorte ductorum extra ordinem adjiceretur, censuit : & mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur, dicendæque inter consulares sententiæ jus esset. Quod decretum abolitum est, excusante Tiberio imbecillitatem ejus ac damnum liberalitate sua refecturum pollicente. Qui tamen moriens, & in tertius heredibus eum ex parte tertia nuncupatum, legato etiam circa H. S. vicies profecutus, commendavit in super exercitibus, senatui populoque Rom. inter ceteras necessitudines nominatim.

and left him a legacy of no more than eight hundred thousand sesterces.

5. Tiberius, upon his addressing him for preferment in the government, granted him the consular ornaments. But he persisting in his suit, he sent him forty gold pieces for his expences, during the festivals of the Saturnalia, and Sigillaria. Upon which laying aside all hopes of advancement, he gave himself wholly up to an idle life, living in great privacy, one while in his gardens, or a country seat he had nigh the city, another while in Campania, where he passed his time amongst the vilest of company, and by that means besides his former character of a dull heavy fellow, got that of a drunkard and a gamester.

6. But yet notwithstanding the infamous life he lead, he had a great respect shewn him, as well from the publick as private persons. The Equestrian order twice made choice of him to carry a message in their names, once to request from the consuls the favour of bearing on their shoulders the corps of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate the consuls upon the taking off Sejanus. Likewise when he entered the Theatre, they used to rise up and put off their cloaks. The senate too voted that he should be added to the number of the sodales Augustales who were chose by lot; and soon after, that his house which was burnt down, should be rebuilt at the publick charge, and that he should have the right of delivering his mind upon any matter that came before the house, amongst the consular gentlemen. Which decree was however repealed: Tiberius insisting to have him excused because of his weakness, and promising to make good his loss at his own expence. Who however at his death named him in his will amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate, leaving him withal a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and moreover recommended him by name, to the army, the senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations.

7. Su^b

7. Sub Cajo demum fratris filio secundam existimationem, circa initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente, honores auspicatus, consulatum gessit una per duos menses : evenitque ut primum ingredienti cum fascibus Forum, prætervolans aquila dexteriore humero consideret. Sortitus est & de altero consulatu in quartum annum : præfeditque nonnunquam spectaculis in Caji vicem, acclamante populo, *Feliciter*, partim *patruo Imperatoris*, partim *Germanici fratri*. *Sometimes under the title of the Emperor's uncle, and sometimes under that of Germanicus's brother.*

8. Nec eo minus contumeliis obnoxius vixit. Nam & si paullo serius ad prædictam cœnæ horam occurrisset, non nisi ægre, & circuito demum triclinio, recipiebatur. Et quoties post cibum addormisceret, quod ei fere accidebat, olearum ac palmularum ossibus incessabatur : interdum ferula flagrove, velut per ludum, excitabatur à co-preis. Solebant & manibus stertentis focci induci, ut repente expergefactus faciem sibi confricaret.

9. Sed ne discriminibus quidem caruit : primum in ipso consulatu, quod Neronis & Drusi, fratrum Cæsaris, statuas segnius locandas ponendasque curasset, pæne honore submotus est : deinde extraneo vel etiam domesticorum aliquo deferente, assidue varieque inquietatus. Cum vero detecta esset Lepidi & Gæulici conjuratio, missus in Germaniam inter legatos ad gratulandum, etiam vitæ periculum adiit : indignante ac fremente Cajo, patrum potissimum ad se missum, quasi ad puerum regendum : adeo ut non defuerint qui trade-

7. *At last Caius his brother's son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavouring to gain the affections of the people, by all the arts of popularity, he too was admitted to publick offices, and bore the consulship together with him for two months. And as he was entering the Forum for the first time with the Fasces, an eagle that was flying that way, settled upon his right shoulder. He likewise took his lot for the government of a province as proconsul at the years end. And he sometimes presided in the publick diversions of the theatre, in the room of Caius, ever complemented with the acclamations of the people, wishing all happiness to him,*

8. *But notwithstanding he met with a great deal of contumelious usage too. For if he came late in at any time to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time, before he could get a place at table. And as oft as he took a nap after meat, which was a usual thing with him, the company used to pelt him with olive stones and dates. And drolls that attended, would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a whip. And sometimes they would put shoes upon his hands, as he lay snoring, that he might upon his waking, rub his face with them.*

9. *But he was not only exposed to contempt, but considerable danger too, first, in his consulship, for having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statues of Caius's brothers, Nero and Drusus, he had like to have been turn'd out of his office of consul ; and afterwards he was continually plagued with informations against him by one or other, even of his own domesticks sometimes. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gæulicus was discovered, being sent with some other deputies into Germany, to congratulate the emperor upon it, he was in danger of his life. Caius being in a mighty chafe, and expressing his resentment, that his uncle should be sent to him, as if he was a boy that wanted a governor ; and some authors say, that*

rent, præcipitatum quoque in flumen, sicut vestitus advenerat. Atque ex eo nunquam non in senatu novissimus consularium sententiam dixit, ignominie causa post omnes interrogatus. Etiam cognitio falsi testamenti recepta est, in quo & ipse signaverat. Postremo etiam festertium octogies pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere, ad eas rei familiaris angustias decidit, ut cum obligatam ærario fidem liberare non posset, in vacuum lege prædatoria venalis pependerit sub edicto præfectorum.

10. Per hæc acta talia, maxima ætatis parte transacta, quinquagesimo anno Imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. Exclusus inter cæteros ab insidiatoribus Caji, cum quasi secretum eo desiderante turbam submoverent, in diætam, cui nomen est Hermaeum, recesserat. Neque multo post rumore cædis exterritus, prorepit ad solarium proximum: interque prætentata foritus vela se abdidit: latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles animadversis pedibus e studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, agnovit, extracitumque, & præ metu ad genua sibi accidentem, IMPERATOREM salutavit. Hinc ad alios commilitones fluctuantes, nec quidquam adhuc quam fientes perduxit. Ab his lecticæ impositus, & quia servi diffugerant, vicissim succollantibus, in castra delatus est, tristis ac trepidus, miserante obvia turba, quasi ad pœnam raperetur infons. Receptus intra vallum, inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia. Nam consules cum senatu & cohortibus urbanis Forum Capitoliumque occupa-

he was thrown into a river in his travelling habit, just as he came. And ever after that time, he spoke in the senate always the last of all the consular gentlemen, being called upon after the rest on purpose to disgrace him. An indictment too for forging a will was allowed to be prosecuted, tho' he had sign'd it as a witness. At last being obliged to pay eight millions of sesterces for his entrance upon a new office of priesthood conferred upon him, he was reduced to those difficulties, for want of ability to discharge his obligation to the treasury, that his whole estate, according to the law in that case provided, was exposed to sale by an edict of the commissioners.

10. Having spent the greatest part of his life under these or the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age, by a very surprizing turn of affairs. Being amongst others not suffered by the conspirators to come near the emperor, under pretence of his desiring to be private, he retired into an apartment called the Hermaeum: and soon after being affrighted with the rumour of his being slain, he crept into a balcony close by it, and hid himself behind the hangings of the door. As he stood there, a common soldier, that came by chance that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, knew him, and pulled him out, in a great fright, falling at his feet; and saluted him by the title of Emperor. After this, he brought him out to his fellow-soldiers, all in great rage and uncertainty what to do. They put him in a chair, and because the slaves of the palace were all run away, took their turns of carrying him, and brought him into the camp, very melancholy, and in great consternation; the people that met him lamenting his case, as if the poor innocent was carrying away to execution. Being received within the ramparts he continued all night with the watch, pretty well recovered from his fright, but in no great hopes of the succession. For the consuls with the senate and city battalions, had possessed themselves of the
ruir,

June, asserturi communem libertatem: accersitque & ipse per Tribunalum pleb. in curiam ad suadenda quæ viderentur, *vi se & necessitate teneri* respondit. Verum postero die, senatu seigniore in exsequendis contatibus, per tædium ac diffusionem diversa censentium, & multitudine quæ circumstabat, unum rectorem jam & nominatim exposcente, armatos pro concione jurare in nomen suum passus est: promissitque singulis quinquagena HS. primus Cæsarum fidem militis etiam præmio pignicatus.

II. Imperio stabilito, nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de morando Reip. statum hæsitatum erat, memoria eximere. Omnium itaque factorum dierumque in eo venam & oblivionem in perpetuum sanxit, ac præstitit: tribunis modo ac centurionibus paucis & conjuratorum in Cæsum numero interemtis, exempli simul causa, & quod suam quoque cædem deposuisse cognoverat. Conversus hinc ad officia pietatis, iurjurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam **PER AUGUSTUM.** Avie Livie divinos honores, & Circensi pompa currum elephantorum Augustino similem decernendum curavit. Parentibus inferias publicas: & hoc amplius, patri Circenses annuos natali die, matri carpentum quod per Circum duceretur, & cognomen Augustæ, ab avia recusatum. Ad fratris memoriam per omnem occasionem celebratam, comœdiam quoque Græcam Neapolitano certamine docuit, ac de sententia judicum coronavit. Ne Marcum quidem Antoni-

Portum, and the Capitol, with a resolution to reclaim the publick liberty: and he being sent for too by a tribune of the commons to the house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs; he return'd answer, that he was under constraint, and could not possibly come. But the day after, the senate being very slack in the execution of their project, by reason of the great divisions amongst themselves, and the insolence of the mob, who insisted upon a single person, and Claudius by name; he suffered the soldiers to assemble under arms, and take the oath of fidelity to him: and promised them fifteen thousand sesterces a man, being the first of the Cæsars that purchased the faith of the soldiers with money.

II. After he had thus secured the government to himself, his first concern was to abolish all remembrance of that two days time, wherein a change of the government, had been debated. Accordingly he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time, and kept it too, except only that he put to death a few tribunes and centurions concerned in the conspiracy against Cæsar, for example sake, and because he understood they were for killing him too. And now he began to think of paying his respect to the memory of his relations. His most solemn and usual oath was, by Augustus. He prevailed with the senate to decree divine honours to his grand-mother Livia, and a chariot in the Circensian procession drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Augustus, and publick offerings to the ghosts of his parents, and besides for his father, Circensian games to be celebrated every year upon his birth-day, for his mother a chariot to be drawn through the Circus, and the title of Augusta, which had been refused by his grand-mother. And in memory of his brother, which he shewed a great regard to upon all occasions, he ordered a greek comedy of his own to be added to the games at Naples, and received the honour of a crown upon it, by the sentence of the judges in that

b m

um inhonoratum, ac sine grata mentione transmissit: testatus quondam per edictum Tanto impensis petere se ut natalem patris Drusi celebrarent, quod idem esset & avi sui Antonii. Tiberio mar-morem arcum juxta Pompe-ji theatrum, decretum quidem olim à senatu, verum omis-sum, peregit. Caij quoque essi acta omnia rescidit, di-em tamen necis, quamvis exordium principatus sui, ve-nit inter festos referri.

11. At in semet augen-do parvus atque civilis, præ-nomine Imperatoris abstinuit, nimios honores recusavit, sponsalia filiae natalemque geniti nepotis silentio, ac tantum domestica religione, transiegit. Neminem exsul-um, nisi ex senatus auctori-tate, restituit: ut sibi in curiam præfectum Prætorii, tribunosque militum secum inducere liceret, utque rata essent quæ procuratores sui in judicando statuerent, pre-cario exegit. Jus nundina-rum in privata prædia à con-sulibus petiit: cognitionibus magistratum, ut unus è con-siliariis frequenter intertuit. Eosdem spectacula edentes, surgens & ipse cum cætera turba, voce ac manu venera-rus est. Tribunis pleb. adven-tibus se pro tribunali excusa-vit, quod propter angustias non posset audire eos nisi stantes. Quare in brevi spa-tio tantum amoris favorisq; collegit, ut cum profectum eum Ostiam periisse ex in-fidiis nuntiatum esset, magna consternatione populus, & militem quasi proditorem, & senatum quasi parricidam, diris execrationibus incessere non ante destiterit, quam unus atque alter, & mox plures a

solemnity. Nor did he omit to make an honourable and grateful mention of M. Anthony, declaring by a proclama-tion, That he the more earnestly in-sisted upon the observation of his father Drusus's birth-day, because it was likewise that of his grand-father Anthony. He finish'd the marble arch nigh Pompey's theatre, that had formerly been decreed by the senate in honour of Tiberius, but neglected. And tho' he cancelled all the acts of Caius, yet he forbade the day of his death, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the empire, to be reckoned amongst the festivals.

12. But with respect to his own dig-nity, he was sparing and modest, declin-ing the title of emperor, and refusing all excessive honours. He celebrated the wedding of his daughter, and the birth-day of a grandson, with great privacy, at home. He recalled none of those that had been banished, without a decree of the senate for it: and requested of them the favour, to bring into the house with him, the commander of the guards, and a few military tribunes; as also, that they would be pleased to bestow upon his procurators, a judicial authority in the provinces. He begged too of the consuls the privilege of holding fairs upon his private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they pre-sented the people with any publick diver-sions, would rise up to them with the rest of the people, and pay his respects to them both by words and gestures. And when the tribunes of the commons came to wait upon him as he was on the bench, he begged to be excused, if he desired them to speak to him standing, because other-wise he could not hear them, by reason of the crowd. By this means, in a short time, he wrought himself so much into the favour and affection of the people, that when, upon his going to Ostia, news was brought to town, that he had been way-laid and slain, they never ceased cursing the soldiers for traitors, and the senate as parricides, till one or two, and presently after several others, were brought by the magistrates upon the ro-magil.

magistratibus in Rostra producti, saluum & appropinquare confirmarent.

13. Nec tamen expers insidiarum usquequaque permansit, sed & à singulis, & per factionem, & denique civili bello infestatus est. E plebe homo nocte media juxta cubiculum ejus cum pugione deprehensus est: reperti & equestris ordinis duo in publico cum dolone ac venatorio cultro præstolantes, alter ut egressum theatro, alter ut sacrificantem apud Martis ædem adoriretur. Conspiraverant autem ad res novas Gallus Asinius & Statilius Corvinus, Pollionis ac Messalæ oratorum nepotes, assumptis compluribus libertis ipsius atque servis. Bellum civile movit Furius Camillus Scribonianus Dalmatice legatus: verum intra quintum diem oppressus est, legionibus quæ sacramentum mutaverant, in poenitentiam religione conversis, postquam denunciato ad novum Imperatorem itinere, casu quodam, an divinitus, neque aquilæ ornari, neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt.

14. Consulatus super prætium quatuor gessit: ex quibus duos primos junctim: sequentes per intervallum, quarto quemque anno: semestrem novissimum: bimestres cæteros; tertium autem, novo circa principem exemplo, in locum demortui successit. Jus & consul & extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus solennibus, nonnunquam festis quoque antiquitus, & religiosis. Nec semper præscripta legum securus, duriciam lenitateve multarum, ex bono & æquo, perinde ut afficeretur, moderatus est. Nam &

stra, who assured them that he was alive, and not far from the town, upon his return home.

13. But notwithstanding he did not continue absolutely free from conspiracies against him, being attempted both by single persons, and several in conjunction, and at last by a civil war. An ordinary fellow was found with a poniard, nigh his chamber, at midnight. Two gentlemen likewise of the equestrian order, were discovered waiting for him, in the streets armed with a truck and a huntsman's dagger: the one designing to attack him as he came out of the theatre; and the other, as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Likewise Gallus Asinius, and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, form'd a design against him, wherein they engaged a great many of his freed men and slaves. Purius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, raised a civil war against him, but was reduced in five days time; the legions which had been drawn in to the rebellion by him, changing their minds again, upon a fright occasioned by ill omens. For when orders were given them to march, to meet their new emperor, the eagles could not be dressed, nor the other standards pull'd out of the ground, whether it was by accident, or a divine interposition.

14. Besides his former consulship, he bore four more; of which he held the two first successively: but the following, after an interval of four years each, the last for six months, the rest for two, and his third, upon being chose in the room of a consul that died, which had never been done by any of the emperors before him. But whether he was consul or not, he gave a very constant attendance in the courts for the administration of justice, even upon such days as were solemnly observed as days of rejoycing in his family, or by his friends; and sometimes upon the publick festivals of ancient institution, or unlucky days. Nor did he always keep strictly to the letter of the laws, but over-ruled the rigour or lenity of many, according to justice

illis qui apud privatos iudices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones: & in maiore fraude convictos, legitimam poenam supergressus, ad bestias condemnavit.

to such as were convicted of any great villany, he would exceed the punishment appointed by law, and condemn them to be exposed to wild beasts.

15. In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo, mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspiciendus & sagax, modo inconsultus ac præceps: nonnunquam frivolus amentique similis. Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret, eum qui dissimulata vacatione quam beneficio liberorum habebat, responderat, ut cupidum iudicandi dimisit: alium interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite, negantemque cognitionis rem, sed ordinarii juris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam æquus iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset. Foemillam non agnoscens filium suum, dubia utrimque argumentorum fide, ad confessionem compulit, indicto matrimonio juvenis. Absentibus secundum præsentem facillime dabat, nullo delectu, culpa ne quis an aliqua necessitate cessasset. Proclamante quodam, præcidendas falsario manus, carnificem statim accin cum machæra mensaque lanionia flagitavit. Peregrinitatis reum, orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret, quasi æquitatem integram ostentans, mutare habitum sæpius, & prout accusaretur defendereturve, iussit. De quodam etiam negotio ita ex tabella pronuntiasse creditur, **SECUNDUM EOS SE SENTIRE QUI VERA PROPOSUISSENT.** Propter quæ usque eo evitavit

and equity as he was affected. For when persons lost their suits, by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due, before the judges of private causes, he granted them the favour of bringing the matter over again. And with respect

15. But in the hearing and determining of Causes, he shewed a strange variety of humour, being one while circumspect and exact, another while inconsiderable and rash, and sometimes silly, and like one out of his wits. In cancelling the names of persons upon the judges list, he struck off one, who concealing the privilege he had by his children, to be excused from that service, had answered to his name, as too fond of the office. Another that was summoned before the emperor upon a cause of his own, but alledged that the matter did not properly belong to his cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he order'd to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and thereby give a specimen in a business of his own, how fair a judge he would be in that of other peoples. A woman refusing to own her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by joining her to marry the young man. He was very inclinable to determine causes in favour of the party that appeared against such as did not, without any regard, whether their absence was occasioned by their own fault, or real necessity. And on proclamation of a man's being convicted of forgery, that he ought to have his hands cut off, he insisted thereupon that an executioner should be immediately sent for with a sword and a butcher's block. And one being prosecuted for falsely assuming to himself the freedom of Rome, and a dispute arising betwixt the advocates in the cause, whether he ought to make his defence in the Roman or the Grecian dress, to shew his great impartiality, he commanded him to change his cloaths several times, according as he was accused or defended. It is a story told of him, and believed too, that he did in a certain cause deliver his sentence which

ut passim ac propalam contemptui esset. Excusans quidam testem e provincia ab eo vocatum, negavit præsto esse posse: Dissimulara din causa, ac post longas demum interrogationes, mortuus est, inquit, Puteoli. Alius gratias agens, quod reum defendi pateretur, adjecit; *Et tamen fieri solet.* Illud quoque a majoribus natu audiebam, adeo caudicos patientia ejus solitos abuti, ut deicendentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed & lacinia togæ retenta, interdum pede apprehenso retinerent, Ac ne cui hæc mira sine, litigatori Græculo vox in altercatione excidit, *ἡ τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνέχουσι.* Equitem quidem Romanum obsecratis in feminas reum, sed falso, & ab impotentibus inimicis confecto crimine, satis constat, cum scorta meritoria citari adversus se, & audiri pro testimonio viderer, graphium & libellos, quos tenebat in manu, ita cum magna stultitiae & sævitiae exprobratione jecisse in faciem ejus, ut genam non leviter perfrinxerit.

against him, upbraided him in very severe language with his folly and cruelty, and then threw his style and some books he had in his hand full drive in the face of him, with that violence, that he gave him an ugly wound on the cheek.

16. Gessit & censuram intermissam diu post Paullum Plancumque censores: sed hanc quoque inæqualiter, varioque & animo & eventu. Recognitione equitum juvenem probri plenum, sed quem pater probatissimum sibi affirmabat, sine ignominia dimisit, habere dicens censorem suum. Alium corripulis adulterisq; famosum, nihil amplius quam monuit, ut aut parcius ætate indulgeret, aut certe cautius. Addiditque

he had in writing before him, in the following words, That he gave it for those that were in a right story. By such things as these, he lost himself to that degree in the opinion of the world, that he was every where and openly despised. One making an excuse for a witness he had sent for from the provinces, declared he could not possibly appear, and concealing his reason for some time, at last, after several querry's put to him about it, The man died lately, says he, at Puteoli. Another thanking him, for suffering a person that was prosecuted to make his defence by council, added, And yet it is no more than what is usual. I have heard likewise some old men say, that the pleaders in court used to abuse his patience so grossly, that they would not only call him back, as he was going off the bench, but would seize him by the lap of his coat, and sometimes catch him by the heels to make him stay. And that no one may think this strange, some sorry Greek that had a cause before him, in a warm debate that happened upon it, cried out to him, Thou art an old fellow, and a fool too. It's certain that a Roman knight who was falsely prosecuted by a malicious contrivance of his enemies as guilty of unnatural lewdness with women, observing that common strumpets were summoned and allowed to give evidence a-

very severe language with his folly and cruelty, and then threw his style and some books he had in his hand full drive in the face of him, with that violence, that he gave him an ugly wound on the cheek.

16. He likewise took upon him the office of Censor, which had been discontinued, since the time that Paullus and Plancus had enjoyed that honour together. But upon this occasion, again he behaved very unequally, and with a strange variety of humor and conduct. In his review of the gentlemen, allowed a war-horse by the pullock, he dismissed, without any mark of infamy, a scandalous young fellow, only because his father declared his approbation of his behaviour, saying, he had his own proper Censor; another that was infamous for the debauching of youth both male

Quare

Quare enim ego scio quam amicam habeas? Et cum orantibus familiaribus dempsisset cuidam appositam notam, Litura tamen inquit, exisset. Splendidum virum, Græciæq; provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo iudicium erasit, sed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumque quis posset, ac sine patrono, rationem vitæ passus est reddere, notavitque multos & quosdam inopinantes, & ex causa novi generis, quod se inscio ac sine commentu Italia excessissent: quendam vero, & quod comes, regis in provincia fuisset, referens, majorum temporibus, Rabirio Postumo, Ptolemæum Alexandriam, crediti servandi causa, secuto, majestatis crimen apud iudices motum. Plures notare conatus, magna inquisitorum negligentia, sed suo majore dedecore, innoxios fere reperit, quibuscumque coelibatum, aut orbitatem, aut egestatem objiceret, maritos, patres, opulentos se probantibus, eo quidem, qui sibi vim ferro intulisse arguebatur, illæsum corpus veste deposita ostentante. Fuerunt & illa in censura ejus notabilia, quod essedum arge eum sumptuose fabricatum ac vænale ad Sigillaria, redimi concidique coram imperavit: quodque uno die xx edicta proposuit, inter quæ duo, quorum altero admonebat ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur: altero, nihil æque facere ad vipere morsum quam taxi arboris succum.

the vintage was very plentiful, to have their casks well secured at the bung with pitch: And in another he told them, that nothing would sooner cure the bite of a viper, than the sap of the Ewe-tree.

and female, and adultery, he only admonished to indulge his youthful inclinations more sparingly, or however more cautiously; adding withal, why must I needs know what mistress you keep. And when, at the request of his friends, he had taken off a mark of infamy he had set upon one gentleman's name, let the blot however, said he, remain. He not only struck out of the list of the judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a gentleman of great figure, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin tongue. Nor did he suffer any one to give an account of his life by an advocate, but obliged each man to speak for himself, how meanly soever he was qualified for it. He disgraced many, and some that little expected it, and for a reason perfectly new, i. e. for going out of Italy without his knowledge and permission; and one too, only for having attended in his province upon a king, as his companion: observing, that, in former times, Rabirius Postumus had been prosecuted for treason, only upon the account of attending Ptolemy to Alexandria, to secure a debt. Several others that he attempted to disgrace, through the great negligence of the persons employed to enquire into people's characters; but, to his own greater shame, he found generally very innocent: those that he charged with living unmarried, want of children or estate, proving themselves to be husbands, parents, and rich. One too that was accused of an attempt made upon his own life by the sword, stript himself to let him see there was not the least mark of any such violence upon his body. The following things were remarkable enough in his censorship: He ordered a silver chaise that was very sumptuously wrought up, and exposed to sale at the Sigillaria, to be purchased and hew'd in pieces before his eyes. And publish'd twenty proclamations in one day; in one of which he advised the people, since

17. Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamque modicam, cum, decrevis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, leviorum majestate principali titulum arbitaretur, velletque justis triumphis decus, unde acquireret, Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque tentam ulli post Divum Julium, & tunc cumulantem ob non redditos transfugas. Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis pæne demersus est, prope Liguriam, juxtaque Stæchadas insulas. Quare a Massilia Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit: ac sine ullo prælio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulæ in deditonem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitque maximo apparatu. Ad cujus spectaculum commeare in urbem non solum præsidibus provinciarum permisit, verum etiam exulibus quibusdam: atque inter hostilia spolia, navalem coronam fastigio Palatinæ domus juxta civicam fixit, trajecti & quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Currum ejus Messalina uxor carpento secuta est. Secuti & triumphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed cæteri pedibus & in prætexta: Crassus Frugi equo phalerato, & in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteraverat.

ted upon a horse finely attired, was the second time of his attaining

18. Urbis annuæque curam sollicitissime semper egit. Cum Æmiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit: ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba, auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit: ac positis ante se cum pecunia fideis, ad subveniendum hortatus est, repræsentaturus pro opera dignam

17. He undertook only one expedition, and that but of short continuance. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, he look'd upon as below the imperial grandeur, and was therefore resolv'd to have the honour of a complete triumph: For which purpose, he made choice of the province of Britain; which had never been attempted by any body since Julius Cæsar; and was then in an uproar, because the Romans would not return some deserters to them from that island. Accordingly he set sail from Ostia, but had like to have been sunk twice by that boisterous wind called Circius, upon the coast of Liguria, and near the islands called Stæchades. Wherefore making his way by land from Massilia to Gessoriacum, he went over from thence into Britain; and a part of the island submitting, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or blood-shed, he return'd in less than six months, from the time of his setting forward, to Rome again, and triumph'd in the most solemn manner; to the sight of which, he not only suffered some governors of provinces to come to town, but some that were in banishment too; and, amongst the spoils taken from the enemy, fixt upon the dome of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown, nigh the civic, which was there before, in token of his having pass'd, and, as it were, conquered the Ocean. Messalina his lady followed his chariot in a carpenum. Those too that had attained the honour of triumphal ornaments in the same war, came after in chariots, the rest on foot and clad in the robe used by the great officers of state. Crassus Frugi was mount'd in an embroidered robe, because that

18. He took especial care of the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire happening in the Æmiliana, that continued some time, he stay'd two nights in the diribitorium, and the soldiers and gladiators being not sufficient to master it, he summoned the commonalty by the magistrates out of all the streets in town, to their assistance; and placing baskets full of money before him, he encouraged them to do their utmost, declaring he would

cuique

cuique mercedem. Arestiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio Foro a turba, convitiisque ac simul fragminibus panis ira intratus, ut ægre nec nisi postico evadere in palatium valuerit; nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus. Nam & negotiatoribus certa lucra proposuit suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset: & naves mercaturæ causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit.

19. Pro conditione cuiusque civi vacationem legis Papia-Poppæ; Latino jus Quiritum; foeminis jus quatuor liberorum: quæ constituta hodie servantur.

20. Opera magna potius quam necessaria, quam multa perfecit: sed vel præcipua, aquæ ductum à Calo inchoatum, emissarium Fucini lacus, portumque Ostiensem: quamquam sciret ex his alterum ab Augusto precantibus assidue Maris negatum, alterum à D. Julio sæpius destinatum, ac propter difficultatem omissum. Claudiae aquæ gelidos & uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caruleo, alteri Curtio & Albudino nomen est; simulque rivum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit, divisitque in plurimos & ornatissimos lacus. Fucinum aggressus est non minus compendii spe quam gloriæ, cum quidam privato sumptu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi liceat agri concederentur. Per tria autem passuum millia partim effosso monte partim exciso, canalem absolvit ægre, & post undecim annos; quamvis continuis triginta homi-

immediately, upon the spot, reward every one of them according to their merit. In a dearth, occasioned by bad crops for some years together, he was stopp'd in the middle of the forum by the mob, and so pelted with foul language, and pieces of bread together, that it was with some difficulty he got at last, by a back-door, into the palace. And therefore, he used all possible means to bring provisions to town, even in the winter-season. He proposed to the merchants employed in that traffick, a sure and certain gain, by taking upon himself any loss that might befall them by sea; and, to such as built ships for that purpose, he granted great privileges, according to their several circumstances.

19. To a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the Papia-Poppæan law; to one that had only the privilege of Latium, the freedom of the city; and to women, the rights that by law belong'd to such as had

20. He executed several projects that were rather great than necessary: the principal were an aqua-duct, that was begun by Caius, a canal for the discharge of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia; altho he knew one of these had by Augustus been denyed the Romans, who were frequently addressing him about it; and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Cæsar, but dropp'd by reason of it's difficulty. He brought to town the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water, one of which is called Caruleus, and the other Curtius and Albudinus; as also the river of the new Anien in a stone canal, and disposed of them into a great many fine lakes. He attempted the Fucine lake, as much from the expectation of advantage, as the glory of the performance; since some offered to drain it, at their own expence, on condition they might have a grant of the land that would be left. He finish'd a canal of three miles in length, by partly cutting through, and partly levelling a mountain, but with a world of difficulty, thirty thousand men being constantly employed in that work for eleven years together. He

num

num millibus sine intermissione operantibus. Portum Ostiæ exstruxit, circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio, et ad introitum profundo jam solo mole objecta, quam quo stabilis fundaret, navem ante demersit, qua magnus obeliscus ex Ægypto fuerat advectus, congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrim in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent. Congiaria populo sæpius distribuit.

21. Spectacula quoque complura magnificaque edidit, non usitata modo, ac solitis locis, sed et commentitia, et ex antiquitate repetita, & ubi præterea nemo ante eum, Ludos dedicatione Pompejani theatri quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores ædes supplicasset, perque mediam caveam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis, descendisset. Fecit & sæculares, quasi anticipatos, ab Augusto, nec legitimo temporis reservatos: quamvis ipse in historiis suis prodar, intermissos eos Augustum multo post, diligentissime annorum ratione subducta, in ordinem redegisse. Quare vox præconis irrita est, invitantis more solenni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset: cum superessent qui adhuc spectaverant, & quidam histrionum producti olim, tunc quoque producerentur. Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit, nonnunquam interjecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero maximo marmoreis carceribus, auratisque metis, quæ utraque & topiina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis. Ac super quadrigarum certamina, Trojæ lulum exhibuit, & Africanas

form'd the harbour at Ostia, by carrying on to the right and left two vast works, with a bend into the sea, making a mole at the entrance in a deep water; to secure the foundation of which, he sunk the ship in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt, and upon, several piles built a very high tower, imitation of that of Pharos, to fix lights upon, for the direction of mariners in the night.

ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia sæpius distribuit.

21. He frequently gave largesses to the people, and entertained them with a great variety of publick diversions, not only such as were usual, and in the usual places; but some of new invention, and others revived from antiquity, and in places where no body had ever done any thing of that kind before. In the games he presented upon the opening of Pompey's theatre, that had been burnt, and was rebuilt by him, he presided upon a throne erected him in the Orchestra; having first paid his devotions in the upper part, and then coming down through the middle of the Cavea, whilst all the people kept their seats with profound silence. He likewise exhibited the secular games, under pretence of their having been anticipated by Augustus, and not reserved till their proper time; tho' he himself says in his history, That they had been neglected before Augustus, who had made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought them into their former order. And therefore the cryer was laugh'd at, when he came to invite people in the usual form, to games, which never any one had seen before, nor ever would; when many people were still living, that had seen them; and some of the players that had formerly acted upon the occasion, were now brought upon the stage again. He likewise frequently presented the Circersian games in the Vatican, sometimes with a hunting of wild beasts, after every five courses. He beautified the great Circus with marble barriers, and gilded goals, which before were of ordinary stone and wood, and assigned proper places for the

conficiente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis, ipsoque præfecto: præterea Thessalos equites, qui ferros tauros per spatia circi agunt, insilientque defessos, & ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Gladiatoria munera plurifariam ac multiplicia exhibuit. Anniversarium in castris prætorianis, sine venatione apparatusque, justum atque legitimum in Septis, ibidem extraordinarium & breve, dierumque paucorum, quodque appellare coepit *Sportulam*: quia primum datus edixerat, velut ad subitam conditamque cœnulam invitare se populum. Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo, voce digitisque numeraret: ac sæpe hortando rogandoque ad hilaritatem homines provocaret, dominos identidem appellans, immistis interdum frigidis & arceffitis jocis: Qualis est, cum Palumbum postulantibus datum se promissit, si captus esset. Illud quoque plane quantumvis salubriter & in tempore, cum essedario, pro quo quatuor filii deprecabantur, magno omnium favore indulset rudem, tabulam illico misit admonens populum, quantopere liberos suscipere deberet, quos videret & gladiatori præsidio gratiaque esse. Edidit & in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, & dedicationem Britanniarum regum, præfeditque paludatus. Quin & emissurus Fucinum lacum, naumachiam ante commisit. Sed cum proclamantibus naumachiariis, *Ave Imperator, morituri te saluant, respondisset, Ave te vos: neque post hanc*

senators, who were used before to sit promiscuously with other people. Besides the chariot races, he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were encountered by a troop of the horse-guards, with Tribunes, and the commander in chief at the head of them; besides Thessalian horse that drive mad bulls round the Circus, and jump upon the backs of them when they are tired, and pull them down by the horns to the ground. He gave shows of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds: An anniversary one in the prætorian camp; but without any hunting, or the usual apparatus; another, as usual, in the Septa; and in the same place, another out of the common way, and of a few days continuance only, which he called *Sportula*; because when he was a going to present it, he told the people by proclamation, that he invited them as it were to a hasty snack. Nor was he in any kind of publick diversion more free or merry, insomuch that he would, with the common people, hold out his left hand, and count upon his fingers aloud, the gold pieces presented to such as came off conquerors; and would invite the company by earnest exhortations and entreaties, to be merry: Now and then calling them his masters, with a mixture of insipid, far-fetch'd jests; as that was, when, the people calling for Palambus (a gladiator) he said, he would give them one when it was caught; and this too, tho' well intended and well timed, when having, with great applause, discharged an *Essedarian*, upon the intercession of his four sons, he sent a billet immediately round the theatre, to put the people in mind, how much it concerned them to have children, since they had before them an instance, how useful they had been to procure favour and security for a gladiator. He likewise represented in the field of Mars, the taking and sacking of a town, as also the surrender of the British kings, and presided in his general's cloak. And just before he discharged the Fucine lake, he exhibited a sea-fight upon it. But those on board the fleets crying out, *Health attend* vocem,

vocem, quasi venia data, quisquam dimicare vellet, diu cunctatus, an omnes igni ferroque absumeret, tandem è sede sua prosiluit: ac per ambitum lacus, non sine foeda vacillatione, discurrens, partim minando, partim adhortando, ad pugnam compulit. Hoc spectaculo classis Siculae & Rhodia concurrerunt, duodenarum triremium singulae, eximente buccina Tritone argenteo, qui è medio lacu per machinam emerferat.

22. Quædam circa ceremonias, civilemque & militarem morum, item circa omnium ordinum statum; domi forisque, aut corripuit, aut exoleta revocavit, aut etiam nova instituit. In cooptandis per collegia Sacerdotibus, neminem nisi juratus nominavit: observavitque sedulo, ut quoties terra in urbe movisset, ferias advocata concione Prætor indiceret: utque dira avi in turba aut in Capitolio visa, obsecratio haberetur, eamque ipse jure Max. Pont. communito pro Rostribus populo, præiret, submotaque operariorum fervorumque turba.

rostra, he repeated before them for them to join in; all ordinary mechanicks and slaves being first ordered to withdraw.

23. Rerum actum divitum antea in hibernos æstivosque menses conjunxit. Jurisdictionem de fidei commissis quotannis, & tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam in perpetuum, atque etiam per provincias potestatibus demandavit. Capiti Papiæ-Poppeæ legis, à Tiberio Cæsare, quasi sexagenarii generare non possent, addito, obrogavit. Sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a Coss. darentur, utque hi, quibus à magistratibus Provinciæ interdicerentur, ur-

you noble em peror, dying men salute you; and he replying, Health attend you too, they all refused to fight upon it, as if by that answer he had meant to excuse them. At which he was in some doubt with himself, whether he sh. d. not destroy them all by fire and sword: at last jumping from his seat, and running along the side of the lake, and reeling to a ridiculous degree, partly by fair Words, and partly by foul, he at last got them to engage. The two fleets were one of Sicily, and the other of Rhodes, consisting each of twelve ships of war of three banks of oars; and the charge was given by a silver Triton, raised by mechanism.

22. With respect to religion, the management of Affairs both civil and military, as also the condition of the several orders of the people at home and abroad, some usages he corrected, others that had been laid aside he revived, and some regulations he made entirely new. In choosing new priests into the several companies of them, he nominated none but upon oath: and he never failed as often as an earth-quake happened in the city, to summon the people together by the prætor, and appoint holidays for religious worship: and upon the sight of any ominous bird in the city or the Capitol, ordered a publick prayer to be put up, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high priest, after an exhortation to the people from the

23. And whereas the courts used to sit for the dispatch of business, only some months in the summer, and some in winter, he ordered them to sit the year round. The jurisdiction, in matters of trust, which used by special commission to be yearly granted to some certain magistrates, and in the city only, he granted once for all, and to the governours of provinces too. He likewise repeated a clause added to the Papiæ-Poppean law by Tiberius, as if men of sixty years of age were incapable of getting children. He ordered too that orphans should have guardians appointed them by the consuls; and that those

he quoque & Italia submo-
verentur. Ipse quosdam novo
exemplo relegavit, ut ultra la-
pidem tertium vetaret egre-
di ab urbe. De majore ne-
gotio acturus, in curia medi-
us inter Consulum fellas, tri-
bunitio subsellio sedebat.
Commeatus à Senatu peti so-
litos beneficii sui fecit.
license to travel out of Italy, which

24. Ornamenta consularia
etiam procuratoribus ducena-
riis indulgit. Senatoriam dig-
nitatem recusantibus, eque-
strem quoque ademit. Latus
clavum, quamvis initio affir-
masset non lecturum Senato-
rem, nisi civis Romano abne-
potem, etiam libertini filio
tribuit: sed sub conditione,
si prius ab equite Romano adop-
tatus esset. Ac sic quoque re-
prehensionem verens, etiam Ap-
pium Cæcum generis sui proauc-
torem, censorem libertinorum
fili in Senatum allegisse docu-
it: ignarus, temporibus Ap-
pii & deinceps aliquandiu
libertinos dictos, non ipsos
qui manumitterentur, sed in-
genuos ex his procreatos.
Collegio Quæstorum pro stru-
tura viarum gladiatorum
munus injunxit; detractaque
Ostiensis & Gallica provincia,
curam ærarii Saturni reddidit,
quam medio tempore præto-
res aut utique Prætura functi
sustinuerant. Triumphalia
ornamenta Silano filiz suæ
sponsæ nondum puberi dedit.
Majoribus vero natu, tam mul-
tis, tanque facile, ut epistola
communi legionum nomine
existenter, perentium, ut lega-
tis consularibus simul cum exer-
citu & triumphalia darentur,
ne causam belli quoquo modo
quererent. A. Plautio etiam
ovationem decrevit; ingres-
soque urbem obviam progres-
sus, & in Capitolium eunti &
inde rursus revertenti a-

*who were banished any province by the
president thereof, should be debarred com-
ing in the city, or any part of Italy.
He inflicted upon some a new sort of ba-
nishment, by forbidding them to stir
above three miles from Rome. When any
affair of importance came before the se-
nate, he used to sit betwixt the two con-
suls upon the tribune bench. He assum-
ed to himself the power of granting li-
cense before had belonged to the senate.*

24. He likewise granted the consular
ornaments to his procurators called Du-
cenarii. From such as refused the se-
natorian dignity, he took away the
equestrian too; tho' he had in the be-
ginning of his reign declared, he would
chuse no man into the senate, that was
not the great grand-son of a Roman se-
nator; yet he gave the *latus Clavus* to
the son of a freed-man; but upon con-
dition that he should be adopted by a
Roman knight: but being afraid the
world would censure him for it, he in-
formed the publick, that his great fore-
elder Appius Cæcus the censor, had cho-
sen the sons of freed-men into the se-
nate: for he was ignorant, it seems,
that in the times of Appius, and a
long while after, persons manumised,
were not called libertini, but their sons
that were free-born. Instead of the ex-
pence the quæstors were obliged to be at,
for the paving of the high ways, he or-
dered them to give the people a shew of
gladiators: and taking from them the
provinces of the Ostian and Gallick coast.
he restored to them the charge of the
treasury, which since the time it was
taken from them, had been managed by
the prætors, or those that had been so.
He gave the triumphal ornaments to
Silanus contracted to his daughter, tho'
he was under age: but to elder people
in such numbers, and so easily, that he
was unanimously addressed by all the
legions to grant his consular lieutenants
the triumphal ornaments together with
their commissions, to prevent their en-
gaging in unnecessary wars. He gave
A. Plautius the honour of an Ovation,
and meeting him at his entering the town,
walked along with him into the Capitol
and back again: and allowed Gabinius
Chaucis,

tus texit. Gabinio Secundo, Chaucis, gente Germanica, superatis, Chaucius cognomen usurpare concessit.

25. Equestres militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem, alam, post alam, tribunatum legionis daret: stipendiaque instituit, & imaginariæ militiæ genus, quod vocatur *Super numerum*, quo absentes, & titulo tenus fungerentur. Milites domos senatorias salutandi causa ingredi, etiam patrum decreto prohibuit. Libertinos, qui se pro equitibus Romanis agerent, publicavit. Ingratos & de quibus patroni quererentur, revocavit in servitutem; advocatque eorum negavit se adversus liberos ipsorum jus dicturum. Cum quidam ægra & affecta mancipia in insulam Æsculapii tedio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur, liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in ditionem domini, si convalescent: quod si quis necare quem mallet quam exponere, cædis crimine teneri. Viatores ne per Italiæ oppida, nisi aut pedibus, aut sella, aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto. Puteolis & Ostiæ singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit. Peregrinæ conditionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina, duntaxat gentilitia. Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in Campo Esquilino securi percussit. Provincias Achaïam & Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transfulerat, Senatui reddidit. Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit: Rhodiis ob poenitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Iliensibus, quasi Romanæ gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit: recitata veterè epistola Græca senatus po-

Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chaucis, a nation of Germany, to assume the Cognomen of Chaucius.

25. His management with regard to the promotion of gentlemen of the equestrian order in the army was this. After the command of a battalion, he granted that of the horse in a legion, and after that a tribune's commission. He raised too a sort of imaginary militia styled the supernumerarys, who were soldiers in name only, being not obliged so much as to be in the army, however they received pay. He procured an act of the Senate to prohibit all soldiers attending upon senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freed-men that presumed to take upon them the Equestrian dignity. Such of them as were ungrateful to their Patron, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their former condition of slavery: And declared to their advocates, that he would never give judgement against their freed-men, in any suit at law they might have with them, whatever. Some people having exposed their sick slaves, that were in a languishing condition, in the Island of Æsculapius, because of the tediousness of their cure; he declared all that were so exposed free for ever, never more to return to their former servitude, if they did recover. And that if any one chose rather to kill than expose a slave, in that case he should be liable to a prosecution for murder. He published a proclamation forbidding all travellers to pass through the Towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot, or in a litter or chair. He quartered a battalion of soldiers at Puteoli and another at Ostia, to be ready against the Casualties of fire. He forbid foreigners the use of Roman names, that is such as were appropriated to families. Such as falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome he beheaded in the field of Esquilie. He returned to the Senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had taken under his own care. He took from the Lycians their pulque

pulique Romani, Seleuco Regi amicitiam, & societatem ita demum pollicentis, si confanguineos suos Ilienſes ab omni onere immunes præſtiſſet. Judæos impulſore CHREſTO aſſidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Germanorum legatis in orchestra ſedere permiſit, ſimplicitate eorum & fiducia motus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animadvertiſſent Parthos & Armenios ſedentes in ſenatū, ad eadem loca ſponte tranſierant, nihilo deteriorem virtutem aut conditionem ſuam prædicantes. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, & tantum civibus ſub Auguſto interdictam, penitus abolevit. Contra, ſacra Eleuſinia etiam tranſferre ex Attica Romam conatus eſt. Templum quoque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinæ vetuſtate collapſum, ut ex ærario Populi Romani reſiceretur, auctor fuit. Cum regibus fœdus in foro icit, porca caſa, ac vetere ſecialium præſatione adhibita. Sed & hæc & cætera, totumque adeo ex parte magna principatum, non tam ſuo, quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio, adminiſtravit: talis ubique plerumque, qualem eſſe cum aut expediret illis aut liberet.

of a ſow, and the form of words uſed by the Heralds in former times. But in theſe and other things and indeed the main of his adminiſtration, he acted not ſo much by himſelf, as by the influence of his wives and freed-men, being for the moſt part ſuch, as was moſt agreeable to their intereſt and humour he ſhould be.

26. Sponſas admodum adoleſcens duas habuit: Æmiliam Lepidam, Auguſti proneptem: item Liviam Medullinam, cui & cognomen Camillæ erat, e genere antiquo Dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes ejus Auguſtum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit. Poſte-

Liberties to puniſh them for their deadly animoſities amongſt themſelves. But reſtored the Rhodians theirs, upon their repentance for former miſdemours. He diſcharged from the payment of all taxes for ever, the Ilienſians, as being the founders of the Roman people: reciting upon the occaſion a letter in greek of the Senate and people of Rome to King Seleucus, wherein they promiſed him their friendſhip and Alliance, provided he granted their kiſsmen the Ilienſians an immunity from all burthens whaſoever. He baniſhed the Jews out of Rome, that were perpetually making diſturbances at the inſigation of one Chreſtus. He allowed the Embaſſadors of the Germans to ſit to ſee the publick diſverſion in the ſeats aſſigned the ſenators, being moved thereto by their frankneſs and aſſurance, for having been ſeated amongſt the common people, upon obſerving the Embaſſadors from Parthia and Armenia ſitting with the ſenators, they went over to them, as being in ways inferiour to them they ſaid, in point of merit or quality. The ſavage religion of the Druids, which had been only forbid the Romans in Auguſtus's reign, he utterly aboliſhed. On the other hand, he endeavoured to tranſfer the Eleuſinian mysteries from Attica to Rome: He likewiſe took care to have the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which was old and in a ruinous condition, repaired at the charge of the treaſury. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the forum, with the ſacrifice

26. He was contracted to two ladys very young, Æmilια Lepida, the great-grand-daughter of Auguſtus, and Livia Medullina, who had the Cognomen of Camilla, and was deſcended from the old Dictator Camillus. The former he turn'd off untouched, becauſe her parents had fallen under the diſpleaſure of Auguſtus: And the latter dyed upon the very day deſigned for their Nuptiorem

riorem, ipso die qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valetudine amisit. Uxores deinde duxit Plautiam Urgulanillam, triumphali, & mox Æliam Petinam, consulari patre. Cum utraque divortium fecit: sed cum Petina, ex levibus offensis: cum Urgulanilla, ob libidinum probra & homicidii suspicionem. Post has Valeriam Messalinam, Barbari Messalæ consobriini sui filiam in matrimonium accepit. Quam cum comperisset, super cætera flagitia atque dedecora, C. Silius etiam nupsisse, dote inter auspices consignata, supplicio affecit: confirmavitque pro concione apud Pretorianos, *Quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent, permansurum se in cælibatu: ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum se confodi manibus ipsorum.* Nec durare valuit, quin de conditionibus continuo tractaret, etiam de Petinæ, quam olim exegerat, deque Lollia Paulinæ, quæ C. Cæsari nupta fuerat. Verum illecebris Agrippinæ, Germanici fratris sui filia, per jus oculi & blanditiarum occasiones pelleretur in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu qui censeret cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi Reipublicæ maxime interesset: dandamque cæteris veniam talium conjugiorum, quæ ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die, confecit nuptias non repertis qui sequerentur: exemplum, excepto libertinor quodam, & altero primipilari, cuius officium nuptiarum & ipsecum Agrippina celebravit.

27. Liberos ex tribus uxoribus tulit: ex Urgulanilla Drusum & Claudiam: ex Petina Antoniam: ex Messalina Octaviam, & quem primo Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit. Drusum

et al. After that he married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had had the honour of a triumph, and soon after Ælia Petina the daughter of a consular gentleman, but divorced them both, Petina upon some frivolous occasions of offence, and Urgulanilla for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murder. After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina the daughter of Barbatus Messala his cousin. But finding besides her other scandalous debaucheries, that she had married C. Silius, the writing relating to her fortune being formally signed as usual in the presence of the auspices, he put her to death: And summoning his guards together, declared to them, that since he was so unhappy in his marriages, he was resolved to continue a widower; and if he did not, would give them leave to stab him. But he was not able to hold this resolution for immediately he began to think of another wife, and of taking Petina again, whom he had formerly divorced, as also Lollia Paulina, who had been married to Caius Cesar. But being ensnared by the arts of Agrippina, his brother Germanicus's daughter, upon occasion of that freedom of kissing and toying which their near relation allowed of, he under-hand procured one to declare, at the next meeting of the senate, as his opinion, that the emperor ought to be forced to marry her, as a thing that would be highly conducive to the publick good: and that all others ought to be allowed the liberty of such matches, which till that time had been looked upon as incestuous. In less than an entire day after this, he married her. However, there were none found to follow the example, but a freed-man, and a centurion of the first rank, at the solemnizing of whose nuptials, both he and Agrippina gave their attendance.

27. He had children by three wives, by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia; by Petina, Antonia; and by Messalina, Octavia, and a son, whom at first he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannicus. He lost Drusus, while a minor, at Pompeii, being choked with a pear, Pompeii

Pompeius impuberem amisit, pyro per Iulium in sublime iactato, & hiatu oris excepto strangulatum: cui & ante paucos dies filiam Sejani desponsidisset. Quo magis miror fuisse qui traderent, fraude a Sejano necatum. Claudiam ex liberto suo Botere conceptam, quamvis ante quintum mensem divortii natam, aliquo conceptam, exponi tamen ad matris januam, & nudam iussit abjici. Antoniam Cn. Pompeio magno, deinde Faustulo Syllae, nobilissimis juvenibus, Octaviam Neroni privigno suo collocavit, Silano autem desponsatam. Britannicum vigesimo imperii die, inque secundo consulari natum filii, parvulum etiam tum, & militibus pro concione manibus suis gestans, & plebi per spectacula gremio, aut ante se retinens, assidue commendatar, faustisque omnibus cum acclamantium turba prosequabatur. E generis Neronem adoptavit: Pompeium atque Silanum non recusavit modo, sed & interemit.

28. Libertorum praecipue suspexit Posidem spadonem, quem etiam Britannico triumpho inter militares viros hasta pura donavit. Nec minus Felicem, quem cohortibus & alis, Provinciaeque Judaeae praeposuit, trium reginarum maritum. Et Harpocram, cui lectica per urbem vehendi, spectaculaque publice eundi jus tribuit. Ac super hos Polybium a studiis, qui saepe inter duos Coss. ambulabat. Sed ante omnes, Narcissum ab epistolis, & Pallanitem a rationibus: quos decreto quoque senatus non praemiis modo ingentibus, sed & quaestorius praetorisque ornamentis ornari libenter passus est: tantum praeterea ac-

which in play he tossed up into the air, and caught upon its descent in his mouth. He had but a few days before concluded a match betwixt him and one of Sejanus's daughters; for which reason, I wonder some authors should pretend to say, that he lost his life by the treachery of Sejanus. Claudia, who was indeed the daughter of Boter his freed-man, tho' she was born five months before his divorcing her mother, he ordered to be thrown naked at her door. He married Antonia to Cn. Pompey the great, afterwards to Faustus Sylla, both of very noble parentage: Octavia to his step-son Nero, after she had been first contracted to Silanus. Britannicus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his second consulship. He would oftentimes hold him in his arms, and recommend him to the favour of the soldiers, and to the common people too in the theatre, setting him on his lap, or before him, whilst he was as yet but very little, and would join in their good wishes and acclamations in his behalf. Of his sons in law he adopted Nero: he not only cast off Pompey and Silanus, but put them to death.

28. The greatest favourite amongst his freed-men, was the Eunuch Posides, whom, in his British triumph, he presented with the hasta pura, amongst several others of the army. Next to him in favour was Felix, whom he not only dignified with a command both of foot and horse in the troops, but made governor of Judaea too; so that he came to be the husband of three queens. Harpocras was another favourite, to whom he granted the right of using a chair in the city, and of entertaining the people with publick diversions. Polybius another, who assisted him in his studies, and had often the honour to walk betwixt the two consuls. But above all others, Narcissus his secretary, and Pallas the comptroller of his household, were highly in favour with him. These he not only suffered to be honoured with immense presents, but with the quaestorian and quirens

quirere & rapere, ut, querente eo quondam de filii exiguitate, non absurde sit dictum, *Abundaturum, si à duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.* *lowness of his exchequer, it was very wittily said, it would be full enough, if those two freedmen of his would but take him into partnership with them.*

29. His, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non principem sed ministrum egit. Compendio cujusque horum, vel etiam studio ac libidine, honores, exercitus, impunitates, supplicia largitus est: & quidem insciens plerumque & ignarus. Ac ne sigillatim minima quæque enumerem, revocatas liberalitates ejus, judicia rescissa, suppositos aut etiam palam immutatos datorum officiorum edicillos, App. Silanum confocerum suum, Juliaque, alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici filiam, crimine incerto, nec defensione ulla data, occidit. Item Cn. Pompejum, majoris filiae virum, & L. Silanum minoris sponsum. Ex quibus Pompejus in concubitu dilecti adolescentuli confossus est. Silanus abdicare se prætura ante quartum Kal. Januariæ, morique initio anni coactus, die ipso Claudii & Agrippinæ nuptiarum. In quinque & triginta senatores, trecentosque amplius equites Rom. tanta facilitate animadvertit, ut de nece consularis viri renuntiante centurione, *Factum esse quod imperasset, negaret, quidquam se imperasse, nihilo minus rem comprobaret: affirmantibus libertis, officio milites functos, quod ad ultionem Imperatoris ultro procurrissent. Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis & ipse consignaverit: inductus, quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendum.*

Prætorian ornaments too, by a decree of the senate, and indulged them in so large a liberty of amassing treasure together, and plundering the publick, that upon his complaining once of the

29. Being entirely led by these his favourites and wives together, as I have already said, he was a man too more like than a prince: he disposed of offices, or the command of Armies, pardons or punished, according as it suited their interest, humour or fancy, and for the most part without perceiving or being sensible of what he did. And not to reckon up every little thing separately relating to the revoking his grants, the setting aside his judgements, the putting of false patents for offices upon him to sign, or the barefaced alteration of them after signing; he put to death App. Silanus his daughter's husband's father, and the two Julias the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any sufficient proof of the crimes charged upon them, or allowing them the liberty of making their defence. The same he did too by Cn. Pompey, his eldest daughter's husband, and L. Silanus that was contracted to the younger. Of which Pompey was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a young fellow he was fond of. Silanus was obliged to quit the office of prætor, upon the fourth of the Kalends of January, and to kill himself in the beginning of the year following, upon the very day of the wedding of Claudius and Agrippina. He sentenced to death five and thirty Senators, and above three hundred Roman Knights, with so little regard to what he did, that when a Centurion brought him word of the death of a consular Gentleman who was one of them, and told him that he had executed his order, he declared he had ordered no such thing, but approved of it however, because his freed-men, it seems, said the soldiers had but done their duty, in running of their own accord to revenge the

H h quo

que periculum quod imminere ipsi per quædam ostenta portendebatur.

should sign the writings relating to her fortune being drawn into it, it's said, by a pretence, that the whole affair was only a contrivance to divert and transfer upon another that danger, which from some ill-boding omens seemed to threaten himself.

30. Auctoritas dignitasque formæ non desuit vel stanti, vel sedenti, ac præcipue quiescenti. Nam & prolixo nec exili, corpore erat: & specie canitieque pulcra, opimis cervicibus. Cæterum & ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi, & remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant. Ritus indecens: ira rursus, spumante rictu, humentibus naribus: præterea linguæ titubantia, caputque cum semper, tum in quantulo-cumque actu vel maxime tremulum.

31. Valetudine sicut olim gravi, ita princeps perpropera usus est, excepto stomachi dolore. Quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.

32. Convivia agitavit & ampla & assidua, ac fere patetissimis locis, ut plerumque sexcenteni simul discumbent: Convivatus & super emissarium Fucini lacus, ac pæne submersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset. Adhibebat omni cœnæ & liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur. Convivæ, qui pridie scyphum aureum surripuisse existimabatur, revocato in diem posternum, calicem fictilem apposuit. Dicitur etiam meditaris edictum, quo veniam daret statum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi, cum periclitatum quendam præ pudore ex continentia reperisset.

Emperor of his enemies. But this is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the marriage of Messalina with Silius

should sign the writings relating to her fortune being drawn into it, it's said, by a pretence, that the whole affair was only a contrivance to divert and transfer upon another that danger, which from some ill-boding omens seemed to threaten himself.

30. He had a majestick and graceful appearance, either standing or sitting, and especially when he was asleep: for he was tall, but not slender. His grey locks became him very well, and he had a fat neck. But his limbs were feeble, and failed him in walking, and his action whether in mirth or business was very ungraceful. His laughter unbecoming, and his passion still more so; for then he would froth at the mouth, and his nose would drop. Beside he had a stammering in his speech, and a tremulous motion in his head, at all times, but especially when he was engaged in action tho' never so little.

31. Tho' in the former part of his life he had but a very crazy constitution, yet upon his advancement to the Empire he enjoy'd a good state of health, excepting only a pain at his stomach he was subject to: in a fit of which, he said, he had thoughts of killing himself.

32. He was very frequent and splendid in his entertainments, which he commonly made in places so very spacious, that he had usually six hundred guests at his table. Upon his feasting close by the cut made for draining the Fucine Lake, he had like to have been drowned, the water at it's discharge pouring out with that violence, that it flew over the Canal. He had always his own children with others of the nobility at supper with him who, according to an ancient custom, sat at the feet of the several couches. A guest of his that was believed to have stolen a gold cup, he invited again the day after, but served him with an Earthen jug. It's said too he designed to have published a proclamation, allowing to all people the liberty of breaking wind and f---g at Table, upon hearing of a person, whose modesty in that matter had like to have cost him his life

33. Cibi viniq; quocumque & tempore & loco appetentissimus. Cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro, idcircoque nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis aedificiis apparabatur, deserto tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes, unaque discubuit. Nec temere unquam triclinio abcessit, nisi distensus ac madens: & ut statim supino, ac per somnum hianti, pinna in os inderetur, ad exonerandum stomachum. Somni brevissimi erat. Nam ante mediam noctem plerumq; evigilabat, ut tamen interdum nonnunquam in jure dicendo obdormisceret, vixque ab advocatis de industria vocem augmentibus excitaretur. Libidinis in feminas profusissima, marium omnino expertus. Aleam studiosissime luit: de cujus arte librum quoq; emisit: solitus etiam in gestatione ludere, ita essedo alveoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur.

34. Sævum & sanguinarium natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. Tormenta questionum, poenaeque parricidarum representabat, exigebatque coram. Cum & spectare antiqui moris supplicium Tiburi concupisser, & deligatis ad palum noxiis carnifex deesset, accitum ab urbe vesperam usque opperiri perseveravit. Quocumque gladiatorio munere, vel suo, vel alieno, etiam forte prolapsos jugulari jubebat: maxime retiarios, ut expirantium facies videret. Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidisset, cultellos sibi parvulos ex utroque ferro in usum fieri sine mora jussit. Bestiariis meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut etiam prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet: & meridie, dimisso ad prandium

33. He would eat and drink very heartily at any time, or in any place. As he was sitting for the trial of Causes in the Forum of Augustus, upon smelling the dinner which was preparing for the Salii in the temple of Mars adjoining, he quitted the bench, and went to make one amongst them. He scarce ever left the table, till he was thoroughly crammed and drunk withall; after which he would immediately fall asleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open; whereupon a feather was put down his throat to make him disgorge again. He was no sound sleeper, usually awoke before midnight: but then he would sometimes sleep in the day time and upon the bench too; that the Advocates had much ado to awake him, tho' they exalted their voices on purpose for it. He was very lewd in his inclinations for the fair sex, but had nothing to do with males. He loved gaming, and published a book upon the subject; and was used to play as he rid in his chariot, having the tables so fixed thereto, that his game was not disturbed by the motion thereof.

34. The savage cruelty of his temper betrayed itself in many things both great and small. When any were to be put to the torture or punished for parricide, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed before his eyes. And when he was at Tibur, being very desirous of seeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, some were immediately tied to a stake for the purpose, but there being no executioner to be had in the place, he sent for one from Rome, and staid of his coming till night. In any show of Gladiator: either presented by himself or others, if any of the combatants, chanced to fall, he ordered them to be butchered; especially the Retiarii, that he might see the faces of them as they expired. Two Gladiators happening to kill one another, he ordered immediately some little knives to be made of their swords for his own use. He was much delighted with seeing men engage with

populo, perfederet : præterque destinatos, etiam levi subitaque de causa, quosdam committeret de fabricum quoque ac ministrorum, atque id genus numero, si αὐτῶν, vel pegma, vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset. Induxit & unum ex nomenclatoribus suis, sicut erat, togatum.

if a machine or any thing of that nature they had been employed in, about the Theatre, did not answer the purpose it was designed for. He likewise obliged one of his nomenclators to that cruel & rudgery, and in his toga too.

35. Sed nihil æque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. Primis imperii diebus, quamquam, ut diximus, jactator civilitatis, neque convivia inire ausus est, nisi ut spiculatorum cum lanceis circumstarent, militeq; vice ministrorum fungerentur : neq; ægrum quemquam visitavit nisi explorato prius cubiculo, culcitisque, & stragulis prætentatis, & excussis : reliquo autem tempore saluatoribus securatores semper apposuit, & quidem omnibus, & acerbissimos. Sero enim, ac vix remisit, ne scemine prætextatæque pueri & puellæ contrectarentur, & ne cuius comiti aut librario calamariæ aut graphariæ thecæ adimerentur : Mortu civili, cum eum Camillus non dubitans etiam citra bellum posse terreri, contumeliola & minaci & contumaci epistola cedere imperio juberet, vitamq; otiosam in privata re agere : dubitavit, adhibitis principibus viris, an obtemperaret.

36. Quosdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium tentaverit. Quodam, ut supra retuli, cum ferro circa sacrificanrem se deprenso, senatum per præcones propere convocavit, lacrymisque & vociferati-

wild beasts, and the combatants that perform their parts at noon, so that he would come to the Theatre by break of day, and at noon would dismiss the people to dinner, but continues sitting himself, and besides such as were appointed for that bloody work, he would match others with the beasts or one another, upon slight or sudden occasions, as the carpenters and their assistants,

35. But the infirmities most predominant in him were fear and distrust : In the beginning of his reign, tho' he much affected a lowly humble appearance as has been already remarked, yet he durst not venture himself at an entertainment without his guard of lances to attend him, and soldiers to wait upon him at table. Nor did he ever visit a sick person, till his chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined : and at other times, all persons whatever that came to pay their respects to him, were very strictly searched by officers appointed for that purpose. For it was a long time first, and with much ado, that he was prevailed upon to excuse women, boys and girls from the rude handling they underwent upon those occasions, or suffer their attendants or writing-masters to keep their cases for pens and stylers, which used to be taken from them. When Camillus entered upon his design against him, not doubting but he might be frighted out of his imperial dignity without a war, he writ him an abusive (sawcy) threatening letter, commanding him to resign the Government, and betake himself to a private life ; upon which he summoned together the principal men of the city, to advise with them, whether he should not comply.

36. He was so terribly alarm'd with the information given him, tho' without any sufficient foundation, of conspiracies formed against him, that he was for laying down the Government upon it. And when, as I have above related, one was discovered with a sword near his person, as he was at sacrifice,

one miseratus est conditionem suam, cui nihil tuti usquam esset: ac diu publico abstinuit. Messalinæ quoque amorem flagrantissimum, non tam indignitate contumeliarum, quam periculi metu abjeci, cum adultero Siliio acquiri imperium credidisset: quo tempore scdum in modum trepidus ad castra confugit, nihil tota via, quam *essetne sibi saluum imperium* requirens.

and a very shameful manner, to the Camp, asking all the way as he went, if his government was secure.

37. Nulla adeo suspicio, nullus auctor tam levis existit, à quo non, mediocri scrupulo injecto, ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur. Unus ex litigatoribus, seducto in salutatione affirmavit se vidisse per quietem, occidi eum à quodam: deinde paulo post, quasi percussorem agnosceret, libellum tradentem adversarium suum demonstravit: confestimque is pro deprehensio ad poenam raptus est. Pari modo oppressum ferunt App. Silanum: quem cum Messalina & Narcissus conspirassent perdere, divisis partibus, alter ante lucem similis attonito, patróni cubiculum irrumpit, affirmans somniasse se, vim ei ab Appio illatam: altera in admirationem formata, sibi quoque eandem speciem aliquot jam noctibus obversari reulit. Nec multo post ex composito irrumpere Appius nuntians, cui pridie ad id temporis ut adesset præceptum erat, quasi plane representaretur somni fides, accessi statim ac mori iussus est. Nec dubitavit postero die Claudius ordinem rei gestæ perferre ad senatum, ac liberto gratias agere, quod pro salute sua etiam dormiens excubaret.

he immediately summoned the senate together by the public cryers, and with tears, and a terrible howl lamented his condition, that could be secure nowhere; and for a long time after, he declined coming abroad. He withdrew his ardent passion for Messalina, not so much upon account of her lust and a-dominable behaviour towards him, as from an apprehension of danger, because he believed she had a design to make Silius her gallant Emperor, at which time he ran in a great fright,

37. The most trifling suspicion, let the person it came from be never so contemptible, always put him in a deadly fright, and was reason enough with him to proceed to punishment, as necessary to his own security. One that had a suit to come before him, at his waiting upon him, took him aside, and told him he dreamed he was murdered, and presently after when his adversary came to present his libel to the Emperor, as if he had discovered the murderer, he told him that was the man; whereupon, as if he had been seiz'd in the attempt, he was hurried away to execution. In the same manner they tell us App. Silanus was taken off, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus. The latter bolted into his lord's chamber before day, seemingly in a great fright, and told him he had dreamt Appius had murdered him. The impress upon that passing on a show of surprise, declared she had the like dream for some nights together. Presently after word being brought in, that Appius was come to court, who had received orders the day before, to be there at that time, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture; he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death. And the day following Claudius related the whole affair to the senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freed-man for watching even in his sleep for his security.

38. Iræ atque iracundia conscius sibi, utrumque excusavit edicto: distinxitque, pollicitus alteram quidem brevem & innoxiam, alteram non injustam fore. Ostiensibus, quia sibi subeunti Tiberim scaphas obvia non miserint, graviter correptis, eaque cum invidia, ut in ordinem se coactum conscriberet, repente tantum non satisfaciendi modo veniam dedit. Quosdam in publico parum tempestive ademptes manu sua repulit. Item scribam quaestorium, itemque prætura sanctum senatorem, inauditos & innoxios, relegavit: quod ille adversus privatum se intemperantius affuisset: hic, in ædilitate inquilinos prædiorum suorum contra vetitum cocta vendentes multasset, villicumque intervenientem flagellasset. Quade causa etiam coercionem popinarum ædilibus ademit. Ac ne stulticiam quidem suam retinuit, simulatamque a se ex industria sub Caio, quod aliter evasurus perventurusque ad susceptam stationem non fuerit, quibusdam orationibus testatus est. Nec ante persuasit, quam intra breve tempus liber editus sit, cui index erat *μωρὸν ἀνδραγῆς*, argumentum autem, *stulticiam* neminem fingere.

arrive at the station he was then in. However, he could never bring the world to believe him; for a short time after, a book was published under the title of, The resurrection of fools, the design of which was to shew that no body ever counterfeited folly.

39. Inter cætera in eo mirati sunt homines & oblivionem & inconsiderantiam; vel, ut Græce dicam, *μνηστικὴν καὶ ἀβελήαν*. Occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, cur domina non veniret, requisivit. Multos ex iis quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die & in

38. He was sensible of his being subject to passion and resentment, but excused himself therein by proclamation, assuring the publick, that the one should be short and harmless; and the other never without good cause. After he had very severely reprimanded the Ostiensians for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, and as if he had a mind to expose them to the resentment of the publick for it, writ word to Rome, that he had been treated by them like a private person; yet he immediately pardoned them, and in a way, that look'd like making them satisfaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people that address'd him unseasonably in publick, he push'd away with his own hand. He likewise banished one that had been secretary to a quaestor; and a senator, that had been prætor, unheard and innocent: the former, only because he had appeared with great heat in a cause against him, before he came to be emperor; and the other, because in his edileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling dressed victuals contrary to law; and ordered a bailiff of his that interposed in the affair, to be whipt. For which reason likewise, he took from the ædiles the jurisdiction they had over the victuallings-houses. He took notice of his own folly too, and declared in some short speeches he published, that he had only counterfeited himself a fool in the reign of Caius, because otherwise it would have been impossible to have escaped him, and ar-

39. Amongst other things, people admired in him his forgetfulness and want of thought; or, to express it in Greek, his *μνηστικὴν* and *ἀβελήαν*. Placing himself at table a little after he had put Messalina to death, he enquired why the empress came not? Many of those he had condemned to death, he ordered the day after to be invited to his table, and to game with him, and con-

convivium & ad aleæ lufam admoventi iuffit: & quafi morarentur, ut fomniculofos per nuntium increpuit. Ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem, non ceffavit omni ratione filiam & alumnam, & in gremio fuo natam, atque caucatam prædicare. Adfeiturus in nomen familiæ fuæ Neronem, quafi parum reprehenderetur, quod adulto jam filio privignum adoptaret, idemdem divulgavi, neminem unquam per adoptionem familiæ Claudie insertum.

40. Sermonis vero rerumque tantam sæpe negligentiam ostendit, ut nec quis, nec inter quos, quove tempore, ac loco verba faceret, fcire ac cogitare exiftimaretur. Cum de lanis ac vinariis ageretur, exclamavit in curia, *Rogo vos, quis potest sine offula vivere?* defcripsitque abundantiam veterum tabernarum, unde folitus effer vinum olim & ipfe peteret. De quaestore quodam candidato inter caufas fuffragationis fuæ pofuit, quod pater ejus frigidam egro fibi tempeftive dediffet. Inducta teftes in fenatu, *Hec, inquit, matris meæ liberta & ornatrix fuit: fed me patronum femper exiftimavit. Hoc ideo dixi, quod quidam sunt adhuc in domo mea, qui me patronum non putant. Sed & pro tribunali, Oftienfibusquidam publice orantibus, cum excaudiffet, Nihil habere ferociferatus eft, quare eos demeretur: fi quem alium & fe liberum effer. Nam illa ejus quotidiana, & plane omnium horarum & momentorum erant. Quid, ego tibi Theogonius videor, & ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ θῆγγας multaue talia etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo, neque indocto,*

sent to reprimand them as dreaming fellows, for making no more hafte. When he was about his inceftuous marriage with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her, his daughter, his nurfling, born and brought up upon his lap. And when he was a-going to adopt Nero, as if he was not fufficiently cenfured for adopting his fon in-law, when he had a fon of his own at man's estate, he now and then declared publicly, that no body had ever been taken by adoption into the Claudian family.

40. He frequently appeared fo careless in what he said, fo regardless of circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected or confidered who he himfelf was, or amongst whom, or at what time, or in what place he fpoke. Upon a debate in the fenate about the butchers and vintners, he cried out, I befeech you, who can live without a good bit now and then? And then recounted to them the great plenty of the old taverns, from whence he himfelf ufed formerly to have his wine. Amongst other reasons of his favouring with his intereft a certain gentleman that stood candidate for the quaestorship, this he gave for one, that his father had once feafonably given him a draught of cold water when he was fick. Upon bringing a woman as an evidence in fome caufe before the fenate, he expreffed himfelf in thefe words, This woman was my mother's freed-woman and drefler, but ſhe always looked upon me as her patron. And this I fay, becaufe there are fome ftill in my family that do not look upon me as fuch. The Oftienfians addreffing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and ſaid, That he had no reafon to oblige them, if any one elfe was free to do what he pleafed, furely he was. The following ſayings he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and feafons, What! do you take me for a Theogonius? And in Greek, Speak, but do not touch imo

imo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

much more of an emperor, that neither wanted eloquence nor learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences.

41. Historiam in adolescentia, hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio vero Flavo etiam adjuvante, scribere aggressus est. Et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, agre perlegit, refrigeratus sæpe a semetipso. Nam cum initio recitationi deficiatis compluribus subsellis, obesitate cujusdam, risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex intervallo subinde facti reminisceretur, cachinnosque revocaret. In principatu quoque & scripsit plurimum & assidue recitavit per lectorem. Initium autem sumpsit historiæ post eadem Cæsaris Dictatoris. Sed & transiit ad inferiora tempora, cepitque à pace civili: cum sentiret neque libere neque vere fide de superioribus tradendi potestatem relistam, correptus sæpe & à matre & ab avia. Prioris materiæ duo volumina, posterioris unum & quadraginta reliquit. Composuit & De vita sua octo volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter. Item Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asinii Galli libros, satis eruditam. Novas etiam commentus est literas tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit. De quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter obtinuit ut in usum quoque promiscuo essent. Exstat talis scriptura in plerisque libris, ac diurnis, titulisque operum.

42. Nec minore cura Græca studia secutus est, amorem præstantiamque linguæ occasione omni professus. Cuidam barbaro Græcæ & Latine differenti, Cum utroque, inquit, ser-

me; besides several other such sayings below the dignity of a private person.

41. By the encouragement of T. Livius, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavius, he undertook the writing of a history, and calling together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment about it, he read it over with much ado, being several times interrupted therein by himself. For as he set forward, a great laugh arising amongst the company, upon occasion of several benches breaking with the weight of a fat over grown fellow, after the bustle was over, he could not forbear bursting out now and then into a violent fit of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident. In his reign too he writ a great deal, which he constantly had rehearsed to his friends by a reader. He begun his history after the death of Cæsar the dictator: but afterwards he came lower down, and begun at the conclusion of the civil wars, because he found he could not speak his mind with freedom, and a due regard to truth, about the transactions of the time foregoing, having been frequently chid for his freedom, both by his mother and grand-mother. Upon the former subject, he left two books, but of the latter one and forty. He compiled too the history of his own life, in eight books, full of impertinence, but in no bad style; as also a defence of Cicero against the books of Asinius Gallus, that was learned enough. He invented likewise three new letters, and added them to the old ones, as highly necessary; concerning which he published a book, whilst he was as yet but a private person; and after his advancement to the empire, easily prevailed with the publick, for their admission to common use; and that sort of writing is still extant in a great many books, registers, and inscriptions upon buildings.

42. He likewise applied himself with no less care to the study of the Grecian literature, declaring his love of that language, and the excellency thereof upon all occasions. A certain stranger holding a discourse both in greek and

more nostro sis peritus. Et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, gratam sibi provinciam ait, communium studiorum commercio. Ac sæpe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit. Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus. Quoties quidem hostem vel insidiatorem ultus esset, excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti, non temere aliud dedit quam,
tribune upon the guard, when he
the word, any other but this,

Latin, he replied to him in these words, since you are skilled in both our tongues. And recommending Achaia to the favour of the senate, he told them, That he had a particular kindness for that province, upon account of their common studies. And he oftentimes harangued by way of answer to ambassadors for a long time together in that language before the senate. Upon the bench he frequently made use of the verses of Homer. As oft as he had revenged himself upon an enemy, or a conspirator, he scarce ever gave to the came to him according to custom for

Ανδρ' ἐπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπαίη.

Revenge is just against an Enemy.

Denique & Græcas scripsit historias, Τυρρηνικῶν XX. Καρχηδονικῶν VIII. Quorum causa veteri Alexandriæ Museo alterum additum ex ipsius nomine: institutumque ut quotannis in altero Τυρρηνικῶν libri, altero Καρχηδονικῶν diebus statutis, velut in auditorio, recitarentur toti à singulis per vices.

43. Sub exitu vitæ, signa quædam nec obscura poenitentis de matrimonio Agrippinæ, deque Neronis adoptione dederat. Siquidem commemorantibus libertis, ac laudantibus cognitionem, qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnauerat: sibi quoque in fatis esse iactavit omnia impudica, sed non impunita matrimonia. Et subinde obvium sibi Britannicum arctius complexus, hortatus est, ut cresceret, rationemque a se omnium factorum acciperet, Græca insuper voce prosecutus, ὁ τραῦς ἔσεται. Cumque impubi reneroque adhuc, quando statura permitteret, rogam dare de-

To conclude, he writ some histories too in greek, as twenty books of the Tuscan affairs, eight of the Carthaginian: upon account of which another Museum was added to the old one at Alexandria called by his name; and an order made, that upon certain days yearly, his Tuscan history should be read over in the one, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in an auditory, each of them by their several readers in turns.

43. About the latter end of his life, he gave some manifest indications of repenting his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freed-men taking notice of his having condemn'd the day before a woman accused of adultery, and applauding him for it, he said upon it, That it had been his misfortune to light upon wives that had all been unfaithful to his bed, but they would not all go unpunished. And now and then, when Britannicus came in his way, he would embrace him very tenderly, and express a desire that he might grow apace, and receive an account of all his actions from him. Using an expression in Greek to this sense he that has wounded will heal thee. And designing to give him the manly habit, whilst he was yet but
 I i stinasser,

stinasset, adjecit : ut tandem populus Romanus verum Cæsarem habeat.

44. Non multoque post testamentum etiam concripsit, ac signis omnium magistratum obsignavit. Prius igitur quam ultra progrediretur, preventus est ab Agrippina, quam præter hæc, conscientia quoque, nec minus delatores multorum criminum arguebant. Er veneno quidem occisum convenit: ubi autem & per quem dato, discrepat. Quidam tradunt, epulanti in arce cum sacerdotibus, per Halotum spadonem prægustatorem: alii, domestico convivio, per ipsam Agrippinam, quæ boletum medicatum avidissimo ciborum talium obtulerat. Etiam de subsequētibz diversa fama est. Multi statim hausto veneno obmutuisse aiunt, excruciatumque doloribus nocte tota, defecisse prope lucem. Nonnulli inter initia consopitum, deinde cibo affluente evomuisse omnia, repetitumque toxico, incertum pulvine addito, cum velut exhaustum refici cibo deberet, abundantia laboranti etiam hoc

45. Mors ejus celara est, donec circa successorem omnia ordinarentur. Itaque & quali pro ægro adhuc vota suscepta sunt, & inducti per simulationem comædi, qui velut desiderantem oblectarent. Excessit III Idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello, Acilio Aviola COSS. LXIV ætatis, imperii XIV anno. Funeratus est solemnī principum pompa, & in numerum dæorum relatus. Quem honorem, a Nerone destitutum abolitumque, recepit mox per Vespasianum.

46. Præfagia mortis ejus præcipua fuerunt, exortus crinitæ stellæ, quam cometen

a tender youth, and under age, because the forwardness of his stature would allow of it, he added, he did so, that the Roman people might have a true genuine Cæsar.

44. Not long after he made his will too, and had it signed by all the magistrates as witnesses. But before he went further, he was prevented by Agrippina, whom besides these alarms, her own guilty conscience, and several informers, charged with variety of crimes. It's agreed he was taken off by poison; but where and by whom given, is not agreed. Some authors say, it was given him as he was feasting with the priests in the Capitol, by the eunuch Halotus his aster. Others say by Agrippina at his own table in a mushroom, which was a sort of meat he was a great lover of. There are likewise different accounts given of what followed: some say he immediately became speechless upon it, was racked with pain all night long, and died about day. Some, that at first he fell into a sound sleep; and after some time his stomach heaving, he threw all up again, but had another doze given, whether in pulse under pretence of refreshment after his discharge, or in a clyster, as if designed to relieve nature overcharged, by that kind of evacuation, is uncertain.

an immisso per clysterem, ut quasi genere egestionis subveniretur.

45. His death was concealed, 'till all things were settled relating to his successor: accordingly vows were made for his recovery, and Comedians were brought to court to divert him, as was pretended, at his own desire. He died upon the third of the ides of October, in the consulship of Asinius Marcello and Acilius Aviola, in the sixty fourth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His funeral was celebrated with all the magnificence usual upon such an occasion, and he himself ranked amongst the Gods. Which honour was taken from him by Nero, but restored him by Vespasian.

46. The principal presages of his death, were the appearance of a comet, his father Drusus's monument being

VOCAM :

vocant: tactumque de coelo monimentum Drusi patris: & quod eodem anno ex omnium magistratum genere, plerique mortem obierant. Sed ipse nec ignorasse, aut dissimulasse ultima vite sue tempora videtur, aliquot quidem argumentis. Nam & cum COSS. designaret, neminem ultra mentem, quo obijt, designavit: & in senatu, cui novissime interfuit, multum ad concordiam liberos suos cohortatus, utriusque ætatem suppliciter patribus commendavit. Et in ultima cognitione pro tribunali, accessisse ad finem mortalitatis, quamquam abominantibus qui audiebant, semel atque iterum pronuntiavit.

struck with lightning, and the death of most of the magistrates of all denominations that year. And by several things it appears he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it. For when he nominated the consuls, he nominated none to fill that office beyond the month he died in. And at the last assembly of the senate he appeared in, he earnestly exhorted his two sons, to a good agreement betwixt themselves, and with importunate entreaties recommended the protection of their youth to the house. And the last time he sat in judgement, he once and again declared openly to the court, That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortality, whilst all that heard it, expressed their abhorrence of the omen.



C. SUET. TRANQUILLI
NERO CLAUDIUS
CÆSAR. VI.

CAPUT I.

EX gente DOMITIA
E duæ familiæ clarue-
runt, CALVINORUM
& ENOBARBORUM.
Enobarroi auctorem originis
itemque cognominis habent
L. Domitium: cui rure quon-
dam reverentia, juvenes ge-
mini augustiore forma ex oc-
cursu imperasse traduntur,
nuntiaret senatui ac populo
victoriam, de qua incertum
adhuc erat: atque in fidem
majestatis, adeo permulisse
malas, ut e nigro rutilum
arique assilem capillum
redderent. Quod insigne man-

FROM the house of the Do-
mitii sprung two celebrated
families of the Calvinii and
Enobarbi. The Enobarbi
derive their extraction and cognomen
too from one L. Domitius, who they
tell you, as he was returning out of
the country for Rome, was met by two
young men of a most august appearance,
who commanded him to carry the se-
nate and people the news of a victory,
concerning which they had not at
that time received any certain advice;
and to assure him of their being more
than men, stroked his chaps, and
thereby altered the colour of his beard
from black to ruddy, resembling thae

sic & in posteris ejus, ac magna pars rurila barba fuerunt. Functi autem consulatibus vii, triumpho, censuraque duplici, & inter patricios allekti perseverarunt omnes in eodem cognomine. Ac ne prænomena quidem ulla, præterquam Cnæi & Lucii usurparunt: eaque ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes unumquodque per ternas personas, modo alternantes per singulas. Nam primum secundumque ac tertium Anobarborum Lucios: rursus sequentes tres ex ordine Cnæos accepimus: reliquos nonnisi vicissim, tum Lucios tum Cnæos. Plures e familia cognosci referre arbitror: quo facilius appareat ita degenerasse a suorum virtutibus Nerone, ut tamen vitia cujusque quasi tradita & ingenta retulerit.

2. Ut igitur paullo altius reperam, atavus ejus Cn. Domitius in tribunatu pontificibus offensior, quod alium quam se in patris sui locum cooptassent, jus sacerdotum subrogandum à collegiis ad populum transtulit: ac in consulatu Allobrogibus Arvernisque superatis, elephantum per provinciam vectus est: turba militum, quasi inter sollemnia triumphi, prosequente. In hunc dixit Licinius Crassus orator, *Non esse mirandum quod aneam barbam haberet, cui esset os ferreum, cor plumbeum.* Hujus filius prætor C. Cæsarem abeuntem consulatu, quem adversus auspicia legesque gessisse existimabatur, ad disquisitionem senatus vocavit: mox consul imperatorem ab exercitibus Gallicis retrahere tentavit: successorq; ei per factionem nominatus, principio civilis belli ad Corfinium captus est. Unde dimissus, Massilienses obsidione

of brass, which mark of distinction descended to his posterity, for they had generally red beards. The family had after this the honour of seven consulships, one triumph, and two censurships, and being advanced to the rank of the nobility, all continued the use of the same cognomen, and used no other prænomena than those of Cnæus and Lucius, and with a remarkable variety, sometimes adhering to one of them for three persons successively, and then again changing them alternately. For the first second and third of the Anobarbi had that of Lucius, and again the three following successively that of Cnæus, but those that came after were called one Lucius and another Cnæus by turns. I judge it proper to give a little account of several of the family, that the reader may see, that Nero so far degenerated from the noble qualities of his ancestors, that he retained only the vices of the family, as if those alone had been transmitted to him by his descent.

2. To take our rise therefore from the days of old. His great-grand-father's grand-father, when he was tribune of the commons, being offended with the high priests, for choosing another and not himself into their number, in the room of his father, got a law past for transferring the right of making that choice for the future from the high priests to the people. And in his consulship having conquered the Allobroges and the Arverni, made a tour about the province mounted upon an elephant, with a great number of soldiers attending him in a sort of triumphal pomp. Of this gentleman the orator Licinius Crassus said, It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of iron, and a heart of lead. His son in his prætorship, was for calling C. Cæsar after his consulship to an account before the senate, for his management in that office, which was supposed to be contrary to the auspicia and the laws too. And afterwards, when he was consul, he attempted to have him recalled from the army: and being in a factious way of proceeding, appointed his successor, he was in the beginning laborantibus

laborantes cum adventu suo confirmasset, repente destituit. Acieque demum Pharfalica occubuit. Vir neque satis constans, & ingenio truci: in desperatione rerum, morrem timore appetitam ita expavit, ut haustum venenum pœnitentia evomerit, medicumque manumiserit qui id sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperasset. Consultante autem Cn. Pompejo de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus, solus censuit hostium numero habendos.

when Cn. Pompey was in debate how to carry towards such as stood neuter, and sided with neither party, he alone advised to treat them as enemies.

3. Reliquit filium omnibus gentis suæ proculdubio præferendum. Is inter conscios Cæsarianæ necis, quamquam insons, damnatus lege Pedia, cum ad Cassium Brutumque se, propinqua sibi cognatione junctos, contulisset, post utriusque interitum classem olim commissam retinuit; auxit etiam, nec nisi partibus ubique profligatis, M. Antonio sponte, & ingentis meriti loco, tradidit, solusque omnium ex iis qui pari lege damnati erant, restitutus in patriam, amplissimos honores percucurrit. Ac subinde redintegrata dissentione civili, eidem Antonio legatus, delatam sibi summam imperii ab iis quos Cleopatraz pudebat, neque suscipere neque recusare fidenter, propter subitam valetudinem ausus, transiit ad Augustum: & in diebus paucis obiit, nonnulla & ipse infamia adpersus. Nam Antonius eum desiderio amicæ Serviliæ Naidis transfugisse jactavit.

after, not without an aspersion gave out that his changing sides was with his Miss Servilia Nais.

4. Ex hoc Domitius nascitur, quem emtorem familiæ pecuniæque in testamento Au-

of the civil war taken prisoner at Corfinium, and being dismissed from thence, went some time after to Massilia then besieged, where after he had by his presence animated the people to hold out, he on a sudden left them again, and at last fell in the battle of Pharsalia. He was a man of no great resolution, and of a sour temper. Having once in a great fright and despair taken poison, he was immediately upon it so terrified with the thoughts of dying, that he took a vomit to throw it up again, and manumised his physician, for having purposely and designedly given him but a very gentle dose of the poison. And

how to carry towards such as stood neuter, and sided with neither party, he alone advised to treat them as enemies.

3. He left behind him a son, who was unquestionably the best man of the family. He was by the Peditian law condemned tho' innocent, amongst others that were concern'd in the death of Cæsar, upon which he went over to Brutus and Cassius his near relations; and after their death not only kept the fleet, the command of which had been given him some time before, but increased it too. At last when the party had been every where defeated, he voluntarily surrendered it up to M. Anthony, reckoning it a piece of service he was not a little obliged to him for. And was the only man of all those that were condemned by that law, that was restored to his Country, and run through the several great offices of state: And a fresh difference breaking out soon after, he had a lieutenant-general's commission under the same Anthony, and was offered the chief command in that war, by such as were ashamed of Cleopatra; but not daring by reason of a sudden indisposition he was seized with, either to accept or refuse it, he went over to Augustus, and died a few days after upon his memory. For Anthony was occasioned by his impatience to

4. This gentleman was the father of that Domitius, who was afterwards well known, as the purchaser of his family.

gusti fuisse, mox vulgo notatum est: non minus anrigandi arte in adolescentia clarus, quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello. Verum arrogans, profusus, inimicis, censorem L. Plancum via sibi decedere Edilis coegit: præturæ consulatusque honore equites Romanosque ad agendum minimum produxit in scenam: venationesque & in circo & in omnibus urbis regionibus dedit. Munus etiam gladiatorum, sed tanta sævitia, ut necesse fuerit Augusto clam frustra monitum edicto coercere.

5. Ex Antonia majore patrem Neronis procreavit; omni parte vitæ deestabilem. Siquidem comes ad orientem C. Cæsaris juvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potare quantum jubebatur recusarar, dimissus e cohorte amicorum nihilo modestius vixit. Sed & in viæ Appiæ vico repente puerum citatis jumentis hand ignarus obtrivit: & Romæ, medio Foro cuidam equiti Romanolibertus jurganti oculum eruit: perfidiæ vero tantæ, ut non modo argentarios pretiis rerum coemtarum, sed & in prætura mercède palmarum aurigarios fraudaverit: Notatus ob hæc & sororis joco, querentibus, dominis factionum, representanda premia in posterum lauxit. Majestatis quoque & adulteriorum, incestique cum sorore Lepida sub excessu Tiberii reus, mutatione temporum evasit: decessitque Pyrgi morbo aquæ intercutis, sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina Germanico genita.

of the times, and died of a drop,

6. Nero natus est Antii post ix menses quam Tiberius excessit, xviii Kalendas Januarias: tantum quod exoriente Sole,

in Augustus's will, being no less famous in his youth, for his dexterity in chariot-driving, than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great arrogance, prodigality and cruelty. When he was edile he obliged L. Plancus the censor to give him the way: and in his prætorship and consulship, he brought upon the stage Roman knights, and married women to act a mimic piece. He gave chases of wild beasts both in the Circus, and in all the wards of the city, as also a show of Gladiators, but with that barbarity, that Augustus having given him a private reprimand for it to no purpose, was obliged to lay a restraint upon him by proclamation.

5. He had by the elder Antonia the father of Nero, in every part of life an execrable villain: for in his attendance upon C. Cæsar into the East, he killed a freed-man of his, because he refused to drink as much as he bid him; and being thereupon discarded by Cæsar, he mended not his manners at all. For in a village upon the Appian road he galloped his chariot over a poor boy, and crushed him all to pieces. And at Rome he struck out an eye of a Roman knight in the forum, only for some free language he gave him in a wrangle that happened betwixt them. He was too so very knavish, that he not only cheated some bankers of the price of goods he bought of them; but in his prætorship, he defrauded the furnishers of chariots for the Circensian games of the prizes due to them for the victory. And being bantered by his sister about it, upon a complaint made by them, he got a law passed, That for the future they should always be immediately paid them. A little before the death of Tiberius he was prosecuted for treason, adultery with several women, and incest with his sister Lepida; but 'scaped by a change

at Pyrgi, leaving behind him his then daughter of Germanicus. 6. Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, on the eighteenth of the Calends of January, just as the sun rose, that the beams pane

pæne ut radiis prius quam terra contingeretur. De genitura ejus ita in multa & formidolosa multis conjectantibus præfatio fuit etiam Domitii patris vox, inter gratulationes amicorum, negantis quidquam ex se & Agrippina nisi detestabile & malo publico nasci potuisse. Ejusdem future infelicitatis signum evidens die lustrico exstitit. nam C. Cæsar, rogante sorore ut infanti quod veller, nomen daret, intuens Claudium patrum suum, à quo mox principe Nero adoptatus est, ejus se dixit dare: neque id ipse serio, sed per jocum, & aspernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat. Trimulus patrem amittit: cujus ex parte tertia heres, ne hanc quidem integram cepit, correptis per coheredem Cajum universis bonis, & subinde matre etiam relegata, pæne inops atque egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus est, sub duobus prædagogis, saltatore atque tonsore. Verum Claudio imperium adeptus, non solum paternas opes recuperavit, sed & Crispi Passieni vitrici sui hereditate ditatus est. Gratia quidem & potentia revocatæ restitutæque matris usque eo floruit, ut emanaret in vulgus, missos à Messalina uxore Claudii, qui eum meridianam quasi Britannici æmulum strangularent. Additum fabulæ est, eisdem dracone à pulvino se proferente conterritos refugisse. Quæ fabula exorta est, deprehensis in lecto ejus circum cervicalia serpentis exuviis: quas tamen atrox armillæ ex voluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gessit aliquandiu: ac tædio tandem maternæ memoriæ abiecit: rursusque extenuis suis rebus frustra acquisivit.

thereof reach'd him, before they could well reach the earth. Whilst many people made many and dismal conjectures from his nativity about his future fortune, a saying of his father Domitian was looked upon as an ill presage, who told his friends congratulating him upon the occasion, That nothing but what was detestable, and pernicious to the publick, could ever be bred of him and AGRIPPINA. There was another manifest prognostick of his future unhappiness upon his lustration-day. For C. Cæsar being requested by his sister, to give the child what name he thought proper, looking upon his uncle Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, and adopted him, said he gave him his, and this not seriously, but only in jest, Agrippina rejecting it with indignation, because Claudius at that time was a meer laughing-stock in the court. He lost his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his estate, which he never got, the whole being seized by his coheir Caius: and his mother being soon after banished, he lived with his aunt Lepida in a poor needy condition, under two tutors, a dancing master, and a barber. But after Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father's estate, but was enriched too with the inheritance of that of his step-father Crispus Passienus. Upon the recalling of his mother from banishment, by the means of her interest and sway with the emperor he made such a figure at court, that it was commonly reported, that some assassins were employ'd by Messalina Claudius's wife, to strangle him in taking his usual nap at noon, as the rival of Britannicus. This addition too was made to the story, that they were frighted by a serpent that crept from under his pillow, and ran away. Which tale was occasioned by the finding the skin of that sort of animal in his bed by the bolster, which by his mother's order he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a bracelet of gold; which at last from an aversion to her memory he laid aside, but sought for again in vain in the time of his extremity.

7. Tener adhuc, nec dum matura pueritia, circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque lufit. Undecimo ætatis anno à Claudio adoptatus est, Annæque Senecæ jam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus. Ferunt Senecam proxima nocte visum sibi per quietem, C. Cæsari præcipere: & fidem somnio Nero brevi fecit, prodita immanitate naturæ, quibus primum poruit experimentis. Namque Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem **ÆNOBARBUM** ex consuetudine saluasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est. Amitam etiam Lepidam, ream testimonio coram afflixit, gratificans matri, à qua rea premebatur. Deductus in forum tiro, populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit: indistaque decurſione prætorianis, securum sua manu prætulit; exinde patri gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, & pro Rhodiis atq; Ilienſibus Græce verba fecit. Auspicatus est & jurisdictionem Præfectus urbis sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis, non translaticias, ut assolet, & breves, sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus: quamvis interdictum à Claudio eſſet. Nec multo post duxit uxorem Octaviam: ediditque pro Claudii salute circenses, & venationem.

after he married Octavia, and presented the people with Circensian games, and a hunting of wild beasts, for the health of Claudius.

8. Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad excubitores: cum ob totius diei diritatem non aliud auspicandi tempus accommodatius videretur: proque Palatii gradibus **IMPERATOR** con-

7. Whilst he was yet but a tender stripling, much short of the years of manhood, at the Circensian games, he performed his part in the Trojan diversion with great firmness, and mighty applause. In the eleventh year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and put under the tuition of Annæ Seneca at that time a senator. It's said that Seneca dreamt the night after, that he was giving a lecture to Caius Caesar: and Nero quickly verified his dream, betraying presently by all the means in his power the savage cruelty of his nature; for he attempted to persuade his father that his brother Britannicus was a supposititious brar, only because he had saluted him after his adoption, by the name of Ænobarbus as usual. And when his aunt Lepida was brought upon her tryal, he appeared in court as an evidence against her, to humour his mother, who was a bitter enemy to the poor lady. Upon his solemn introduction into the forum he gave a largess to the people and soldiers, for the guards he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and march'd at the head of them, with a shield in his hand; after which he went to give thanks to his father in the senate. Before the same, when Consul he made a speech for the Bononians in Latin, and for the Rhodians and Ilienſians in Greek. He sat for the first time as a judge for the bearing of causes, when he was made præfect of the city in the latin holy-days, at which time, the most celebrated pleaders plied him of, not with common short tryals, as usual in that case, but with tryals of importance, and many of them, altho' they had been forbid so to do by Claudius. Not long

8. He was seventeen years old at the death of that prince, and as soon as the same was made publick, he went out to the soldiers upon the guard before the palace, betwixt the hours of six and seven; for no time of the day before that was judged proper for his entering upon the imperial dignity, by reason of the direful omens that appear-

salutatus,

salutatus, lectica in castra, & inde, raptim appellatis militibus, in curiam delatus est: discessitque jam vesperi: ex immensis quibus cumulabatur honoribus, tantum PATRIS PATRIÆ nomine recusato, propter ætatem.

honours that were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of Father of his country, because of his youth.

9. Orsus hinc à pietatis ostentatione, Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit, consecravitque. Memoriam Domitii patris honores maximos habuit. Matri summam omnium rerum publicarum privatarumque permisit. Primo etiam imperii dñe signum excubanti tribuno dedit. *Optimam matrem: ac deinceps ejusdem sæpe lectica per publicum simul vectus est. Antium coloniam deduxit, adscriptis veteranis è prætorio, additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilium, ubi & portum operis sumtuosissimi fecit.*

10. Atque, ut certiores adhuc indolem ostenderet, ex Augusti præscripto imperaturum se professus, neque liberalitatis, neque clementiæ, nec comitatus exhibendæ, ullam occasionem omisit. Graviora vectigalia abolevit, aut minuit. Præmia delatorum Papiæ legis ad quartas redegit, divisit populo viritum quadringenis nummis. Senatorum nobilissimo cuique sed à re familiari destituito, annua salaria, & quibusdam quingena constituit. Item prætorianis cohortibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum. Et cum de supplicio cujusdam capite damnati ut ex more subscriberet, admonebatur, *Quam vellem, inquit, nescire literas. Omnes ordines subinde, ac memoriter, saluta-*

ed. Upon the steps before the palace gate, he was unanimously saluted by the soldiers there present as their emperor, and then carried in a chair into the camp, and from thence, after he had made a short speech to the troops, into the senate house, where he continued till the evening: Of all the immense honours that were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of Father of his country, because of his youth.

9. He began his reign with a mighty shew of dutiful regard to the memory of his deceased father, whom he buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, pronouncing the funeral oration himself, and then had him enrolled amongst the gods. He paid the highest honours too to the memory of his father Domitius. The management of affairs both publick and private, he left to his mother. The word too that he gave on the first day of his reign to the tribune upon the guard, was the best of mothers, and afterwards he frequently appeared in the streets of Rome along with her in her chair. He settled a colony at Antium, wherein he provided for the veteran soldiers belonging to the guards, several of the richest amongst the most honourable Centurions, being obliged to settle and live there, where he likewise made a fine harbour at a vast expence.

10. And to give the publick still further assurance of his good disposition, he declared that he designed to govern according to the model of Augustus; and omitted no opportunity of shewing his generosity, clemency and complaisance. The heavier taxes he either quite took away or lowered. The rewards appointed for informers by the Papien law he reduced to a fourth part; and distributed to the people four hundred sesterces a man. To the noblest of the senators that were much reduced in their circumstances, he granted yearly salaries, and to some five hundred thousand sesterces: and to the prætorian battalions a monthly allowance of corn gratis. And when the warrant for the execution of a criminal condemned to dy, was brought him to sign, according to custom, I wish, said he, I had never learnt to read and write. He now and then saluted

vit. Agenti senatui gratias respondit, *Cum meruero*. Ad campestris exercitationes suas admisit & plebem. Declamavit & sapientie publice. Recitavit & carmina, non modo domi, sed in theatro, tanta universorum læticia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit, eaque pars carminum aureis literis Jovi Capitolino dicata.

in the Theatre too, so much to the joy of all the people, that publick prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account, and the verses publickly read writ in gold letters were consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

11. Spectaculorum plurima & varia genera edidit: Juvenales, Circenses, scenicos ludos, gladiatorium munus. Juvenalibus senes quoque consulares, antequam matronas recipit ad lulum. Circensibus loca equi secreta à cæteris tribuit: commisitque etiam camelorum quadrigas. Ludis, quos pro æternitate imperii susceptos appellari Maximos voluit, ex utroque ordine & sexu plerique ludicras partes sustinuerunt. Notissimus eques Romanus elephanto supersedens per catadromum decucurrit. Inducta est & Afranii togata, quæ Incendium inscribitur: concessumque ut scenici ardentis domus supellectilem diriperent, ac sibi haberent. Sparsa & populo mililia omnia rerum per omnes dies singula quotidie milia. Avium cujusque generis multiplex penus, testera frumentaria, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmae, margaritæ, tabulae pictæ, mancipia, jumenta, atque etiam mansuetæ ferae: novissime naves, insulae, agri.

12. Hos ludos spectavit è proscenii fastigio. Munere quod in Amphitheatro ligneo, in regione Martii campi, intra anni spatium fabricato, dedit, neminem occidit. ne noxiorum quidem. Exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam qua-

the several orders of the people by name, without a prompter. And when the senate return'd him their thanks for his good behaviour, he replyed to them, it will be time enough so to do, when I deserve it. He admitted the common people too to see him perform his exercises in the field of Mars. He very frequently declaimed likewise in publick, and recited verses of his own composing, not only at home, but

in the Theatre too, so much to the joy of all the people, that publick prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account, and the verses publickly read writ in gold letters were consecrated to Jupiter

11. He presented the people with a bundance of publick diversions, and of various kinds, as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage-plays, and a show of gladiators. And in the Juvenal, he admitted senators, and aged matrons to perform their parts. In the Circensian games he assigned the equestrian order seats apart from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn by four camels apiece. And in the games he instituted for the eternal continuance of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called Maximi, a great many gentlemen and ladies of the senatorian and equestrian order acted their parts. A noted Roman knight rid down a rope upon an elephant. A Roman play too, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage, entitled The Fire, wherein the Actors were allowed to carry off, and keep to themselves, the furniture of the house, that, as the nature of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre. And every day during the solemnity, a great variety of things, and a thousand of every several sort, were thrown the people to scramble for; as fowl of divers kinds, corn, tickets, cloaths, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burthen, wild-beasts tamed, at last, ships, large houses and lands.

12. These games he beheld from the top of the Proscenium. In the show of gladiators which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, that was built within a year in the ward of the field of Mars, he ordered none to be slain, not even of the criminals employ'd on that occasion. He likewise engaged four hundred senatorial

dringentos senatores, sexcentosque equites Romanos, & quosdam fortunæ atque existimationis integræ ex iisdem ordinibus, confectoresque ferarum, & ad varia aræne ministeria. Exhibuit & naumachiam marina aqua innantibus belluis, item Pyrrichas quoddam è numero epheborum: quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanæ singulis obtulit. Inter Pyrricharum argumenta, taurus Pasiphaen ligneo juvenæ simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt. Icarus primo statim conatu iuxta cubiculum ejus decidit, ipsumque cruore resperfit. Nam per raro præsidere, cæterum accubans primum parvis foraminibus, deinde toro podio adaperto, spectare consueverat. Instituit & quinquennale certamen primum omnium Romæ, more Græco triplex, musicum, gymnicum, equestre, quod appellavit NERONIA. Deditque thermis atque gymnasio, senatui quoque & equiti oleum præbuit. Magistros tori certamini præposuit consulares forte, sede prætorum. deinde in orchestram senatumque descendit, & orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit. Citharam autem à iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit, ferrique ad Augusti statuum iussit. Gymnico, quod in Septis edebat, inter bathysæ apparatus, barbam primam posuit, conditamque in auream pyxidem, & pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam, Jovi Capitolino consecravir. Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit & virgines Vestales: quia Olympiæ Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

cause at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion.

tors, and six hundred Roman knights, and some too of a very fair fortune, and as fair a character, to engage as gladiators. And from the same orders, he had persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services in the theatre. He likewise presented the publick with the representation of a sea-fight, upon sea-water, with great fish swimming in it, as also with the Pyrrhick dance perform'd by certain youths, to each of which, after the performance was over, he granted patents for their freedom of Rome. And during this diversion, a bull leaped Pasiphaæ, concealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed, Icarus, upon his first attempt, fell down close by his seat, and bespatter'd him with his blood: For he very rarely presidet in the games, but used to see them lying on a couch, through some little holes at first, but afterwards with the whole podium quite open. He was the first too that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several exercises of musick, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be perform'd every five years in Rome, which he called Neronia. And upon the first opening of a hot bath, and a school of exercise, which he built, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oyl. And he appointed, as judges of the trial, consular gentlemen, chosen by lot, who sat with the prætors. At which time he took his seat in the Orchestra among the senators, and received the crown designed for the best performer in Latin prose and verse, which several persons of the highest quality put in for, but by unanimous consent yielded up to him. And the crown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise given him by the judges in that dispute, he adored it, and ordered it to be carried to Augustus's statue. And in the Gymnick exercise, which he presented in the Septa, during the preparations for sacrificing an ox upon that occasion, he shaved his beard for the first time, and putting it up in a box, adorn'd with pearls of great price, he consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. He invited too the Vestal Ladies to see the wrestlers perform, because

13. Non immerito inter spectacula ab eo edita, & Tiridatis in urbem introitum retulerim. Quem Armenia regem magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum, cum destinato per edictum die ostensus populo propter nubilum distulisset, produxit, quo opportunissime potuit: dispositis circa fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud Rostra triumphantis habitu, inter signa militaria, atque vexilla: & primo per devexum pulpitum subeuntem admisit ad genua, allevatumque dextra exoscultatus est: dein precanti, tiara deducta, diadema imposuit, verba supplicis interpretata prætorio viro multitudini pronuntiante. Perductum deinde in theatrum ac rursus supplicantem juxta se latere dextro collocavit. Ob quæ imperator consalutatus, laurea in capitolium lata, Janum geminum clausit, tam nullo quam residuo bello.

upon his right hand. For which being universally complemented with the title of Imperator, and sending his laurel crown into the Capitol, he shut the temple of double-faced Janus, as tho' there was no war now remaining throughout the Roman Empire.

14. Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum bimestrem, secundum & novissimum semestres, tertium quadrimestrem: medios duos continuavit, reliquos inter annua spatia variavit.

15. In jurisdictione postulatoribus, nisi sequenti die, ac per libellos, non temere respondit. In cognoscendo morem eum tenuit, ut continuis actionibus omissis, sigillatim quæque per vices ageret. Quoties autem ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quidquam, neque propalam deliberabat: sed & conscriptas ab unoquoque sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset, perinde atque pluribus idem videretur, pronuntiabat. In Curiam li-

13. Amongst the fine sights presented by him, the entrance of Tiridates into the city may very well deserve a place. This Gentleman being King of Armenia, he by very large promises invited to Rome. But being prevented from shewing him to the people upon the day first for it by proclamation, because of the badness of the weather, he took the first opportunity after that presented for it, posting several battalions under arms, about the temples of the Forum: and sitting himself upon an Ivory seat in the Rostra, in a triumphal dress, amidst the military standards and banners. And upon the king's advancing up to him on a stage made shewing for the purpose, permitted him to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right hand, and kiss'd him. And then upon his humble supplication, taking his turban from his head, put him on a diadem, whilst a prætorian gentleman proclaimed in Latin the words, wherein the Prince made his address to the Emperor. Being after this brought into the theatre, and there again renewing his address, he seated him

14. He had four consulships, the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four; the two middlemost he held successively one after the other, but the rest at some distance of time from them.

15. In the administration of justice, he scarce ever gave an answer to such as preferred their causes to him for trial, till the day after, and in writing. His manner of hearing causes was not to allow the parties to plead their causes in long harangues, but to dispatch the several particulars thereof in their order, in the way of debate. As oft as he withdrew to consult his assessors in any cause, he did not debate the matter openly and in common with them: but silently and privately reading over their opinions, which they every one gave in writing, he gave sentence upon the bench, as he thought proper, as if the

bertinorum filios diu non admittit: admissisq; à prioribus principibus honores denegavit. Candidatos qui supra numerum essent, in solatium dilationis ac moræ, legionibus præposuit. Consulatum in senos plerumque menses dedit. Defuncto- que circa Kal. Januarias altero e COSS. neminem substituit: improbens exemplum vetus Caninii Rebili, uno die consulis. Triumphalia ornamenta, etiam quæstoriæ dignitatis, & nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit: nec utique de causa militari. De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas, præteritò quæstoris officio, per COSS. plerumque recitabat.

Quæstors, whose office it properly to read some speeches of his he sent

16. Formam ædificiorum urbis novam excogitavit: & ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur: easque sumptu suo extruxit. Destinarat etiam Ostia tenuis mœnia promovere, atque inde fossa mare veteri urbi inducere. Multa sub eo & animadversa severe, & coercita, nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus: publicæ cœnæ ad sportulas redactæ: interdictum ne quid in popinis cocti præter legumina aut olera veniret; cum ante nullum non opsonii genus proponeretur: afflictis suppliciis CHRISTIANI, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ: vetici quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus, fallere ac furari per jocosum jus erat; pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatæ.

17. Adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulæ nisi pertusæ, ac ter lino per foramina trajecto, obliqnarentur. Cautum ut in testamentis

same was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sons of freedmen into the senate; and such as had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all public offices in the government. The supernumerary candidates, to comfort them under the delay of their hopes, he put into some command of the legions. The consulship he commonly gave for six months; and one of the two consuls dying a little before the first of January, he substituted no other in his room. Disliking what had been formerly done for Caninius Rebilus upon the same occasion, who was consul for one day only. He allowed the triumphal ornaments to gentlemen only, o Quæstorian dignity and to some of the Equestrian order, and that too not upon any military account. And instead of the was, he commonly ordered the consuls to the senate upon some certain occasions.

16. He contrived a new model for building in the city, ordering piazzas to be erected before all houses great and small, that from the top of them, if any fire happened, it's spreading might be more easily be prevented and these he built at his own expence. He likewise designed to carry the walls of Rome as far as Ostia, and to bring from thence the sea by a canal into the old city. A great many severe regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumptuary law was enacted. Publick suppers were reduced to the Sportula; and victualling houses restrained from selling any dressed victuals, besides pulse and herbs, whereas before they sold all kinds of meat whatever. The Christians too were severely punished, a sort of people given up to a new and mischievous superstition. The sports of the Quadrigarii were forbid, who had long taken the liberty of strolling about, and establish'd for themselves a sort of right by prescription to cheat and thieve in jest. The parties of the pantomimicks were banished together with themselves.

17. Against the forgers of writings, the contrivance was then first found out, to have the tables bored, and run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise enacted that in

prema

primæ duæ ceræ, testatorum modo nomine inscripto, vacuæ signaturis ostenderentur: ac ne quis alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi adscriberet. Item ut litigatores pro patrociniiis certam justamque mercedem, pro subfelliis nullam omnino darent, præbente ærario gratuita: utque rerum actu ab ærario causæ ad forum, ac recuperatores transferrentur: & ut omnes appellationes à iudiciis ad senatum fierent.

18. Augendi, propagandique Imperii neque voluntate ulla neque spe motus unquam, etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit: nec nisi verecundia, ne obtruncare parentis gloriæ videretur, destitit. Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium, defuncto Cottio, in provinciæ formam redegit.

9. Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit Alexandrinam & Achaicam: sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit, turbatus religione simul ac periculo. Nam circuitis templis, cum in æde Vestæ resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhæsit: deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut despicere non posset. In Achaja Isthmum perfodere aggressus, prætorianos pro concione ad inchoandum opus cohortatus est: tubæque signo dato, primus rastello humum effodit, & corbulæ congestam humeris extulit. Parabat & ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat. Hæc partim nulla reprehensione partim etiam non mediocri laude digna, in unum

wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to such as were to seal it as witnesses; and that no one that writ a will for another, should put down therein any legacy for himself, as also that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the benches, the charge of which was to be allowed out of the publick treasury: and that causes, which before belonged to the commissioners of the treasury to hear and decide, should be removed to the forum, and the Recuperatores: and that all appeals should be to the senate.

18. He never had the least ambition or hope of enlarging and advancing the Empire, so far from it, that he had thoughts of withdrawing his troops out of Britain, and was only restrained by the fear of being thought to detract from the glory of his father. He only reduced the kingdom of Pontus yielded up to him by Polemon, into the form of a province, as also that of the Alps, upon the death of Cottius.

19. He twice took up a design of visiting foreign parts, Alexandria and Achaia, but was prevented in the former, upon the very day fixt for his departure, by some ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage together. For in going round the temples, happening to sit down in that of Vesta, when he came to rise again, the lap of his coat stuck fast: and immediately he was seized with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see before him. In Achaia he attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus: and encouraged the guards in a speech he made to them, to begin the work. And upon a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations too for an expedition to the Caspian ports, forming a new legion out of his late levys in Italy, of men all six foot high, which he call'd the Phalanx of Alexander the great. These things in part innocent, part highly commendable, I have thought proper to lay before the

contuli:

contuli : ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus ejus, de quibus dehinc dicam.

20. Inter cæteras disciplinas pueritiæ tempore imbutus & musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnium citharædum vigentem tunc præter alios, accersit : diebusque continuis post cœnam canenti in multam noctem assidens, paulatim & ipse meditari exercerique cœpit : nec eorum quidquam omittere, quæ generis ejus artifices, vel conservandæ vocis causa vel augendæ factitarent. Sed & plumbeam chartam supinus pectore sustinere : & clystere vomitumque purgari : & abstinere pomis cibisque officientibus : donec blandiente profectu (quamquam exiguæ vocis, & fuscæ) prodire in scenam concupivit : subinde inter familiares Græcum proverbium jactans, *occulsa musica nullum esse respectum*. Et prodiit Neapoli primum : ac ne, concusso quidem repente motu terræ theatro, ante cantare destitit quam inchoatum absolveret *ὀψάων*. Ibidem sæpius & per complures cantavit dies : sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti à balneis in theatrum transiit, mediæque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus, si paululum subbisset, aliquid se sueffriti tinnituum Græco sermone promisit. Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus qui de novo com meatu Neapolim confuxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit. Neque eo segnius adolescentulos equestris ordinis, & quinque amplius millia e plebe robustissimæ juventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones, plausuum genera condiscerent, (bomby, & imbrices, & *ἱεῖς* as vocabant) operamque navarent

render in one view, that they might not interfere with his scandalous and villainous behaviour, which I shall now give an account of.

20. Amongst the rest of the liberal arts he was taught in his youth, he was too instructed in musick, and immediately upon his advancement to the empire, he sent for the harper Terpnus, who at that time bore a mighty character beyond all of the profession ; and for several days together sat by him as he played after supper, till late at night. At last by degrees he began to practice and exercise in that way himself. Nor did he omit any of those things, which your artists in that sort of musick, make use of for the preservation and improvement of their voices : but would lie upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his bowels and stomach both by vomits and clysters and vomits, and forbear the eating fruit, or victuals prejudicial to the voice : till encouraged by his proficiency (tho' his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear) he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently throwing out amongst his friends a greek proverb to this effect, that no regard was had for musick unheard. Accordingly he made his first publick appearance at Naples ; and notwithstanding the whole theatre was shaken by a sudden shock of an earthquake, yet he gave not over, till he had finished the piece of musick he had before him. He plaid and sung in the same place several times first, and for several days together, taking only now and then a little respite for the recruiting of his voice ; till at last being weary of private practice, he past from the bath into the theatre ; and after a refreshment in the Orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people he promised them in greek that by the benefit of a little tipping, he would make their ears ring for them again. And being charmed with the songs that were sung to his praise by some Alexandrians belonging the fleet just then arrived, he sent for more of the like songsters from Alexandria. And notwithstanding he chose young

rent

reus cantanti sibi insignes pinguissima coma, & excellentissimo cultu pueri, nec sine annulo lævis: quorum duces quadragena millia H.S. merebant.

21. Cum magni æstimaret cantare etiam Romæ, Neroneum agona ante prætitutam diem revocavit. Flagitantibusque cunctis caelestem vocem respondit, quidem, in hortis se copiam volentibus facturum: sed adjuvante vulgi preces etiam statione militum, quæ tunc excubabat, repræsentaturum se pollicitus est libens: ac sine mora nomen suum in albo profitentium citharædorum jussit adscribi: forticulaque in urnam cum cæteris demissa intravit ordine suo, simulque Præfecti prætorii citharam sustinentes, post tribuni militum, juxtaque amicorum intimi. Uique constitit peracto principio, Nioben se cantaturum per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit, & in horam fere decimam perseveravit: coronamque eam, & reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentem distulit, ut sæpius canendi occasio esset. Quod cum tardum videretur, non cessavit identidem se publicare. Non dubitavit etiam privatis spectaculis operam inter scenicos dare, quodam prætorum H.S. decies offerente. Tragedias quoque cantavit personatus: heroum Deorumque, item heroidum ac Dearum personis effictis ad similitudinem oris sui, & fœminæ, prout quamque diligeret. Inter cætera cantavit Canacem parturientem, Orestem matricidam, Oedipodem excacatum, Herculem insanum. In qua fabula fama est, tirunculum militem positum ad custodiam

gentlemen of the Equestrian order, and above five thousand robust young fellows out of the commonalty, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause (called bombi imbrices and testæ) which they were to make use of in his favour, as oft as he performed upon the harp, being divided into several parties for the purpose, and all remarkable for delicate heads of hair, and very finely dressed, with rings upon their left hands; whose leaders had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them.

21. Being infinitely desirous of shewing his art in Rome too, he ordered the games called Neronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. And all being mighty importunate to hear his heavenly voice, he told them, he would gratify such as desired it in the gardens. But the soldiers then upon the guard seconding the importunity of the people, he promised to comply with their request immediately, and with all his heart; and without more ado he ordered his name to be entered upon the list of Musicians, that put in, and casting in his lot among the rest came up in his turn, attended by the commanders of the prætorian battalions bearing his harp, who were followed by the Tribunes of the soldiers, and several of his intimate friends. After he had taken his stand, and made the usual flourish, he commanded Cluvius Rufus to proclaim to the Theatre, that he intended to sing the story of Niobe: which he accordingly did, and continued it till ten a clock, but deferred the disposal of the crown, and the remaining part of the solemnity, till the next year; that he might have the more frequent opportunities of performing in the same way. But that being too long a time for him to balk his inclinations, he could not forbear shewing his art now and then in publick, before it came. Nor did he make any scruple to appear upon the stage amongst other performers, even in the games presented to the people by the magistrates, and was offered by one of the prætors upon that account, no less than a million of sesterces. He likewise sung Tragedies mask'd, the vizors of the Heroes and Gods, as also of the Heroines and goddesses, being formed into a resemblance of his own face, and that of any wo-

aditus,

aditus, cum eum ornari ac vinciri cecentis, sicut argumentum postulabat, videret, accurrisse ferendæ opis gratia.

a young centinel, posted at the entrance of the theatre, seeing him attired and bound with chains, as the nature of the play required, ran to his assistance.

22. Equorum studio vel præcipue ab ineunte ætate flagavit, plurimusque illi sermo, quamquam vetaretur, de circensibus erat. Et quondam tractum Prasinum agitatore inter condiscipulos querens, oburgante magistro, de Hectore se loqui e mentitus est. Sed cum inter initia Imperii eburneis quadrigis quotidie in abaco luderet, ad omnes etiam minimos Circenses commeabat e secessu, primo clam, deinde propalam: ut nemini dubium esset eo die utique affuturum. Neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliare: quare spectaculum multiplicatis missibus in serum protraheretur, ne dominis quidem jam factionum dignantibus, nisi ad totius diei cursum, greges ducere. Mox & ipse aurigare, atque etiam spectari sæpius voluit: positoque in hortis inter servitia & sordidam plebem rudimento, universorum se oculis in Circo maximo præbuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam, unde magistratus solent. Nec contentus harum artium experimenta Romæ dedisse, Achajam, ut diximus, petit, hinc maxime motus. Instituerant civitates, apud quas musici agones edi solent, omnes citharædonum coronas ad ipsum mittere. Eas adeo grate recipiebant, ut legatos, qui petulissent, non modo primos admitteret, sed etiam familiaribus epulis interponeret. A quibusdam ex his rogatus, ut cantaret super cornu, exceptusque effusius, solos sive audire

man he was in love with. Amongst the rest he sung Canace in labour, Orestes the murderer of his mother, Oedipus blinded, and Hercules mad. In which Last Tragedy, they tell you,

23. He was extravagantly fond of horses, from his infancy, and was continually talking of the Circensian races, tho' he was forbid so to do. And lamenting once among his school-fellows, the case of a driver of the green party, that was dragged about the Circus at the tail of his chariot, and being reprimanded by his master for it, he pretended he was talking of Hector. In the beginning of his reign, he used to play every day with chariots and four horses in them made of Ivory upon a table. And as oft as there was any thing to do in the Circus, he would come at first privately, but at last, openly, that no body ever doubted, but he would certainly be there upon those occasions. Nor did he conceal his desire to have the number of the prizes doubled: and the number of races being augmented accordingly, the diversion continued till it was late, the masters of the several parties refusing now to furnish chariots for any time less than the whole day. Presently upon this he took up a fancy for driving the chariot himself, and publicly too. Accordingly, after he had made his first essays in the gardens, amidst crowds of slaves and other rabble, he at length performed, in view of all the people in the Circus maximus, whilst one of his freed-men gave the usual signal by the tossing up of a napkin in the place where the magistrates are used to do it. And not satisfied with giving various specimens of his dexterity in these ways at Rome, he went over to Achæia, as I said above; the chief occasion whereof was this. The several cities, wherein solemn publick trials of skill in musick used to be performed, had resolved to send him the crown that were wont to be given to such as bore away the prize upon those occasions. These he accepted so very kindly, that he not only gave the deputies

*Græcos, solosque se & studiis suis dignos ait. Nec profec-
tione dilata, ut primum Cas-
siopen trajecit, itatim ad a-
ram Jovis Cassii cantare aus-
picatus est.*

proper judges of him and his attainments. And immediately putting himself upon his journey, after he was arrived at Cassiopa, he made his first musical performance immediately before the altar of Jupiter Cassius.

23. *Ceramina deinceps obli-
vit omnia. Nam & quædā diver-
sissimorum temporum sunt, co-
gi in unum annum, quibus
dam etiam iteratis fuit. O-
lympiæ quoque præter consue-
tutinem nauticum agona com-
misi. Ac, ne quid circa hæc
occupatum avocaret, detine-
re, cum præsentia ejus ur-
bicas res egere à liberto Helio
athlonetetur, rescripsit his ver-
bis, Quamvis hanc tuam con-
siliū sit & vovum, celeriter re-
verti me: tamen suadere &
optare potius debes ut Nerone dig-
nus revertar. Cantante eo, ne
necessaria quidem causa exce-
dere theatro licitum erat. Ita-
que & enixæ quædam in spec-
taentis dicuntur, & multi re-
dio audiendi laudandique chan-
tis oppidorum portis, aut fur-
tim desiluisse de muro, aut
morre simulata funere elati.
Quam autem trepide ansieque
certaverit, quanta adversario-
rum emulatione, quo metu ju-
sticium, vix credi potest. Ad-
versarios quasi plane condicio-
nis ejusdem, observare, cap-
rare, infamare secreto, non-
nunquam ex occurſu maledic-
tis incesſere, ac, si qui arte
præcellerent, corrumpere eri-
am solebat. Iudices autem, pri-
us quam inciperet, reverentiſ-
sime alloquebatur: omnia se fa-
cienda fecisse, sed eventum in
manu esse Fortune: illos, ut sa-
pientes & doctos viros fortuita
debere excludere: atque ut au-
deret hortantibus, requirere a-
nimo recedebat: ac ne sic qui-*

th he brought them an immediate audi-
ence before others that waited for it, but
likewise admitted them to his table. And
being by some of them requested to sing
at supper, and prodigiously applauded
upon it, he said, The Greeks alone
had an ear for musick, were alone

23. After this he appeared at all the solemnities of publick Games in Greece; for such as fall in different years, he brought within the compass of one, and som: he order'd to be celebra-
ted a second time in the same year. At Olympia too, contrary to custom, he appointed a publick performance in mu-
sick; and that he might not be taken off or diverted from this worthy employ-
ment, when he was informed by his freed-man Helius, that the affairs of the town required his presence, he writ to him again in these very words, That you advise and wish for my speedy return, yet you ought rather to advise and wish for my return with a character worthy of Nero. During the time of his musical performance, no body was allowed to stir out of the Theatre upon any account, how neces-
sary soever; insomuch that it's said, some women with child were delivered there; and many being quite tired out with hearing and applauding him, be-
cause the town-gates were shut, slip-
ping privately over the walls; or counter-
feiting themselves dead, were carried out in order to their funeral. With too much concern and anxiety he engaged upon these occasions, with what keen desire to carry away the prize from his adversaries, and with how much awe of the judges, appointed in those solemnities, is hardly to be believed. And as if his adversaries had been upon a level with him, he would watch them narrowly, lye at catch, defame them privately, and sometimes upon meeting them, rail at them in very foul lan-
guage; or, bribe them too, if they were better artists than himself. He al-
ways addressed the judges with the pro-
foundest reverence, before he begun, tel-
dem

dem sine sollicitudine taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam pro tristitia ac malignitate arguens, suspectosque sibi dicebat.

skillful men ought not to have any regard to things merely accidental. And upon their encouraging him to have a good heart, he went off with more assurance, but not quite free from all concern, interpreting the silence and modesty of some of them, for sourness and ill-nature, and saying that he was suspicious of them.

24. In certando vero ita legi obediebat, ut nunquam excreare ausus, sudoremque frontis brachio detergeret: atque etiam in quodam tragico actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumpisset, pavidus & metuens, ne ob delictum certamine submoveretur, non aliter confirmatus est, quam adjuvante hypocrita non animadversum id inter exultationes succlamationesque populi. Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat. Qua de causa & præconio ubique contendit. Ac ne cujus alterius hieronitarum memoria, aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti & unco trahi, abjicique in latrinas omnium statuas & imagines imperavit. Aurigavit quoque plurifariam, Olympiis vero etiam decemjugem: quamvis id ipsum in rege Mithridate, carmine quodam suo reprehendisset. Sed excussus curru, ac rursus repositus, cum perdurare non posset, defecit ante decursum: nec eo secius coronatus est. Decedens deinde, provinciam universam libertate donavit: simulque iudices civitate Romana, & pecunia grandi. Quæ beneficia è medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipse voce pronuntiavit.

voice, from the middle of the stadium, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games.

25. Reversus è Græcia in Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit, disiecta parte

ling them, He had done all things that were necessary, by way of preparation, but that the issue of the approaching trial was in the hand of fortune; that they, as wise and

24. In these contests he kept so strictly up to the rules thereof, that he never durst spit, or wipe the sweat from his forehead any other ways than with his arm. And having in a tragick performance dropt his staff, but quickly recovered it, he was notwithstanding in a great fright and apprehension upon it, lest he should be set aside for the miscarriage, and could not recover his assurance, till an actor by him swore, he was sure it had not been in the least regarded, amidst the exultations and acclamations of the people. When the prize was adjudged him, he always proclaimed the same himself, and put in amongst the publick criers in their contests for the mastery. And that no memory or the least monument might remain of any of the victors in the sacred Gracian games, he ordered all their statues and images to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the jakes. He rid the chariot too with various sets of horses, and at the Olympick games, with no fewer than ten, tho' in a poem of his he had reflected upon the memory of Mithridates for the same. But being tossed out of the chariot, he was again replaced, yet could not hold it, and was obliged to desist, before he came to the end of the race, but was crown'd notwithstanding. At his quitting the province, he declared it a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the freedom of Rome, with vast sums of money. All which favours he proclaimed himself with his own

25. In his return from Greece arriving at Naples, because he had first entered upon the publick practice of his art in that city, he made his entrance

muri, ut mos hieroniarum est. Simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam. Sed & Romam eo curru quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, & in veste purpurea, distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde, coronamque capite gerens Olympicam, dextra manu Pythiam, præeunte pompa cæterarum cum titulis, ubi, & quos, quo cantionum, quove fabularum argumento vicisset: sequentibus currum evantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumphus ejus clamitantibus. Dehinc diruto Circi maximi arcu, per velabrum Forumque, Palatium & Apollinem petiit. Incedenti passim victimæ cæse, sparsa per vias identidem croco, ingestæque aves, ac lemnisci, & bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubili circum lectos posuit. Item statuas suas citharædico habitu: qua nota etiam nummum percussit. Ac post hæc tantum abstuit à remittendo laxandoque studio, ut conservandæ vocis gratia, neque milites uquam, nisi absens, aut alio verba pronuntiante, appellaret: neque quidquam serio jocove egerit, nisi adstante phonasco, qui moneret, parceret arteriis, ac sudarium ad os applicaret: multisque vel amicitiam suam obtulerit, vel simultatem indixerit, prout quisque se magis parcivse laudasset.

thought fit to appear amongst them himself. Nor did he ever do any thing either in jest or earnest, without a voice-master standing by him to caution him against the over-straining of his wind-pipe; and to clap a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. And offered his friendship, or proclaimed open enmity to many, according as they were more lavish or sparing in their applause of him,

26 Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem sensim quidem primo & occulte, velut juvenili errore, exercuit: sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret, naturæ illa vitia non ætatis esse. Post crepusculum statim arrepto pi-

in a chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the town-wall, according to the practice of such as come off conquerors in the sacred Græcian games. In the like manner he entered Antium, Albanum and Rome. Into the last place he made his entry, mounted upon the same chariot wherein Augustus had triumphed, in a scarlet-coat, and a cloak embroidered with golden stars, with the crown won at Olympia upon his head, and that given him at the Pythian games in his right-hand, the rest being carried in a pompous manner before him, with inscriptions signifying the places where they had been won, from whom, and in what musical performances, whilst persons followed him with loud acclamations of applause, crying out, that they were the emperor's attendants, and the soldiers of his triumph. And then having caused an arch of the great Circus to be taken down, he passed through the breach, as also through the Velabrum and the Forum, to the palace and the temple of Apollo. Every where as he marched along, victims were slain, whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, ribbons and sweet meats thrown upon him. He hung the sacred crowns in his chamber about his beds. He likewise caused statues to be erected for him in the attire of a harper, and had the like stamped upon his coin. And after this he was so far from abating any thing of his application to musick, that for the preservation of his voice, he never addressed himself to the soldiers, but by messages, or with some body to deliver his speeches for him, when he

26. The vices of petulancy, lust, luxury, avarice and cruelty, he practised at first sparingly and privately, as if prompted thereto only by the folly of youth, yet so that even then the world was of opinion, they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age. After it was dark, he would enter the taverns
leo

leo vel galero, popinas inibat: circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus, nec sine pernicietamen. Siquidem redeuntes à cœna verberare, ac repugnantes vulnerare, cloacisque demergere assueverat: tabernulas etiam effringere & expillare: quintana domi constituta, ubi partæ & ad licitationem dividendæ prædæ pretium assumeretur. Ac sæpe in ejusmodi rixis, oculorum & vitæ periculum adiit, à quodam laticlavio, cujus uxorem attraxerat, prope ad necem cæsus. Quare nunquam posset se publico illud horæ sine tribunis commisit, procul & occulte subsequens. Interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum, seditionibus pantomimorum ex parte prosœnii superiori, signifer simul ac spectator aderat. Et cum ad manus ventum esset, lapidibusque & subfelliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa & ipse jecit in populum, atque etiam prætoris caput conlaucivir.

27. Paullatim vero invalescentibus vitiis, jocularia & latebras omisit, nullaque dissimulandi cura, ad majora palam erupit. Epulas à medio die ad mediam noctem protrahere: refotus sæpius calidis piscinis, ac tempore æstivo nivatis. Coenabatque nonnunquam & in publico, Naumachia præclusa, vel Martio campo, vel Circo maximo, inter scortorum torius urbis ambubiarumque ministeria. Quoties Ostiam Tiberi deflueret, aut Bajanum sinum præternavigaret, dispositæ per littora & ripas diversoriæ tabernæ parabantur, insignes ganææ & matronarum institorio copas imitantium, atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. In-

disguised in a cap or a hat, and stroll about the streets, playing abundance of wild mischievous pranks. For he used to beat such as he met coming home from supper; and if they made any resistance, would wound them too, and sink them in the jokes. He broke and robbed shops likewise, appointing a mart at home for the selling off his booty. And in the scuffle upon these occasions, he often run the hazard of losing his eyes, and his life too; being almost thumped to death by a senator, whose lady he had been rude to. After which bout, he never more ventured abroad at that time of night, without some tribunes following him at a distance. In the day-time too, he would be carried in a chair incognito into the theatre; and posting himself upon the upper part of the prosœnium, was not only a spectator of the quarrels arising upon the account of the pantomimicks, but an encourager of them too. And when they came to blows, and stones and pieces of broken benches began to fly about, he played them off very plentifully amongst the people, and once broke a prætor's head for him.

27. But his vices by degrees working more strongly in him, he laid aside his jocular pranks, and all disguise, breaking out into crimes of a more enormous nature, without the least concern to conceal them. He would continue his revels from mid-day to mid-night, being frequently refresh'd by warm baths, and in the summer-time, in such as were cooled with snow. He frequently supped in publick, as in the Naumachia with the sluices shut, or in the field of Mars, or the great Circus, being waited upon at table by the strumpets of the town, and those from Syria. As oft as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted it by the bay of Baia, booths furnished with all conveniences for drinking and whoring were set up all along the shores and banks, before which stood matrons, that like kind land-ladies, invited him a shore. He diceba

dicebat & familiaribus cenas, quorum uni missilia quadragies H. S. constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.

18. Super ingenuorum paedagogia, & nuprarum concubitus, Vestali virgini Rubria vim intulit. Actenlibertam paulum abstulit quin justo matrimonio sibi conjungeret: submissis consularibus viris qui regio genere ortum pejerarent. Puerum Sporum, exfectis testibus, etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus, cum dote & flammeo, perfolleanni nuptiarum celeberrimo officio, deductum ad se pro uxore habuit. Exstatque cujusdam non inscius jocus, Bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sporum Augustarum ornamentis excultum, lecticaque vestum, & circa conventus mercatusque Graeciae, ac mox Romae circa Sigillaria, comitatus est, identidem exosculans. Nam matris concubitus appetisse, & ab obsecrationibus ejus, ne ferocet impotens mulier & hoc genere gratiae praevaleret, detergitum nemo dubitavit: utique quostquam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinae simillimam, inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam quories lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinum incesse, ac maculis vestis proditum affigunt.

29. Suam quidem pudicitiam usque adeo prostituit, ut contaminatis pene omnibus membris, novissime quasi genus luxus excogitaret quoserse pelle contextus emitteretur e cavea, virorumque ac feminarum ad stipitem deligatorum inguina invaderet: & cum astatim de-

would invite himself to supper with his friends, one of which it cost no less than four millions of sesterces in choice crowns, and another something more in roses.

28. Besides his abuse of boys from birth, and his freedom with other men's wives, he committed a rape upon the Vestal virgin Rubria. He had like to have married Actenliberta his freed-woman, having sworn some consular gentlemen to swear that she was of royal descent. He gets the boy Sporus, and endeavoured to transform him into a woman; nay, he married him too with all the usual formality of marriage-writings, the veil, and a huge deal of company at the wedding: And when he had done, had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him as his wife. And there goes a good jest enough upon it, that it would have been happy for mankind, if his father Domitius had had such a wife. This Sporus he carried about with him in a chair round the solemn assemblies and marts of Greece, and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed up in all the finery of an empress, and now and then kissed him as they rode together. That he was passionately desirous to lie with his mother, but was dissuaded from it by her enemies, for fear the haughty insolent woman should, by such a favour, get him entirely into her power, and carry all before her, was universally believed, especially after he entertained amongst his concubines, a strumpet, who was reported to be very like Agrippina. Nay, and before this, as often as he rid in the same chair with his mother, he used to practice an incestuous sort of self-pollution, as appeared by the spots upon his clothes.

29. He prostituted his own chastity to that degree, that after he had defiled every part about him with some unnatural pollution or other, he at last invented a strange kind of diversion, which was to be let out of a den covered over with a wild beast's skin, and to seize upon the privities of both men and women tied to a stake for that purpose, and after he had suffi-

severisset

lavisset, conficeretur à Doryphoro liberto : cui etiam, si cut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupit ; voces quoque & ejulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus. Ex nonnullis comperi, persuasissimum habuisse eum, neminem hominem pudicum, aut ulla corporis parte purum esse : verum plerisque dissimulare vitium, & calliditate obtegere : ideoque professi apud se obsecrantes, cetera quoque concessisse delicta.

30. Divitiarum & pecunie fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem : sordidos ac deparcos esse quibus resio impensarum constaret : pralautos vereque magnificos qui abuterentur ac perderent. Laudabat mirabaturque avunculum Cæsum, nullo magis nomine, quam quod ingentes à Tiberio relictas opes in brevi spatio prodigisset. Quare nec largiendi nec abstumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum millia diutius erogavit, abeuntique super H.S. millies contulit. Menecratem citharædum & Spicillum mirmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis ædibusque donavit. Cercopithecum Panerotem fœneratorem, & urbanis rusticisque prædiis locupletatum, prope regio extulit funere. Nul- lam vestem bis induit. Quadringenis in punctum H.S. aleam ludit. Piscatus est rete aurato, purpura coccoque funibus nexis. Nunquam carrucis minus mille fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canislinatis mulionibus, armillata & phalerata cum Mazacum turba, atque cur- forum.

train of footmen, and Africans, tied upon horses in very fine trappings.

ciently spent his fury upon them, had his own job done by his freed-man Doryphorus, so whom he was married in the same manner Sporus had been married to himself before, imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are deflowered. I have been informed, by several, that he firmly believed, not one man in the world was chaste, or undefiled in any part of him : but that most men concealed that vice, and had the cunning to keep it private, and therefore so such as frankly owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgave all their other crimes.

30. He knew no other use of riches and money, than to squander them away profusely, looking upon all those as sordid, sneaking wretches, thus in their expences kept within due bounds, whilst he cried up those as truly noble and generous souls, that lavish'd away and wasted all before them. He magnified and admired his uncle Cæsus, upon no account, more than his consuming, in a short time, the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly he was himself profuse, and extravagant, beyond all measure. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible ; and at his departure presented him with above a million. He likewise bestowed upon Menecrates, the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of gentlemen, that had had the honour of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Panerotes with estates both in town and country ; and gave him a funeral, in pomp and magnificence, almost equal to that of princes. He never wore the same garment twice. He would game for four hundred thousand sesterces for every spot that came up upon the tali. He used to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of the finest scarlet-colour. It's said, he never travelled with less than a thousand cars attending him with his baggage : the mules being all shod with silver, and their drivers dressed in scarlet cloaths of the finest wool ; and a numerous

31. Non in alia re damno-
fior quam in ædificando. Do-
mum à Palatio Esquilias us-
que fecit. Quam primo Tran-
sitoniam, mox, incendio ab-
sumtam, restitutamque, Aure-
am nominavit. De cuius spa-
rio atque cultu suffecerit hoc
retulisse. Vestibulum ejus fuit,
in quo colossus centum viginti
pedum staret ipsius effigie :
tanta laxitas, ut porticus tri-
plices milliarias haberet : item
stagnum maris instar, circum-
septum ædificiis ad urbium
speciem. Rura insuper arvis
atque vinetis & pascuis, sil-
visque, varia cum multitudine
omnis generis pecudum ac fe-
rarum. In cæteris partibus
cuncta auro lita, distincta
gemmis unionumque conchis
erant. Conationes laqueatæ
tabulis eburneis versatilibus,
ut flores, fistularis, ut unguen-
ta desuper spargerentur. Præ-
cipua conationum rotunda,
quæ perpetuo diebus ac nocti-
bus vice mundi circumage-
retur : balineæ marinis & Al-
bulis fluentes aquis. Ejusmodi
domum cum absolutam dedi-
caret, hætenus comprobavit,
ut se diceret quasi hominem
tandem habitare cepisse. Præ-
terea inchoabat piscinam à Mi-
seno ad Avernum lacum, con-
tectam, porticibus conclusam,
quo quidquid totis Baiis calida-
rum esset converteretur. Fos-
sam ab Averno Ostiam usque,
ut navibus nec tamen mari
fretur, longitudinis per cen-
tum sexaginta millia, lati-
tudinis, qua contrariæ quin-
queremes commearent. Quo-
rum operum perficiendorum
gratia, quod ubique esset cu-
stodiæ in Italiam deportari,
etiam scelere convictos, non
nisi ad opus damnari, præce-
perat. Ad hunc impendiorum
furorem super fiduciam
imperii, etiam spe quadam re-

31. He was in nothing more prodigal
than building. He raised an house
that reached from the Palace to the
Esquilie, which he at first called Tran-
sitoria : but after it was burnt down
and rebuilt, The golden house, con-
cerning the largeness and furniture of
which it may suffice to say thus much.
The porch was so high, that there stood
in it a monstrous statue of himself, an
hundred and twenty foot in height, and
the extent of it such, that it had triple
porticos a mile in length, and a pond
like a sea, surrounded with buildings
that looked like a city. Besides this,
there was within the compass of it,
cornfields, vineyards, pastures and wood,
with a vast number of beasts of all
sorts, both wild and tame. It was in
all the parts of it overlaid with gold,
and finely adorned with jewels and mo-
ther of pearl. The rooms of entertain-
ment were arch'd, with vaults of ivory,
that turned round and scattered flowers
about the rooms, and were besides fur-
nish'd with pipes for the dropping of
unguents upon the guests. The chief
banqueting room was round, and perpe-
tually turning about night and day,
in imitation of the motion of the hea-
vens. The baths were provided with
water from the sea and Albula. Upon
the first opening of the house, after it's
being finished, he gave it a slight ap-
probation in these words, that he had
now got a lodging fit for a man to
live in. He likewise begun a pond for
the reception of all the warm rivulets
from Baia, which he designed to have
carried on from Misene to the Arve-
nian lake, under a cover, and inclosed
within Porticos, as also a canal from
Arvernum to Ostia, for the convenience
passing betwixt those two places by ship-
ping, and yet not by sea, an hundred
and sixty miles in length, and of a
breadth sufficient to let ships with five
banks of oars pass one another. For
the carrying on of which designs, he
ordered all prisoners, every where, to be
brought into Italy, and that such as were
convicted of the most heinous crimes,
should only be condemned to work there-
in. He was encouraged to all this wild
penina

pentina immensarum & reconditarum opum impulsus est, ex indicio equitis Romani pro comperto pollicentis, thesauros antiquissimæ gazæ, quos Dido regina fugiens Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis specubus abditos, ac posse erui parvula molientium opera.

31. Verum ut spes fefellit, destitutus, atque ita jam exhaustus & egens, ut stipendia quoque militum, & commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset, calumniis rapinisque intendit animum. Ante omnia instituit ut æ libertorum defunctorum bonis pro semisse dodrans cogeretur ei, si qui sine probabili causa eo nomine essent, quo fuissent illæ familiæ quas ipse contingeret: deinde ut ingratum in principem testamenta ad fiscum perirent: ac ne impune esset studiosis juris qui scripserint vel distulerint ea: tum ut lege majestatis facta dictaque omnia, quibus modo delator non deesset, tenerentur. Revocavit & præmia coronarum, quæ unquam sibi in certaminibus civitates detulissent. Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris, submitissetque qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias venderet, præcluserit cunctos negotiatores. Quinetiam inter canendum animadversam matronam è spectaculis, vetita purpura cultam, demonstrasse procuratoribus suis creditur, detractamque illico, non veste modo sed & bonis exiit. Nul-li delegavit officium, ut non adjiceret: scis quid mihi opus sit, & hoc agamus, ne quis quidquam habeat. Ultimo, templis compluribus dona detraxit, simulacraque ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit:

expense, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but by the sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure, viz. that which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought along with her into Africa, which a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good information, was still hid there in some lonely caves, which might, by a little labour, be dug up again.

32. But being balked in his expectations of this supply, and quite exhausted and reduced to those difficulties, for want of money, that he was obliged to suspend the payment of his troops, and the advance of the premiums due to the Veterans, he resolved upon the supply of his necessities, in the way of false accusation and rapine. In the first place he ordered, that if any freedman bore the name of any family he was allied to, without sufficient reason, at his decease, instead of half, three fourths of his estate should be brought into the exchequer, as also that the estates of such as had not, in their wills, been grateful to their prince, should be all confiscated; and that the lawyers, who had drawn, or dictated such wills, should be liable to a fine. And that all words and actions, that any informer could but ground an action upon, should pass for treason. He likewise demanded the value of the crowns, which the cities of Greece had at any time offered him in the solemn games there. And having forbid the use of the Amethystine and Tyrian scarlet, he privately sent one to sell a few ounces thereof upon the day of the nundine, and then shut up all the merchants shops for them. It's said too, that as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in that kind of scarlet he had forbid the use of, he pointed her out to his procurators; upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her cloaths, but her estate too. He never nominated a person to any office, without saying to him, You know what I want; and let us take care to leave no body any thing. At

in his Penatium deorum, quæ
mox Galba restituit.

last he rifled abundance of temples of
the rich offerings that had been di-
posited therein, and melted down all the gold and silver statues, and a-
mongst them those of the Penates, which afterwards Galba restored.

33. Parricidia & cædes a
Claudio exorsus est: cujus
necis, etsi non auctor, ac
conscius fuit: neque dissimu-
lantes, ut qui boletos, in quo
cibi genere venenum is ac-
ceperat, quasi deorum cibum,
posthac proverbio Græco col-
laudare sit solitus. Certe
omnibus rerum verborumque
contumeliis mortuum insecta-
tus est, modo stultitiæ, modo sæ-
vitie arguens. Nam & morari
eum inter homines desiisse, pro-
ducta prima syllaba jocabatur:
multaque decreta & constitui-
ta, ut insipientis atque deliri,
pro irritis habuit. Denique
bustum ejus conspici, nisi
humili levique materia, ne-
glexit. Britannicum, non
minu æmulatione vocis, quæ
illi jucundior suppetebat, quam
metu ne quandoque apud
hominum gratiam paterna
memoria prævaleret, veneno
aggressus est. Quod accep-
tum a quadam Locusta, ve-
nenariorum indice, cum opi-
nione tardius cederet, ventre
modo Britannici moto, ac-
cessit mulierem sua manu
verberavit, arguens pro ve-
neno remedium dedisse. Ex-
cusantique minus datum ad
occultandam facinoris invi-
diam, Sane, inquit, legem Ju-
liam timeo: coegitque se co-
ram in cubiculo quam posset
velocissimum ac præsentia-
neum couquere. Deinde in
hædo expertus, postquam is
quinque horas protraxit, ite-
rum ac sæpius recoctum, por-
cello objectit. Quo statim ex-
animato, inferri in triclinium
darique coenanti secum Bri-
tannico imperavit. Et cum
ille ad primum gustum con-

33. He began the practice of parricide and murder with Claudius himself: for tho' he was not the contriver of his death, yet he was privy to the design upon him, nor did he make any secret of it, but used afterward to commend by a Græcian proverb mulbromi as food fit for Gods; because he had been poisoned with one. He abused his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner, one while railing at him for his folly, another while for his cruelty. For he used by way of jest to say that he had given over morari amongst men, pronouncing the first syllable of the word long, and repeated many of his decrees and constitution, as made by a doating old blockhead. He made but an ordinary low sent about the place where his body was burnt. He attempted to poison Britannicus, as much out of envy, because he had a sweeter voice, as for fear of his proving too strong for him, by reason of the respect the people had for the memory of his father. The person employed for the purpose was one Locusta, an evidence against some that had been guilty of the practise of that horrid wickedness. But the poison he had from her, working more slowly than he expected, and only giving him for the present a looseness, he sent for the woman and beat her with his own hand, charging her with giving him an antidote instead of poison, and upon her alledging in excuse for herself, that she had given him but a gentle mixture, to prevent suspicion, what, says he, I warrant you, I am afraid of the Julian law, and obliged her to prepare upon the spot before his eyes as quick and strong a dose as possible. This he tryed upon a kid, but he lingering for sixe hours before he expired, he ordered her to go to work again and when she had done, gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he ordered it to be brought in, and given Britannicus, as he was at
cidisset,

cidisset, comitiali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus, postero die raptim inter maximos imbres translatitio extulit funere. Locusta pro navata opera, impunitatem prædique ampla, sed & discipulos dedit, don, with a vast estate in land, and put some disciples to her for the learning of her trade.

34. Matrem dicta factaque sua exquirentem acerbius & corrigenstem, hætenus primo gravabatur, ut invidia identidem oneraret, quasi cessurus imperio, Rhodumque abiturus: mox & honore omni & potestate privavit; abductaque militum & Germanorum statione, contubernio quoque ac palatio expulit. Neque in divexanda quidquam pensi habuit: submissis & qui Romæ morantem, litibus, & in secessu quiescentem, per convitia & jocos, terra marique prætervehentes inquietarent. Verum minis ejus ac violentia territus perdere statuit. Et cum veneno ter tentasset, sentiretque antidotis præmunitam, lacunaria, quæ noctu super dormientem laxata machina deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per confcios parum celato, solutilem navem, cujus vel naufragio vel cameræ ruina periret, commentus est. Atque ita reconciliatione simulata, jucundissimis litteris Bajas evocavit ad sollennia Quinquatrum simul celebranda: datoque negotio trierarchis, qui Liburnicam, qua advecta erat, velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium. Repetentique Baulos, in locum corrupti naviglii, machinosum illud obstruit, hilare prosecutus: atque in digressu papillas quoque excolatus, reliquum tempo-

supper with him. And he falling down immediately at the first tasting of it, pretending to the company, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness which he had been used to be troubled with, he buried him the day following, in a very poor manner, and a vast hurry, during a very rainy season. He gave Locusta for her service, a par-

34. His mother was used to enquire very strictly into every thing he said or did, and to reprimand him very freely, which gave him so much disturbance, that he endeavoured to expose her to the resentment of the publick, by frequently pretending to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes, and soon after deprived her of all honour and power, and taking from her her guard of Roman and German soldiers, he banished her the palace, plagued and tormented her by all the ways he could think of, employing persons to persecute her when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirements from town, with foul language and banter as they pass'd either by land or sea. But being terrified with her threats and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction, and twice attempting it by poison, not finding her secured beforehand by antidotes, he provided a contrivance to let loose the floor above her bed-chamber, upon her as she was asleep in the night. But this design being not kept close enough by those concerned in it, he contrived a ship that would easily fall a piece, in hopes of destroying her either by the dissolution of it, or the falling in of the cabin upon her. Accordingly under the cover of a pretended reconciliation, he writes her a mighty civil letter, inviting her to Bæia, to celebrate there together with himself the festival of Minerva, and having given private orders to the captains of the triemes that were to attend her, to shatter her ship to pieces, by falling foul upon it, but in such a manner as to make the thing appear accidental only, he prolong'd the entertainment for the better convenience of doing it in the

ris cum magna trepidatione
vigilavit coeptorum opperiens
exitum. Sed ut diversa om-
nia, nandoque evasisse eam,
comperir, inops consilii, L.
Agerinum, libertum ejus,
salvam & incolumem cum
gaudio nuntiantem, obiecto
clam juxta pugione, ut per-
cussorem sibi subornatum ar-
ripi constringique jussit, ma-
tremque occidi, quasi depre-
hensum crimen voluntaria
morte vitasset. Adduntur his
atrociora, nec incertis anec-
dotis, ad visendum interfe-
ctæ cadaver accurrisse, con-
tractasse membra, alia laudasse
fictique interim oborta, bibis-
se. Neque ramen sceleris
conscientiam, quamquam &
militum & senatus popu-
lique gratulationibus con-
firmaretur, aut statim aut
unquam postea ferre po-
ruit: sæpe confessus ex-
agitari se materna specie,
verberibus Furiarum, ac tæ-
dis ardentibus. Quin & facto
per Magos sacro, evocare
Manes, & exorare tentavit.
Peregrinatione quidem Græ-
ciæ, Eleusiniis sacris, quo-
rum initiatione impii & sce-
lerati voce præconis submo-
verentur, interesse non ausus
est. Junxitque parricidio
matris amitæ necem. Quam
cum ex duritia alvi cubantem
visitaret, & illa tractans la-
nuginem ejus, ut assollet, jam
grandis natu, per blanditiâs
forte dixisset, *Simul hanc ex-
cepero, mori volo*, conversus
ad proximos, contestim se
positurum velut irridens ait:
præcepitque medicis ut lar-
gius purgarent ægram. Nam
nec dum defunctæ bona in-
vasit, suppresso testamento
ne quid abscederet

*position occasioned by a costiveness, he paid her a visit, and the good old la-
dy stroking his downy chin, and saying, may I but live to see the first
shaving of this, I shall then be content to dy. He turn'd to those about
him,*

night, and at her return for Bauli, in-
stead of an old ship, she came in, of-
fered her that he had contrived for
her destruction, and waited upon her
very chearfully to the vessel, and at
parting with her kissed her breast,
after which he set up very late in
the night, waiting in terrible concern
to hear the issue of his project. But
being informed that all things had
fallen out quite contrary to his wish,
and that she had saved herself by
swimming, not knowing now what
course to take, upon her freedman L.
Agerinus bringing word with a great
deal of joy, that she was safe and
well, he privately dropped a poniard
by him, and then commanded him to
be seized and clapped in chains, un-
der pretence of his being employ'd by
his mother to assassinate him, at the
same time ordering her to be put to
death, and giving out that to avoid
the resentment of her intended plot,
she had laid violent hands upon her-
self. There are some circumstances re-
lated about this affair still more hor-
rid, and upon very good authori-
ty, as that he went to view her corpse
and handling her limbs, disparaged
some and commended others, and
growing thirsty during this survey,
called for drink. Yet he was not able to
bear, either then or at any time after
the reproaches of his own Conscience
for this villany, tho' he was encourag-
ed by the congratulatory addresses of
both soldiery, senate and people, fre-
quently confessing that he was haunted
by his mother's ghost, and persecuted
with the whips and burning torches of
the furies. Nay he attempted too by
a magick sacrifice to fetch up her ghost
from below, in order to mollify her rage
against him. When he was in Greece,
he durst not presume to attend at the
performance of the Eleusnian rites, up-
on hearing the cryer discharge all impi-
ous and wicked villains from approach-
ing. To the murder of his mother he
joined that of his aunt, for being obliged
to keep her bed upon account of an indis-

him; and by way of jest upon it, said, that he would have his beard immediately taken off. And seized upon her estate before she was dead, suppressing her will that he might sweep all.

35. *Uxores præter Octaviam duas postea duxit, Poppæam Sabinam, quæstorio patre natam, & equiti Romano ante nuptam: deinde Stacilliam Messalinam Tauri his consulis ac triumphalis abneptem. Quæ ut possetur, virum ejus Atticum Vestinum COS. in honore ipso trucidavit. Octaviæ consuetudinem cito aspernatus, corripientibus amicis, sufficere illi debere, respondit, uxoria ornamenta. Eandem mox sæpe frustra strangulare meditatatus, dimisit ut sterilem: sed improbante divortium populo, nec parcente convitiis, etiam relegavit. Denique occidit sub crimine adulteriorum, adeo impudenti falsoque, ut in questione pernegantibus cunctis, Anicetum prædagogum suum indicem subjecerit, qui dolo stupratam à se fateretur. Poppæam duodecimo die post divortium Octaviæ in matrimonium acceptam dilexit unice. Et tamen ipsam quoque icu calcis occidit: quod se ex auratione sero reversum, gravida & ægra convitiis incesse rat. Ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam, amissaque admodum infantem. Nullum adeo necessitudinis genus est quod non scelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudii filiam recusantem post Poppææ mortem nuptias suas, quasi molitricem novarum rerum, interemit. Similiter interemit cæteros, aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate conjunctos. In quibus Aulum Plautium juvenem: quem cum ante mortem per vim construxisset, Eat nunc, inquit, mater mea, & successorem meum osculetur: jactans dilectum ab eo, & ad spem imperii*

35. He had two wives besides Octavia, Poppæa Sabina the daughter of a Gentleman, that had been quæstor, who had been married before to a Roman Knight, and after her, Stacilia Messalina greene grand-daughter to Taurus who was twice consul, and had the honour of a triumph; in order to enjoy whom, he put to death her husband Atticus Vestinus, at that time consul. He was soon weary of Octavia's bed, and being censured by his friends for it, he replied the marks of distinction belonging an empress ought to suffice her. Soon after he attempted several times, but in vain, to strangle her, and then divorced her as being barren. But the people expressing their dislike of it, and giving their tongues a great deal of liberty upon the occasion, he banished her too. And at last put her to death, upon a charge of adultery so very impudent and apparently false, that when all that were examined by torture about it absolutely denied their knowledge of any such thing of her, he was forced to suborn his prædagogue Anicetus to confess that he had by a trick prevailed upon her to submit to his lust. He married Poppæa twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and loved her entirely, and yet killed her with a kick he gave her, when she was big with child and indisposed, only because she took the liberty to chide him for coming late home from his exercise of driving the chariot. He had by her a daughter Claudia Augusta, that died an infant. There was indeed no kind of relations that did not feel the effects of his cruelty to their destruction. He put to death Antonia Claudius's daughter, who refused to marry him after the death of Poppæa, under pretence of her being engaged in a plot against him. In like manner did he destroy all the rest that were any ways allied to him either by blood or marriage, amongst whom was young Aulus Plautius. He first obliged him to submit to his unnatural lust, and then ordered him to be executed, impulsus

impulsam. Privignum Rufinum Crispinum, Poppæa natum, impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus & imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piscaretur, servis ipsius demandavit. Tuscum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Egypti, balneis in adventum suum extractis lavisset. Senecam præceptorem ad necem compulit; quamvis sæpe comæatum petenti, bonisque cedenti, persancte iurasset, suspectum se frustra, periturumque potius quam nociturum ei. Burro præfecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus, toxicum misit. Libertos, divites & senes olim adoptionis, mox dominationis suæ fautores, atque rectores, veneno partim cibis, partim potionibus indito, interceptit.

Some old rich freed-men of Claudius, that had been formerly the promoters of his adoption by that prince, and very instrumental in his advancement to the empire, and were his governours too, he took off by poison given them in their meat or drink.

36. Nec minore sævitia foris & in externos grassatus est. Stella crinita, quæ summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri coeperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Babilo astrologo didicit, solere reges talia ostensa cæde aliqua illustri expiare, atque a semet in capita procerum depellere: nobilissimo cuique exitium destinavit. Enimvero multo magis & quasi per justam causam duabus conjurationibus promulgatis, quarum prior majorque Pisoniana Romæ, posterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atque detecta est. Conjurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere cautam: cum quidam crimen ultro facerentur, nonnulli etiam imputarent tanquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere, dedecorato flagitiis

mallog. al

crying out now let my mother go kiss my successor, pretending he had been his mother's gallant, and by her encouraged to aspire to the empire. His step-son Rufinus Crispinus, Poppæa's son, tho' a minor he ordered to be drowned in the sea, as he was fishing, by his own slaves, because he was reported to act frequently amongst his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. He banished Tuscus his nurse's son, for presuming, when he was procurator of Egypt, to wash in the baths provided against his coming. His master Seneca he forced to kill himself, altho' upon his desiring leave to withdraw from court, and offering to resign up to him his estate, he solemnly swore, that there was no foundation for his suspicion of him, and that he would perish himself rather than hurt him. Having promised Burrus the commander of the guards a remedy for a swelling in his throat, he sent him poison.

36. Nor did he proceed with less cruelty against those that were not of his family. A blazing star, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horizon several Nights together. This he was in a mighty concern about, and being informed by one Babilus an Astrologer that princes used to stare at the danger threatned them by such prodigies, by shedding the blood of illustrious persons, and so divert the mischief forboded from themselves upon their grantees, he resolved upon the destruction of the prime nobility in Rome, and the rather, because he seemed to have some plausible pretence for it, from the discovery of two conspiracies against him, the first and more dangerous of which was that form'd by Piso and discovered at Rome, the other was that of Vinicius at Beneventum. The Conspirators were brought upon their tryals loaded with treble irons. Some frankly confessed the charge, nay some reckoned their design upon his life as a favour he

omnibus,

omnibus. Damnatorum liberi urbe pulsi, enectique veneno aut fame. Constat quosdam cum pædagogis & capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos, alios diurnum victum prohibitos querere.

some with their pedagogues and slaves that bore their books after them, were all poisoned together at one dinner, and others not suffered to seek their daily bread.

37. Nullus posthac adhibitus delectus aut modus interimendi quoscunque libuisset, quacunque de causa. Sed ne de pluribus referam, Salvidieno Orsito objectum est quod tabernas tres de domo sua circa forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset: Cassio Longino jurisconsulto, ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii percussoris Cæsaris imagines restituisset: Peto Thraseæ, tristior & pædagogi vultus. Mori iussis non amplius quam horarium spatium dabat. Ac ne quid moræ interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes continuo curarent. Ita enim vocabat, venas mortis gratia incidere. Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Egyptii generis, crudam carnem & quidquid daretur mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumentosque objicere. Elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus, negavit quemquam principum scisse quid sibi liceret. Multasque nec dubias significationes sæpe jecit, ne reliquis quidem se parvum senatoribus, eumque ordinem sublaturum quandoque Republica, ac provincias & exercitus equiti Romano ac libertis permissurum. Certe neque adveniens, neque proficiens, quemquam osculo impetivit, ac ne resalutatione quidem. Et in auspicando opere Isthmi, magna frequentia

was obliged to them for, as if it was impossible any other ways than by death to relieve such a wretched scandalous villain as he was. The children of such as were condemned, were banished the city, and afterwards either poisoned or starved to death. It's certain

37. From this time he butchered without distinction or quarter all he pleased upon any idle pretence. To mention only a few. It was laid to the charge of Salvidienus Orsitus, that he had let out three shops belonging his house in the Forum to some cities for the use of their deputies at Rome. The charge against Cassius Longinus a blind lawyer was that he kept among the busts of his ancestors, who that of C. Cassius had a hand in the death of Julius Cæsar. And the only thing objected against Petus Thraseas was a cloudy countenance, like that of a pedagogue. He allowed no more than an hour's time to those he obliged to kill themselves; and to prevent delay, he sent them physicians to cure them immediately, if they lingered beyond the time allowed them. For so he called bleeding them to death. There was in those days an Egyptian of a most voracious stomach, that would digest raw flesh, or any thing else that was given him. It is credibly reported he was mighty desirous to furnish him with living men to tear and devour. Being wonderfully elated and puffed up with his mighty success in barbarous villany, he declared upon it, that no prince before himself ever knew the extent of his power. And gave many pretty plain intimations, that he would not spare the senators that were left; and would some time or other quite extirpate that order of the people, and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman Knights, and his freedmen. It's certain that he never would, either upon his coming to town, or leaving it, vouchsafe any one of them the civility of a kiss, or the return of a

clare,

clare, *Ut sibi ac populo Romano bene res videretur, optavit, dissimulata senatus mentione,*

business might prove fortunate for himself and the Roman people, without taking any notice of the senate at all.

38. Sed nec populo aut mœnibus patriæ pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi,

salute. And in entering upon his project of making a cut through the Isthmus, he with a loud voice amidst a vast concourse of people, wished the

38. But however, he spared neither the people, nor the city itself. And some body in conversation saying,

Εἴ μὲ θανάτος γὰρ αὖ μυχθῶτω τῷ πῶρι.

When I am dead, let fire devour the World.

immo, inquit, ἐμὴ ζωὴτος. Planeque ita fecit: nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, & angustis flexuisque vicorum, incendit urbem iam palam, ut plerique consulares, cubicularios ejus, cum stupa tædæque, in prædiis suis deprehensos non attigerint: & quædam horrea circa domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime defuderat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta, atque inflammata sint, quod saxeo muro constructa erant. Per sex dies, septemque noctes ea clade sæviturum est, ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria plebe compulsa. Tunc præter imensum numerum insularum, domus priscorum ducum arserunt, hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatæ, deorumque ædes ab regibus, ac deinde Punicis ac Gallicis bellis votæ dedicatæque: & quidquid visendum acque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium è turri Mæcænatiana prospectans, lætusque flammæ, ut agebat, pulcritudine, ἄλκιον Ἰλίου in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posset prædæ & manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum & ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reli-

Nay, said he, let it be whilst I am living. And he acted accordingly; for pretending to take offence at the ugliness of the old buildings, with the narrowness and winding of the streets, he set the city on fire in so bare-faced a manner, that a great many consular gentlemen, caught those of his bed-chamber with tow, and torches for lighting, in their own houses, but durst not meddle with them. And some granaries nigh his golden house, the ground-plot of which he very much long'd to come at, were battered with rams, and then set on fire, because the walls were all of stone. For six days, and seven nights, was this terrible devastation made, the poor common people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and shelter. At that time, besides a prodigious number of stately buildings, the houses of generals, that had been of old men of renown, even then finely beautify'd with the spoils of war, were all laid in ashes, as also the temples of the Gods, that had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the wars with the Carthaginians and Gauls; and in short, every thing of antiquity, that was remarkable and worth seeing. This fire he beheld from a tower on the top of Mæcæna's house, and being hugely diverted, as he said, with the beauty of the flame, he sung the distich of the destruction of Troy, in the dress used by him upon the stage. And to make his advantage of this calamity, in the way of plunder and rapine, he promised to bring of

quias rerum suarum adire permisit: collationibusque non receptis modo, verum & efflagitatis, provincias privatorumque census prope exhaustit.

but demanded contributions upon the account, till he had exhausted both the provinces and private persons.

39. Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis, probrisque, quædam & fortuna: pestilentia unius autumni, qua tringenta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt: clades Britannica, qua duo præcipua oppida, magna civium fociorumque crede, direpra sunt: ignominia ad Orientem legionibus in Armenia sub jugum missis, ægreque Syria retenta. Mirum, & vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta & conviria hominum tulisse: neque in ullos leniorem, quam qui dictis aut carminibus lacerassent, extitisse. Multa Græce Latineque proscripta, aut vulgata sunt, sicut illa.

lampoons. Many things of that nature were posted up in the town, & otherways spread amongst the people, both in Greek and Latin, as these;

the bodies of such as had perished in the fire, and remove the rubbish at his own expence; and so suffered no body to come at the remains of their houses or goods. Yet he not only received,

39. These terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the public by their prince, were attended with some from fortune too, as a plague, by which, within the compass of one autumn, no less than thirty thousand people died, as appeared by the books of the temple of Libitina; a terrible loss in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging the Romans, were plundered, with miserable havoc of our troops and allies both. A shameful battle of our army in the east, viz. Armenia; where our legions were obliged to pass under the yoke; and it was with great difficulty we kept Syria. Amidst all these things it was strange, and indeed extremely remarkable, that he took nothing more patiently, than foul language and railing; and was none with more gentleness, than such as traduced him by rude reflections and lampoons.

Νέρος, Ορέστης, Ἀλκμαίων, Νερούτων.

Νέρουμδον Νέρος, ὀρέστης, ἀλκμαίων, νερούτων.

Nero, Orestes, and Alcmaion, flew

Their Mothers, Nero worst of all the Crew.

Qui: negat Aeneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

That Nero from the great Aeneas came

Who can deny? the one amidst the flame

Of Troy bore off his aged Sire, the other

Like a good loving Son, took off his mother.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus;

Noster erit Pæan, ille Ἑκατέβελετος.

Our's strings the lyre, the Parthian strings his bow.

Our's Pæan call, the other Hekatebeleto.

Roma domus fiet: Veijs migrate Quirites,

Si non & Veijs occupat ista domus.

Rome will be all one house, to Veijs fly;

If that house reach not thither by and by.

Sed neque auctores requisivit: & quosdam per indicem delatos ad senatum, affici graviore poena prohibuit. Transcuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene canitaret, sua bona male disponderet. Et Datus Atellanarum histrio in cantico quodam, *ὕμνος* *ὑμνος* *ὑμνος*, ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum C. Claudii Agrippinaeque significans: & in novissima clausula.

But he neither made any enquiry after the authors, nor would he suffer a severe sentence to pass upon some that were informed of to the senate. *Isidorus* the Cynick philosopher, told him with a loud voice, as he was passing along the streets, that he sung the misfortunes of Nauplius well, but behaved badly himself. And *Datus* an actor of farces, in repeating those words of a song, *Healith attend you father, Healith attend you mother, did by his gestures represent one drinking and swimming; putting the people thereby in mind of the death of Claudius and Agrippina: and at uttering the last clause,*

Orcus vobis ducit pedes.

Orcus now has you by the heels.

Senatum gestu notaret: histriionem & philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque submovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiae, vel ne faciendo dolorem, irritaret ingenia.

by his action he plainly intimated his application thereof to the senate, yet Nero only banished the player and philosopher from the city and Italy, either from a real contempt of infamy, or for fear of bringing the wits of the times more upon him, by discovering his great uneasiness.

40. Talem principem paullo minus xiv annos perpassus terrarum orbis, tandem destituit: initium facientibus Gallis, duce Julio Vindice, qui tum eam provinciam pro praetore obtinebat. Praedictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat, fore ut quandoque destitueretur: unde illa vox ejus celeberrima, *ἡ πόλις ἡ πόλις* *ἡ πόλις* *ἡ πόλις*. Quo majore venia meditaretur citharcedicam artem principi sibi gratam, privato necessariam. Spondere tamen quidam destituto ei ordinationem Orientis, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem. Cui spei promior, Britannia Armeniique amissa,

40. The world having born with such an emperor as this little less than fourteen years, at last forsook him, and first the Gauls with *Julius Vindex* at the head of them, who at that time governed the province as proprator. Nero had been formerly told by astrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at last forsaken by all the world: which occasioned that famous saying of his, *An Artist may live in any country, designed to insinuate some sort of an excuse for his practise of the musical art, since it was entertaining to him, now he was a prince, and would be necessary for him, when reduced to a private fortune. Yet some of the astrologers promised him after his forlorn condition, the government of the east, and some expressly the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the most part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to*

ac rursus utraque recepta, de-
sanctum se fatalibus malis
existimabat. Ut vero consul-
to Delphis Apolline, septua-
gesimum ac tertium annum
cavendum sibi audivit, quasi
eo demum obiturus, ac nihil
conjectans de morte Galbæ,
tanta fiducia, non modo se-
nectam, sed etiam perpetuam
singularemque concepit felici-
tatem, ut amissis naufragio
pretiosissimis rebus, non du-
bitaverit inter suos dicere,
pisces eas sibi relaturus. Nea-
poli de motu Galliarum cog-
novit die ipso quo matrem
occiderat: adeoque lente ac
secure tulit, ut gaudens eti-
am suspensionem præberet,
tamquam occasione nata spo-
liandarum jure belli opulen-
tissimarum provinciarum.
Statimque in gymnasium pro-
gressus, certantes athletas ef-
fusissimo studio spectavit.
Cœnæ quoque tempore inter-
pellatus, tumultuosioribus lit-
teris, hæcenus excanduit, ut
malum eis qui descissent, mi-
naretur. Denique per octo
continuos dies non rescribere
cuiquam, non mandare quid
aut præcipere conatus, rem si-
lentio obliteravit.

41. Edictis tandem Vindi-
cis contumeliosis, & frequenti-
bus permotus, senatum episto-
la in ultionem sui rei que pub-
licæ adhortatus est: excusato
languore faucium, propter
quem non adesset. Nihil au-
tem æque doluit quam ut ci-
tharædum malum se increpi-
tum, ac pro Nerone Enobar-
bum appellatum. Et nomen
quidem gentile, quod sibi per
contumeliam exprobraretur,
resumtum se professus est,
deposito adoptivo. Cætera
convicia ut falsa, non alio
argumento refellebat, quam
quod etiam inscitia tantopere
laboratæ perfectæque à se ar-

his former fortune. And being most in-
clinable to believe the latter prediction
upon losing Britain and Armenia, and
recovering them again, he fancied he
had run through all the misfortunes
the fates had decreed for him. But
when upon consulting Apollo at Delphi,
he was advised to have a care of the
seventy third year, as if he was to die
in that year, and dreaming nothing of
Galba's age, he conceived such mighty
hopes, not only of living to old age,
but also of constant and uncommon good
fortune, that having lost some things
of great value by shipwreck, he scrup-
pled not to say amongst his friends, that
the fishes would bring him them a-
gain. At Naples he heard of the in-
surrection in Gaul, upon the very day
on which he slew his mother, and bore
it with that easiness and security, that
he gave ground for suspicion, that he
was really glad of it, as if he had
now a fine opportunity put into his
hand, of plundering those wealthy pro-
vinces by right of war: and imme-
diately entering the Gymnasium he be-
held the wrestlers exercise with a great
deal of pleasure. And being interrup-
ted at supper with letters, that brought
still worse news, he resented matters no
farther, than only to threaten the ra-
bels. Finally, for eight days together,
he neither attempted to answer any let-
ters, nor give any orders, but buried
the whole affair in profound silence.

41. At last being roused by the ma-
ny abusive declarations of Vindex, he in
a letter to the senate entreated them
to stand by him and the publick, desir-
ing them to excuse his not appearing in
the house, because he had got cold. But
nothing galled him so much as to find
himself rail'd at for a pitiful harper,
and instead of Nero stild Enobarbar.
Which name being that of his family,
since he was upbraided with it, he de-
clared he would resume, and lay aside
that he had by adoption. In his en-
deavour to compute the other crimes he
was reproached with, he insisted upon
no argument, but that of his being
upbraided with want of skill in an
art he had spent so much pains upon,
and had arriv'd at such a perfection
N n 2 tis

tis obijceretur : singulos subinde rogans, *missenue quinquem praestiterem.* Sed urgentibus aliis super alios supplicis, Romam praetrepidus rediit. Leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum annotasset insculptum monumento, militem Gallum ab equite Romano oppressum, trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exiluit gaudio, coelumque adoravit. Ac ne tunc quidem aut senato, aut populo coram appellato, quoddam ē primoribus viris domum evocavit : transactaque raptim consulatione, reliquam diei partem per organa hydraulica novi & ignoti generis circumduxit. Ostendensque singula, de ratione ac difficultate cujusque differens, jamque se etiam prolaturum omnia in theatrum affirmavit, si per Vindicem liceat.

culty of the contrivance, all in
in the theatre, if *Vindex* would

42. Postquam deinde etiam Galbam & Hispanias descivisse cognovit, collapsus, animoque male fracto, diu & sine voce & prope intermortuus jacuit. Urque resipuit, velle discissa, capite converbato, *actum de se pronuntiavit.* Consolanturque nutriculae, & aliis quoque jam principibus similia accidisse memoranti, *se vero prater ceteros inaudita & incognita pati,* respondit, qui *suum imperium vivus amitteret.* Nec eo secius quidquam ex consuetudine luxus atque desidiae omisit vel imminuit. Quinimo, cum prosperi quidam ex provinciis nuntiatum esset, super abundantissimam coenam jocularia in defectionis duces carmina, lasciveque modulata, quae vulgo innotuerunt, etiam gesticulatus est: ac spectaculis theatri clam illatus, cuidam scenico pla-

in, asking now and then those about him, if they knew any one that excelled him in that way. But being alarmed with messengers after messengers of ill news from Gaul, he returned in great consternation to Rome. And being somewhat comforted upon the road by the observation of the frivolous omen, of a gallick soldier defeated by a Roman knight, and dragged along by the hair, carved upon a monument, he jumped again for joy at the sight of it, and adored the heavens. Yet even then he made no personal application either to the senate or the people, but calling together some of the principal persons in town to his own house, he held with them a short hasty consultation upon the present state of his affairs, and then during the remaining part of the day, carried them about with him to view some musical instruments of a new invention that were played by water; shewing them every thing about them, and discoursing upon the reason and difficulty he told them he designed to pronounce give him leave.

42. Soon after he was advised that Galba and Spain had declared against him; upon which falling down under a terrible dejection of mind, he laid a long time speechless, and in a manner dead. As soon as he came to himself, he tore his cloaths, and beat his head, crying out, that he was ruin'd. His nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied, he was beyond all example miserable, who lost an empire whilst he was living. But notwithstanding he did not omit or abate any thing of his usual way of living, being as luxurious and negligent of business as ever. Nay, upon the arrival of some good news from the provinces, he at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of wantonness, some jocular verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made publick; and set them off with proper gestures. And being privately brought into the theatre, he sent word to an actor that pleased the company,

centi nuntium misit, *abuti-
cum occupatissimis suis.*

43. Initio statim tumultus, multa & immania, verum non abhorrentia à sua natura, creditur destinasse. Successores, percussoresque submittere exercitus & provincias regentibus quasi conspiratis, idemque & unum sentientibus, quidquid ubique exulum, quidquid in urbe hominum Gallicanorum esset, contrucidare: illos, ne desciscientibus aggregarentur: hos, ut conscios popularium suorum, atque fautores, Gallias exercitibus diripiendas permittere: senatum universum veneno per convivia necare, urbem incendere feris in populum immisis, quo difficilius defenderetur. Sed absterritus, non tam poenitentia quam perficiendi desperatione, credensque expeditionem necessariam, COSS. ante tempus privavit honore: atque in utriusque locum solus init consulatum, quasi fatale esset, non posse Gallias debellari nisi à consule. Ac susceptis fascibus, cum post epulas triclinio digrederetur, innixus humeris familiarium, affirmavit, simul ac primum provinciam attingisset, inermem se in conspectum exercituum proditurum, nec quidquam aliud quam fleturum. Revocatisque ad poenitentiam defectoribus, sequenti die lætum inter lætos cantaturum epinicia, quæ jam nunc sibi componi oporteret.

44. In præparanda expeditione primam curam habuit deligendi vehicula, portandis scenicis organis, concubinasque, quas secum educeret, tondendi ad virilem modum, & securibus peltisque Amazonicis instruendi. Mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit: ac

that he made too free with the Emperor's employment.

43. At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed he had formed many bloody projects; but agreeable enough to his temper, to give out new commissions for the government of the provinces, and command of the armies, and to send assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as all unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him; to massacre all the exiles, and all the Gauls in Rome; the former, lest they should join the revolted; the latter, as privy to the designs of their country-men, and favourers of them: to deliver up Gaul to be wasted and plundered by his armies; to poison the whole senate at a feast; to fire the city, and then let out the wild beasts upon the people, to divert them from stopping the progress of the flames: But being deterred from the execution of these designs, not so much by remorse of conscience, as despair of being able to go through with them; and judging an expedition into Gaul necessary, he removed the consuls from their office, before their time in it was up; and in their room, bore the consulship himself alone; as if the fates had resolved Gaul should not be conquered, but by a consul. Upon taking the Fasces, after an entertainment in the palace, he walked out of the room, leaning upon some of his friends, and declared, that as soon as he arrived in the province, he would make his appearance among the troops unarmed, and do nothing but weep: and after he had thus brought the rebels to repentance, would the next day, at the publick rejoicing upon the occasion, sing songs of triumph; which ought immediately to be composed for his use.

44. In his preparation for this expedition, his first care was to provide carriages for his musical instruments to be used upon the stage; and to trim the concubines, he carried along with him, like men; and furnish them with battle axes, and Amazonian targets. Upon this he summoned the city tribes to list: but no body of any account

nullo idoneo respondente, certum dominis servorum numerum indixit: nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem, aut amanuensis exceptis, recepit. Partem etiam census omnes ordines conferre iussit: & insuper inquilinos privatarum adium atque insularum, pensionem annuam representare fisco, exegitque ingenti fastidio & acerbitate nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam: ut plerique omnem collationem palam recularent, consensu flagitantes, a delatoribus potius revocanda præmia quæcunque cepissent.

45. Ex annonæ quoque caritate lucrantium accrevit invidia. Nam & forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandria navis nuntiaretur pulverem luctatoribus aulicis advexisse. Quare omnium in se odio concitato, nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret. Statuæ ejus a vertice currus appositus est cum inscriptione Græca, *Nunc demum agona esse, & paberet sandem*. Alterius collo & ascopera deligata, simulque titulus, *Ego quid potui? sed tu culeum meruisti*. Adscriptum & columnis, *Etiam Gallos cum cantando excitasse*. Jam noctibus jurgia cum servis plerique simulantes, crebro Vindicem poscebant.

ing to quarrel with their servants,

46. Terrebatur ad hæc evidentibus portentis somniorum & auspiciorum, & omnium, tum veteribus tum novis. Numquam ante somniare solitus, occisa demum matre, vidit per quietem, navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum, trahique se ab Octavia uxore in arctissimas tenebras, & modo pennatarum

appearing, he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, and the choicest they had too, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded likewise all the several orders of the people to bring in a certain proportion of their estates, as they stood in the Censor's books; and moreover, all tenants of houses, great or small, to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer; and with wondrous niceness and strictness, would receive only new coin of the choicest silver and the finest gold; insomuch, that most people openly refused to pay, crying out by consent, that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to give up again their premiums.

45. The publick hatred of him received no small addition from the great scarcity of corn, and an accident that happened upon it. For just at that time a ship arrived from Alexandria, which was said to be freighted with dust for the wrestlers about court. This did so inflame the publick rage against him, that he was treated with all the abuse and scurrility imaginable. A chariot was placed upon the top of a statue of his, with a Greek inscription. Now he had a race to run indeed, now he ought to lug away. A budget was tied about the neck of another, and an inscription added in these words, What could I do? but thou hast deserved a sack. Some body writ too, upon the pillars in the forum, That he had awakened the cocks with his singing. And a great many people, in the night-time, pretending

46. He was besides terrified with manifest presages, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices and omens. He had never been used to dream, before the murder of his mother: After that, he fancied in his sleep he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him; and that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigious dark place; and was one while covered over with

formi-

formicarum multitudine impleri: modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompeii theatrum dedicatarum circuiti, arcerique progressu. Asturconem, quo maxime lætabatur, posteriore corporis parte in simiæ speciem transfiguratum, ac tantum capite integro hinnitus edere cautos. De Mausoleo sponte foribus patefactis exaudita vox est, nomine eum cientis. Kalendis Januarii exornati Lares in ipso sacrificii apparatu conciderunt. Auspicianti Sporū annulum muneri obtulit: cujus gemmæ sculptura erat Proserpine raptus. Votorum nuncupatione magna jam ordinum frequentia vix repertæ Capitolii claves. Cum ex oratione ejus, qua in Vindicem perorabat, recitaretur in senatu, dactylos penas sceleris, ac brevi dignum exitum facturos, conclamatum est ab universis, Tu facis Auguste. Observatum etiam fuerat, novissimam fabulam cantasse enim publice Oedipodem exulem, atque in hoc decidisse versu.

exile, and that he fell, as he was repeating this verse.

a vast swarm of winged ants, and another surrounded by the images of the nations erected upon Pompey's theatre, and hindered from advancing further. That a Spanish Giant he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape; and having only his head left unaltered, neigh'd very harmoniously. The doors of the Mausoleum flying open of themselves, a voice was heard from thence, calling upon him by his name. The Lares being trimmed up with new garlands upon the first of January, fell down, during the preparations for a sacrifice to them. And as he was taking of omens, Sporus presented him with a ring, the stone whereof had carved upon it the rape of Proserpine. And when a vast multitude of the several orders were gathered together, to attend at the solemnity of making vows to the Gods, it was a long time ere the keys of the Capitol could be found. And when in a speech of his to the senate against Vindex, these words were read, that the villains should be punished, and in a short time meet with a death suitable to their deserts, they all cried out upon it, you will effect it Augustus. It was observed too that the last Tragick piece he sung was Oedipus in

Ὀὐρανὸν καὶ γῆναι καὶ πάτερ, καὶ μητέρα, καὶ πατέρα.

Wife, mother, father force me to my end.

47. Nuntiatâ interim etiam cæterorum exercituum defectione, litteras præsenti sibi redditas concepsit, mensam subvertit: duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homericos à cælatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo illisit: ac sumto à Locusta veneno, & in auream pyxidem condito, transiit in hortos Servilianos. Ubi præmissis libertorum fidissimis Ostitam, ad classem præparandam, tribunos centurionesque prætorii de fugæ societate tentavit. Sed partim

47. In the mean time upon the arrival of news, that the rest of the army had declared against him; he tore the letters, that were delivered him at dinner, to pieces, overthrew the table; and dashed with violence against the ground two cups he was much pleased with, which he called Homer's, because they had some of that poet's verses cut upon them. And then taking a dose of poison from Locusta, which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servilian garden, and from thence dispatching some trusty freed-men of his down to Ostia to make ready a fleet, he endeavour'd to pre-

tergiver.

tergiverſantibus, partim aper-
te deſectantibus, uno vero
etiam proclamante,
*ing no great inclination to comply, and others abſolutely reſuſing,
and one of them crying out aloud.*

vail with ſome tribunes and centurions
of the guards to attend him in his
flight: but ſome of them ſhew-

Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt?

Is it ſo ſad a thing to die?

varia agitavit: Parthoſne
an Galbam ſupplex peteret,
an atratus prodiret in publi-
cum, proque Roſtris quanta
maxima poſſet miſeratione
veniam præteritorum præcare-
tur: ac ni flexiſſet animos,
vel Ægypti præſecturam con-
cedi ſibi oraret. Inventus
eſt poſtea in ſcrinio ejus hac
de re ſermo formatus. Sed
deteritum putant, ne prius
quam in forum perveniret,
diſcerperetur. Sed cogita-
tione in poſterum diem dila-
ta, ad mediam fere noctem
excitatus, ut comperit ſtatio-
nem militum reſeſſiſſe, proſi-
luite lecto, miſitque circum a-
micos. Et quia nihil a quo-
quam renuntiabatur, ipſe
cum paucis hoſpitia ſingu-
lorum adiit. Verum clauſis
omnium foribus, reſpondente
nullo, in cubiculum rediit;
unde jam & cuſtodes diſſu-
gerant, direptis etiam ſtragu-
lis, amota & pyxide veneni.
Ac ſtatim Spicillum mirmiſ-
lonem, vel quemlibet alium
percuſſorem, cuius manu
periret, requiſivit. Et nemi-
ne reperto: *Ergo ego, inquit,
nec amicum habeo, nec ini-
micum?* procurratque quaſi
præcipitaturus ſe in Tiberim.

48. Sed revocato ruruſus im-
petu, aliquid ſecretioris late-
bræ ad colligendum animum
deſideravit: & offerente Pha-
onte liberto ſuburbanum ſuum
inrer Salariam & Nomenta-
nam viam circa quatuor mil-
liarium, ut erat nudo pede
atque tunicatus, pænulam ob-

he was in great perplexity, whether
he ſhould ſubmit himſelf to Galba, or
apply to the Parthians for protection,
or elſe appear in publick dreſſed in
mourning, and upon the roſtra, in the
moſt piteous manner, beg pardon for
his paſt miſdemouris, and if he could
not prevail, to beg of them to grant
him at leaſt the government of Egypt.
A ſpeech of his to this purpoſe was af-
terwards found in his ſcrutore. But
it's ſuppoſed he durſt not venture upon
this project, for fear of being torn to
pieces, before he could get to the Forum.
Suſpending therefore his Reſolution till
the next day, he awaked about mid-
night, and finding the guards with-
drawn, he jumped out of bed, and
ſent about for his friends; but re-
ceiving no answer from any one of them,
he went with ſome few attendants to
their houſes: but the doors being eve-
ry where ſhut, and none of them giv-
ing him any answer, he went back a-
gain to his bed-chamber, from whence
now thoſe too that had the charge of
it, were all run, ſome one way, and
ſome another, carrying off with them
his bedding and box of poiſon. Up-
on which he endeavoured to find Spi-
cillus the Gladiator, or any body elſe
to kill him: but no body being to be
found, what, ſays he, have I then
neither friend nor foe? and imme-
diately ran out, as if he would throw
himſelf into the Tiber.

48. But this furious reſolution ſoon
ceaſing, he wiſhed for ſome place of
privacy, where he might recollect his
thoughts: and his freed-men Phao-
n thereupon offering him a country-houſe
of his, betwixt the Salarian and No-
mentan roads, about four miles from
the town, bare-foot as he was, and in
his tunic, only ſlipping over it an
ſol

foleti coloris superinduit : ad-
 opertoque capite, & ante fa-
 ciem obtento sudario, equum
 inscendit, quatuor solum co-
 mitantibus, inter quos & Spo-
 rus erat. Statimque tremore
 terre, & fulgure adverso pa-
 vefactus, audit ex proximis
 castris clamorem militum, &
 sibi adversa & Galbæ prospe-
 ra ominantium : etiam ex ob-
 viis viatoribus quendam di-
 centem, *Hi Neronem persequun-
 tur* : alium sciscitantem, *Ec-
 quid in urbe novi de Nerone ?*
 Equo autem odore abjecti in
 via cadaveris consternato, de-
 detecta facie agnitus est a quo-
 dam Missicio prætoriano, &
 salutatus. Ut ad diverticulum
 ventum est, dimissis equis, in-
 ter fruticeta ac vepres, per a-
 rundineti semitam ægre, nec
 nisi strata sub pedibus veste,
 ad aversum villæ parietem e-
 vasit. Ibi hortante eodem
 Phaonte, ut interim in specum
 egestæ harenæ concederet,
 negavit se *vivum sub terram*
iturum : ac parumper com-
 moratus, dum clandestinus ad
 villam introitus pararetur, a-
 quam ex subjecta lacuna po-
 taturus manu hausit : & *Hæc*
est, inquit Neronis detecta.
 Deinde divulsa sentibus pæn-
 ula, trajectos furculos rasit : at-
 que ita quadrupes per angus-
 tias effossa cavernæ receptus
 in proximam cellam, decubu-
 it super lectum modicella cul-
 cita, vetere pallio strato in-
 stractum. Fameque interim
 & siti interpellante, panem
 quidem sordidum oblatum as-
 pernatus est, aquæ autem repi-
 dæ aliquantulum bibit.

49. Tunc unoquoque hinc
 inde instante, ut quamprimum
 se impendentibus con-
 tumeliis eriperet, scrobem co-
 ram fieri imperavit, dimensus
 ad corporis sui modulum ;
 componique simul, si qua in-
 venirentur, frustra marmoris,
 & aquam simul ac ligna con-

old weather-beaten cloak, with his
 head muffled up in it, and his
 handkerchief clapped to his face, he
 mounted a horse, with four persons
 only to attend him, amongst whom Spo-
 rus was one ; and being immediately
 much frightened with an earthquake, and
 a flash of lightning darting full in the
 face of him, he heard from the camp
 hard by the shouts of the soldiers, wish-
 ing his destruction, and prosperity to
 Galba ; as also one of the travellers
 they met with by the way, say, These
 are in pursuit of NERO ; and another
 ask, Is there any news in town about
 NERO ? Uncovering his face upon occa-
 sion of his horse's bogging at a carcass
 that lay in the road, he was known by
 an old soldier that had been discharged
 out of the guards, and saluted. When
 they came to the lane that turn'd up to
 the house, they quitted their horses, and
 with much ado he got through shrubs
 and bushes, and a track through a piece
 of ground covered with reeds, over their
 coats spread upon the ground here and
 there for him to tread on, to a wall
 on the back-side of the villa : where Phaon
 advising him to hide himself a while in a
 sand-pit, he said, he would not go
 under ground alive ; and staying
 there some little time, till a private
 passage into the Villa could be made
 for him, he took up some water out of
 a ditch that was by him in his hand
 to drink, saying, This is Nero's boil-
 ed water. Then his cloak having been
 torn by the thorns, he pulled away the
 prickles that stuck in it. At last being
 taken in creeping upon his hands and
 knees, through a hole that was made
 for him, he laid him down in the first
 room he came at upon a poor bed with
 an old coverlet thrown over it. And
 being both hungry and thirsty, he refused
 some coarse bread that was brought him,
 but drunk a little warm water.

49. Every body about him now pres-
 sing him to save himself from the in-
 dignities that were ready to befall him,
 he ordered a grave to be made before his
 eyes, according to the dimensions of his
 body, and the bottom to be covered with
 pieces of marble put together, if any
 could be found about the house, and
 water and wood likewise to be provided

ferris, curando mox cadaveri,
 flens ad singula, argue iden-
 tidem dictitans, *Qualis ar-
 tifice peris! inter moras per-
 latus à cursore Phaontis co-
 dicillos præripuit, legitque se
 hostem à senatu judicatum &
 quævi, ut puniatur more maio-
 rum.* Interrogavitque quale
 id genus esset poenæ: Et cum
 comperisset nudi hominis
 cervicem inferi furcæ, cor-
 pus virginis ad necem credi:
 contrëritus, duos pagiones,
 quos secum tulerat, arripuit:
 tentataque utriusque acie, nir-
 sus condidit, caussatus non-
 dum adesse fatalem horam.
 Ac modo Sporum hortabatur,
 ut lamentari ac plangere in-
 ciperet: modo orabat, ut se
 aliquis ad mortem capessen-
 dam exemplo juvaret: inter-
 dum segnitiam suam his ver-
 bis increpabat: *Vivo deformi-
 ter ac turpiter: & πρῆναι
 Νέρονι, & πρῆναι, ἡδύναι
 δὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς. ἀγὰρ
 ὅστις σέβεται.* Jamque
 equites appropinquabant, qui-
 bus præceptum erat ut vivum
 eum attraherent. Quod ut
 sensit, trepidanter effatus,
*him away alive to town, which
 a trembling voice the following verse,*

in order to his funeral; weeping at
 every thing that was done, and fre-
 quently saying, What an artist is now
 to perish! In the mean time some let-
 ters being brought in by a foot-man of
 Phaon's, he snatched them out of his
 hand, and there found, That he had
 been declared an enemy by the se-
 nate, and was sought for in order
 to be punished, according to antient
 practice amongst the Romans. Where-
 upon he asked what kind of punish-
 ment that was, and being told, the
 way was to strip the criminal stark-
 naked, and lash him to death, with his
 neck fastened within a forked stick, he
 was so terrified, that he in all haste
 took up two daggers he had brought a-
 long with him, and feeling both their
 points, put them up again, saying
 the fatal hour was not yet come.
 And one while he begged of Sporus to be-
 gin a wailing lamentation; another
 while he besought some of them would en-
 courage him by his example to kill him-
 self; some times again he condemned
 his own want of resolution in these words:
 I live scandalously and shamefully,
 this does not become Nero, this does
 not become thee, thou oughtest in
 such circumstances to have thy win
 about thee, come courage man. And
 now the horsemen were approaching the
 house, who had been ordered to bring
 as soon as he perceived, uttering with

Ἰππὸν μὲν ἀκυπτόδον ἐμφὶ κλύπος ἕατα βάλλει :

I hear the swift heel'd prancers be at the Ground.

ferrum iugulo adegit, juvante
 Epaphrodito, à libellis. Se-
 mianismisque adhuc interrum-
 penti centurioni, & pænula
 ad vulnus apposita, in auxi-
 lium se venisse simulanti,
 non aliud respondit, quam
Sero, & Hec est fides. Atque
 in ea voce defecit, exstanti-
 bus rigentibusque oculis usque
 ad horrorem formidinemque
 visentium. Nihil prius ac
 magis à comitibus exegerat,
 quam ne potestas cuiquam

he run a dagger into his throat, being
 assisted therein by Epaphroditus, his
 master of requests: And a centurion
 breaking in when he was now half
 dead, and with his cloak clapped to
 his wound, pretending he was come to
 his assistance, he made no other reply,
 but this, it's too late, and is this
 your loyalty? Immediately after
 which words he died, with his eyes
 standing out of his head, to the fright
 and terror of all that beheld him.
 He requested of his attendants above
 all things, that they would not part
 capitis

capitis sui fieret : sed ut quoquo modo, totus cremaretur. Permisit hoc Icelus Galbæ libertus, non multo ante vinculis exsolutus, in quæ primo tumultu coniectus fuerat.

50. Funeratus est impensa ducentorum millium, stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus Kalendis Januariis fuerat. Reliquias Eclogæ & Alexandra nutrices cum Actæ concubina gentili Domitiorum monumento condiderunt quod prospicitur è campo Martioim positum colli hortulorum. In eo monumento folium Porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumseptum est lapide Thasio.

51. Statura fuit pæne iusta corpore maculoso & foedo : sufflavo capillo : vultu pulchro magis quam venusto : oculis cælis & heberioribus : cervice obesa, ventre projecto gracillimis cruribus, valetudine prospera. Nam quæ luxurie immoderatissime esset, ter omnino per XIII annos languit : atque ita, ut neque vino, neque consuetudine reliqua abstinere. Circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut comam semper in gradus formatam, peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem summisserit : ac plerumque synthefinam inducus, ligato circum collum sudario prodierit in publicum, sine cinctu & discalceatus.

52. Liberales disciplinas omnes fere puer attigit. Sed à philosophiâ eum mater avertit : monens, imperaturo contrariam esse : à cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca præceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret. Itaque ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac sine labore com-

posed his had to any one, but that his body might be burnt entire by all means. And this Icelus the freed-man of Galba granted, who had but a little before been discharged from the confinement he had been put under, at the beginning of the troubles.

50. The expences of his funeral amounted to two hundred thousand sesterces ; the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt being overlaid with a white coverlet interwoven with gold, which he had made use of upon the Calends of January before. His nurses Eclogæ and Alexandra with his concubine Actæ laid up his relics in the monument belonging the family of the Domitii, which is on the top of the hill overlooking the garden, and is to be seen from the field of Mars. In that monument a coffin with an altar of Porphyretic marble of Luna over it, is enclosed within a wall of Thasian stone.

51. His stature was a little below the ordinary size ; his body so spotted and marked as to make a vile appearance ; his hair somewhat yellow, his countenance fair rather than handsome, his eyes grey and dull, his neck fat, his belly prominent, legs very slender, but his constitution very healthful. For tho' he was extravagantly luxurious in his way of living, yet he had but three fits of sickness in a course of fourteen years, which were so gentle, that he neither forbore the use of wine, nor altered his usual way of living. In his dress and the care of his person, he was so slovenly, that he had his hair cut in rings one above another, and when he was in Achaia let it grow long behind, and appeared abroad for the most part in the dress he used at table, with a handkerchief about his neck, his coat loose upon him, and without shoes.

52. He was entered when a boy in almost all the liberal sciences, but his mother diverted him from the study of Philosophy, as by no means suitable to one that was to be emperor ; and his master Seneca discouraged him from reading the old orators, that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himself. He was much addicted to poetry, and composed verses readily and

posuit: nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit. Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis: ut facile appareret, non translatos, aut dictante aliquo exceptos: sed plane quasi à cogitante atque generante exaratos: ita multa & deleta & inducta & superscripta inerant.

53. Habuit & pingendi fingendique maxime non mediocre studium. Maxime autem popularitate efferebatur, omnium æmulus, qui quoque modo animum vulgi moverent. Exiit opinio post scintillas coronas proximo lustro descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas. Nam luctabatur assidue nec aliter certamina gymnica Græcia tota spectaverat, quam habenturum more in stadio humi affidens: ac si qua paria longius recessissent, in medium manibus suis protrahens. Destinaverat etiam qui Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando æquiparare existimaretur, imitari & Herculis facta. Præparatumque leonem alunt, quem vel clava, vel brachiorum nexibus, in Amphitheatri harena, spectante populo, nudus elideret.

54. Sub exitu quidem vitæ palam voverat si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditum se partæ victoriæ ludis, etiam hydraulam & choraulam, & utricularium, ac novissimo die histrionem, saltarumque Virgilii Turnum. Et sunt qui tradant Paridem histrionem occisum ab eo, quasi gravem adversarium.

Turnus in Virgil. And there are some who say he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival.

with a great deal of ease: nor did he, as some think, publish those of other people for his own. I have had in my hands some little pocket-books of his, with some well known verses, all of his own writing; and writ in such a manner, that it was very apparent, they were not transcrib'd from a copy, or dictated by another, but writ by the composer of them, from the blotting and interlining up and down.

53. He had likewise a mighty fancy for painting, and image-making; but above all things, an extravagant affection for popular applause, being a rival of every man, that was upon any account admired by the people. It was the general belief, that after the prizes he won by his performances upon the stage, he would the next lustrium have put in amongst the wrestlers at the Olympick games, for he was continually practising in that way. Nor did he attend in Greece that kind of solemnity, any otherwise than as the judges therein used to do, sitting upon the ground in the stadium. And if a pair of wrestlers happen'd to get without the limits assigned them, he would with his own hands bring them back into their proper place. And because he was thought to equal Adollo in musick, and the sun in chariot-driving, he resolv'd to imitate the actions of Hercules too. And they say a lion was prepared for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in the view of the people in the amphitheatre, which he was to do naked too.

54. Towards the end of his life, he made a publick vow, that if he continued in the peaceable enjoyment of the empire, he would in the games he designed to give for his success against the rebels, appear upon the stage to manage the water-organ, as also to play upon the flutes and bagpipe, and upon the day concluding those diversions, would act his part in a play, and dance to the story of

55. Erat illi æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido, sed inconfulta. Ideoque multis rebus ac locis vetere appellatione detracta, novam induxit ex suo nomine. Mensem quoque Aprilem, Neroneum appellavit. Destinaverat & Romam Neropolim nuncupare.

56. Religionum usquequaque contemptor, præter unius deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprexit, ut urina contaminaret: alia superstitione captus, in qua sola pertinacissime hæsit. Siquidem icunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum à plebeio quodam & ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim conjuratione, pro summo numine trinisque in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit: volebatque credi monitione ejus futura prænosceret. Ante paucos quam periret menses, attendit & extispicio, nec umquam litavit.

57. Obiit secundo & trigésimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat. Tantumque gaudium publice præbuit, ut plebs pileata tota urbe discurreret. Et tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent: ac modo imagines prætextatas in Rostris proferrent, modo edicta, quasi viventis, & brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quinetiam Vologesus Parthorum rex, missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate, hoc etiam magnopere oravit, ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Denique cum post viginti annos, adolescente me, exstiteret conditionis incertæ, qui se

55. He had a desire, but a very silly one, of perpetuating his name and memory in the world; and therefore he took from several things and places their former appellation, and gave them a new one, taken from his own name. He called the month of April too Neroneus, and had a design to call Rome Neropolis.

56. He was a despiser of all religious worship, except that of the Syrian Goddess; yet at last she too was in so little request with him, that he piss'd upon her; being now engaged in another piece of superstition, in which alone he constantly persisted. For having received a little image of a girl as a preservative against plots, fr m some mean obscure fellow, and discovering a conspiracy immediately upon it, he constantly worshipped it, as the greatest amongst the Gods, and with three sacrifices a day; and he was desirous to have it thought, that he had by the information of that goddess a knowledge of things to come. A few months before he died, he offered several sacrifices, in order to consult the entrails of the victims: But could never meet with any favourable intimations from them.

57. He died in the thirty second year of his age, upon the same day, whereon he had formerly put Octavia to death: and the publick joy was so great upon the occasion, that the common people run up and down with caps upon their heads. And y. i. there were some, who for a long time trimmed up his tomb with spring and summer-flowers, and one while placed his image upon the rostra dressed up in state-robcs, another while publish'd proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance to all his enemies. And Vologesus too king of the Parthians, when he sent Embassadors to the senate to renew the alliance betwixt that nation and the Romans, very much insisted upon it, that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero. And to conclude, when twenty years after, at Neronem

Neronem esse iactaret, tam favorable nomen ejus apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adjutus & vix redditus sit. *which time I was a young man, some fellow of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero. He met with such a favourable reception from the Parthians, that he was very powerfully supported by them, and it was with much ado, they surrendered him up.*

C. SUET. TRANQUILLI SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

VII.

CAPUT I.

1. **PROGENIES** Cæsarum in Nerone defecit: quod futurum compluribus quidem signis, sed evidentissimis duobus, apparuit. Livie olim post Augusti statim nuptias Vejentanum suum revisenti, prætervolans aquila, gallinam albam, ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, dimisit in gremium: cumque nutriti alitem, pangique ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum soboles provenit, ut hodie quoque ea villa ad *Gallinas* vocetur: tale vero laureum, ut triumphaturi Cæsares inde laureas decerperent: fuitque mos triumphantibus, alias confestim eodem loco pangere: & observatum est sub cujusque obitum, arborem ab ipso institutam, elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno, & silva omnis exaruit radicitus, & quidquid ibi gallinarum erat, interiit: ac subinde tanta de cælo Cæsarum æte, capita omnibus simul statuis deciderunt: Augustique sceptrum è manibus ex-
cissum est.

HE race of the Cæsars was extinct in Nero, which had been intimated before by various signs, but especially two that were most apparently such. Formerly as Livia after her marriage with Augustus was going to a country seat of her's near *Vell*, an Eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as she had nipped her up. The Lady gave order to have the hen taken care of, and the laurel sprig set, and such a numerous brood of chickens came from the hen, that the villa to this day goes by the name of the villa at the Hens, and the laurel spread so considerably, that the Cæsars in their triumphs had their laurel crowns from thence; and it was a custom constantly observed, to plant others in the place upon that occasion: and notice was taken that a little before the death of each prince, the tree that had been set by him died. But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of Laurels perished to the very roots, and the Hens all died, and the temple of the Cæsars being struck with lightening about the same time, the heads of all the statues therein fell off at once; and Augustus's scepter was dashed out of his hands.

2. Neroni

2. Neroni Galba successit, nullo gradu contingens Cæsarium domum: sed haud dubie nobilissimus, magnæque & vetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis PRONEPOTEM & CATULI CAPITOLINI semper adscripserit: Imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit quo paternam originem ad Jovem: maternam, ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret.

3. Imagines & elogia universi generis exsequi longum est: familiæ breviter attingam. Qui primus Sulpiciorum cognomen Galbæ tulit, cur, aut unde traxerit, ambigitur. Quidam putant, quod oppidum Hispaniæ frustra diu oppugnatum illitis demum galbano facibus succenderit: alii, quod in diuturna valetudine galbeo, id est, remediis lana involutis assidue uteretur: nonnulli quod præpinguis fuerit visus, quem galbam Galli vocant: vel contra, quod tam exilis, quam sunt animalia, quæ in æsculis nascuntur, appellanturque galbæ. Familiam illustravit Serg. Galba consularis, temporum suorum eloquentissimus: quem tradunt, Hispaniam ex prætura obtinentem, xxx. Lusitanorum millibus perfidia trucidatis, Viriati bellum causam extitisse. Ejus nepos ob repulsam consulatus infensus Julio Cæsari, cujus legatus in Gallia fuerat, conspiravit cum Cassio & Bruto: propter quod Pedia lege damnatus est. Ab hoc sunt Imperatoris Galbæ avus & pater. Avus clarior studiis quam dignitate: non enim egressus præturæ gradum, multiplicem nec incuriosam historiam edidit. Pater consulari functus, quam brevi corpore, atque etiam gibber, modicæque in

2. Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the least allied to the family of the Cæsars, but without doubt of very noble extraction, being descended of a great and an antient family: as who always used to put amongst his other titles on the bases of his statues, his being great-grand-son to Q. Catulus Capitolinus. And when he came to be emperor, he set up the images of his ancestors in the atrium of the palace, by the titles whereof he pretended to run up his pedigree by the father's side to Jupiter, and by the mother's to Pasiphae Minor's Queen.

3. It would be very tedious to give but a short account of the whole family. I shall therefore only touch upon that branch of it he was descended from. For what reason or whence the first of the Sulpicii that had the cognomen of Galba, was so called, is uncertain: some are of opinion, it was because he set fire to a city in Spain, after he had a long time attacked it to no purpose, with torches dipped in the juice of the Syrian cane called Galbanum, others said he was so named, because, in a long indisposition, he made use of a remedy wrapped up in wool called Galbeum; others, because he was an exceeding fat man, such an one being called in the Gallick tongue Galba, or because he was the quite contrary very slender, like those little animals, which breed in a sort of oaks and are called Galbæ. Serg. Galba a consular gentleman gave a considerable lustre to the family, being the most eloquent man of his time. Historians tell us, that when he was Proprætor of Spain, he perfidiously put to the sword thirty thousand Lusitanians, and by that means gave occasion to the war of Viriatus. His grandson being incensed against Julius Cæsar whose lieutenant he had been in Gaul, because by his means he was balked of the consulship, joyned with Cassius and Brutus in the conspiracy against him, for which he was condemned by the Pedian law. From him were descended the grand-father and father of the emperor Galba. The grand-father was more famous in the world for his application to study, than for any figure dicendo

dicendo facultatis, causas industrie astitavit. Uxores habuit Mummiam Achaicam, neptem Catuli, proneptem L. Mummii, qui Corinthum excidit, item Liviam Ocellinam, ditem admodum & pulchram, à qua tamen nobilitatis causa apperitus ultro existimatur, & aliquanto enixius, postquam subinde instanti vitium corporis secreto posita veste dixerit, ne quasi ignaram fallere videretur. Ex Achaica liberos, Cajum & Sergium procreavit. Quorum major Cajus attritis facultatibus urbe cessit: prohibitumque à Tiberio fortiri anno suo proconsulatum, voluntaria morte obiit.

very much reduced his estate retired from town, and being not suffered by Tiberius to take his chance for the pro-consulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

4. Sergius Galba Imperator, M. Valerio Messalla Cn. Lentulo COSS. natus est, ix Kalendas Januarii, in villa colli superposita, prope Terracinam finistorum Fundos petentibus. Adoptatus à noverca sua, Livii nomen, & Ocellæ cognomen assumpsit, mutato prænومine. Nam & Lucium mox pro Sergio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit. Constat Augustum puero adhuc salutanti se inter aequales, apprehensa buccula dixisse, καὶ σὺ τέλειος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν πατέρεσσι. Sed & Tiberius, cum comperisset imperaturum eum, verum in senecta, Vivat sane, ait, quando id ad nos nihil pertinet. Avo quoque ejus fulgur procuranti, cum extra de manibus aquila rapuisset, & in frugiferam quercum contulisset, summum fed serum imperium portendi familiæ responsum est. Et ille irridens, Sane, inquit, cum mula pepererit. Nihil æque postea Galbam

he made in the government. For he rose no higher than the prætorship, but published a large and a curious history. His father attained to the consulship, being a very low man and hump-backed withall, but a tolerable orator, and an industrious pleader. His wives were Mummia Achaica, grand-daughter of Catulus, and great-grand-daughter of L. Mummius, who destroyed Corinth, and Livia Ocellina a very rich and beautiful lady, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent, and the more so, for stripping off his toga in private, and shewing her the deformity of his person, upon her pressing him with a proposal of marriage, which he did that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder whereof Caius, having

retired from town, and being not suffered by Tiberius to take his chance for the pro-consulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

4. The Emperor Sergius Galba was born in the consulship of M. Valerius Messalla, and Cn. Lentulus, upon the ninth of the Calends of January in a country house upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left side of the road to Fundi. Being adopted by his step-mother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and a new prænomen, for after that he made use of that of Lucius instead of Sergius, till he came to be Emperor. It's well known that Augustus, when he came once amongst other boys of the same age with himself to pay his respects to him, took him by the cheek, and said, and thou child too will tast of our imperial dignity. Tiberius too being told that he would come to be Emperor, but in an advanced age, said upon it, let him live then, since that concerns not me at all. And when his grand-father was offering sacrifice, to avert some ill omen from lightning, the entrails of the victims were snatch'd out of his hand by an Eagle, and carried off into an oak-tree loaded with ackorns: Upon which the South-sayers said, the family would come to be masters of the Empire, but it would be a long time first; at which he smiling said, ay when a mule has tentantem

tentantem res novas confirmavit, quam mulæ partus : cæterisque ut obscenum ostentum abhorrentibus, solus pro lætissimo accepit, memor sacrificii, distique avi. Sumta virili toga, somniavit fortunam dicentem, stare se ante fores defessam : & nisi ocius reciperetur, cuiuscumque obvio præde futuram. Utrique evigilavit aperto atrio, simulacrum æneum Deæ cubitali majus juxta limen invenit : idque gremio suo Tusculum, ubi æstivare consueverat, avexit : & in parte ædium consecratum menstruis deinceps supplicationibus & pervigilio anniversario coluit. Quamquam autem nondum ætate constanti, veterem civitatis, exoletumque morem ac tantum in domo sua hærentem, obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti servique bis die frequentes adessent, ac mane salvere, vesperi *valere* sibi singuli dicerent.

before him twice a day, morning and evening, to pay their respects to him.

5. Inter liberales disciplinas attendit & juri. Dedit & matrimonio operam : verum amissa uxore Lepida, duobusque ex ea filiis, remansit in cœlibatu, neque sollicitari ulla conditione amplius potuit, ne Agrippinæ quidem viduæ morte Domitii, quæ maritum quoque adhuc necdum cælibem Galbam, adeo omnibus sollicitaverat modis, ut inter conventum matronarum correpta jurgio, arque etiam manu pulsata sit à matre Lepida. Observavit ante omnes Liviam Augustam : cujus & vivæ gratia plurimum valuit, & mortuæ testamento pæne ditatus est : h. s. namque quingenties cum præcipuum inter legatarios habuisset, quia notata non perscrip-

a foal. And when Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much assurance of success, as a mule's happening at that time to have a foal. And whilst all others expressed their abhorrence of it as a most unlucky prodigy, he alone looked upon it as a very happy omen, calling to mind the sacrifice and saying of his grand-father. When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamt that the goddess Fortune said to him, she stood before his door quite tired, and unless she was admitted forthwith, would be a prey to the first comer : And upon his awaking, opening the door of his house, he found a brazen statue of the goddess, above a cubit long, close by the threshold : and carried it away with him to Tusculum where he used to pass the summer-season, and having consecrated it in an apartment of his house, he ever after worshiped it by monthly supplications, and an anniversary Vigil. And tho' he was but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now no where observed but in his own family, which was to have his freed-men and slaves, appear in a body

5. Amongst other liberal arts he applied himself to the law. He married too, but losing his wife Lepida and two sons he had by her, he continued a widower, nor could he be prevailed upon to marry again, not even Agrippina herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius, who had endeavoured by all imaginable arts to draw him to her embraces, whilst he was a married man; and before he was a widower, insomuch that his mother Lepida, before several married ladies met in company together, scolded her for it, and beat her too. He made his court to Livia Augusta above all others, by whose favour, whilst she was living, he made a considerable figure, and had like to have been enriched by the will she left at her death, wherein she distinguished him from the rest of the legatees, by a large legacy of fifty millions of sesterces, but because the sum was

ra erat summa, herede Tiberio legatum ad quingenta revocante, ne hæc quidem accepit.

6. Honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis, prætor commissionem ludorum floralium, novum spectaculi genus, elephantos funambulos edidit: exin provinciæ Aquitanie anno fere præfuit: mox consulum per sex menses ordinarium gessit. Evenique ut in eo ipse L. Domitio patri Neronis, ipsi Salvius Otho pater Othonis succederet, velut præfagium insequentis casus, quo medius inter utriusque filios exitit Imperator. A Cajo Cæsare, Gærulico substitutus, postredie quam ad legiones venit, solenni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera ut manus panulis coningerent. Statim per castra jactatum est,

sentence for the watch word, That they should keep their hands within their cloaks. Immediately upon which the following verse became very common in the camp.

Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Gærulicus.

Soldiers learn the use of arms, 'tis Galba, not Gætulicus.

Pari servitate interdixit comæatus peri. Veteranum ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroboravit: matureque barbaris, qui jam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, præfenti quoque Cajo salem & se & exercitum approbavit, ut inter innumeras contractasque ex omnibus provinciis copias, neque testimonium neque præmia ampliora ulli perciperent. Ipse maxime insignis, quod campestrum decursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum Imperatoris per viginti passuum millia cucurrit.

the emperor's charriot twenty miles together.

expressed in figures and not in words at length; it was reduced by two heirs Tiberius to five hundred thousand, which too was never paid him.

6. Being advanced to publick posts in the government, before the age required by law for it, in his prætorship at the celebration of games in honour of the goddess Flora, he entertained the people with a new sight of elephants walking upon ropes. After that he governed the province of Aquitain for nigh a year, and soon after had an ordinary consulship, which he held six months: and it so fell out, that he succeeded L. Domitius the father of Nero therein, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho father to the emperor of that name, which looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire, betwixt the sons of those two gentlemen. Being appointed by C. Cesar to succeed Gærulicus, the day after his arrival at the army, he put a stop to their clapping of hands in a solemn publick diversion, by giving out this

they should keep their hands within which the following verse became very

With the like strictness he would not allow of any petitions for leave to absent from the camp. He hardened the soldiers both old and young with constant exercise, and having quickly reduced the barbarians within their proper bounds, who had made inroads into Gaul itself, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that amongst innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with a bigger commendation or greater rewards from him. He likewise distinguished himself by appearing at the head of a military procession, with a shield in his hand, and then running by the

7. Cæde Cæsi nuntiata, multis ad occasionem stimulantibus, quietem prætulit. Per hoc gratissimus Claudio, receptusque in cohortem amicorum, tantæ dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei valetudo neque adeo gravis incidisset, dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicæ dies. Africam pro consule biennio obtinuit, extra sortem electus ad ordinandam provinciam, & intestina dissensione & barbarorum tumultu inquietam. Ordinavitque magna severitatis ac justitiæ cura etiam, in parvulis rebus, Militi, qui per expeditionem annona artificissima residuum cibartorum tritici modium centum denariis vendidisse arguebatur, veruit, simulatque indigere cibo coepisset, à quoquam opem ferri: & is fame exaubuit. At in jure dicendo, cum de proprietate jumenti quaereretur, levibus utrimque argumentis, & testibus, ideoque difficili conjectura veritatis, ira decrevit, ut ad lacum, ubi adaquari solebat, duceretur capite involuto, atque ibidem revelato, ejus esset, ad quem sponte se à potu recepisset.

8. Ob res, & tunc in Africa, & olim in Germania gestas, ornamenta triumphalia accepit, & sacerdotium triplex, inter xv viros, sodalesque Titios, item Augustales, coopatus: atque ex eo tempore prope ad medium Neronis principatum in secessu plurimum vixit: ne ad gestandum quidem umquam iter ingressus, quam ut secum vehiculo proximo decies HS. in auro efferret, donec in oppido Fundis moranti Hispania Tarraconensis oblata est. Acciditque, ut, cum provinciam ingressus sacrificaret intra ædem publicam, puero è minis-

7. Upon the news of Cæsar's death, the many earnestly pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity of seizing the empire, yet he chose rather to be quiet. For which reason he was in great favour with Claudius, and being received into the number of his friends, was of such account with him, that the British expedition was for some time suspended upon the occasion of his being suddenly seized with some slight indisposition. He governed Africa in the quality of proconsul for two years, being chosen out of course to settle the state of that province, which was in great disorder from civil dissensions, and the alarms of the barbarians. And he did settle it with the utmost strictness and justice even in small matters. A soldier being charged with selling, in a great scarcity of corn, upon some expedition, a modius of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denarii, he forbade him to be relieved by any body, when he came to want himself, and he was accordingly pined to death. And in the administration of justice, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, which two persons claimed a property in, the proofs being on both sides trifling, and the truth uncertain, he ordered the beast to be led with his head muffled up to a pond, he used to be watered at, there to be unblinded, and that he should be the person's, to whose house after drinking he return'd.

8. For the exploits perform'd by him, both at that time in Africa, and formerly in Germany, he received the triumphal ornaments, and three priestly offices, one amongst the fifteen, another amongst the Sodales Titii, and a third amongst the Augustales, and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part retired. He never went abroad so much as to take the air, but he had a chariot attending him, with a million of sesterces in gold, 'till at last Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him, at that time lying in the town of Fundi. After his arrival in the province, as he was at sacrifice in a temple, a boy that attended with a censor, grew all on a

tris acerram tenent, capillus repente toto capite canesceret. Nec defuerunt qui interpretarentur, significari rerum mutationem, successurumque juvenem senem: hoc est, ipsum Neroni. Nec multo post in Cantabrie lacum fulmen decidit: repertæque sunt duo decim secures, haud ambiguum

sudden gray-headed; which some looked upon as a sign of an approaching revolution in the government; and that an old man would succeed a young one; that is, he would succeed Nero. And not long after, thunder falling into a lake of Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it, a manifest sign of the supreme power.

summi Imperii signum.

9. Per octo annos varie & inæquabiliter provinciam rexit. Primo acer, vehemens, & in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus. Nam & nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias, manus amputavit, mensæque ejus affixit. Et tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, veneno necasset, cruce affecit: implorantique leges, & civem Romanum se testificantem, quasi solatio & honore aliquo poenam levaturus, mutari, multoque præter ceteras altiorum & dealbatam statui crucem jussit. Paullatim in desidiam segnitatemque conversus est, ne quid materiæ præberet Neroni, & ut dicere solebat, quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogretur. Carthagine nova conventum agens, tumultuari Gallias comperit. Legato Aquitanie auxilia implorante, supervenerunt Vindictis litteræ hortantis, ut humano generi afferretur duceque se accommodaret. Nec diu cunctatus conditionem partim metu partim spe recepit. Nam & mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprehenderat: & confirmabatur cum secundissimis auspiciis, & ominibus, tum virginis honestæ vaticinatione, tanto magis, quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos Jovis Cluniae ex penetrali somnio monitus eruerat, ante ducentos annos similiter à fatidica puella pronuntiata. Quorum carminum sententia erat,

9. He governed the province for eight years with great variety and unsteadiness of behaviour, being at the first very brisk, and indeed excessively severe in the punishment of delinquents. For he cut off the hands of a banker that had been guilty of some knavish practice in the way of his profession, and nailed them to his table, and crucified another for poisoning an orphan he was guardian to, whom in case of death he was to succeed in the inheritance of his estate. And upon his imploring the protection of the law, and crying out that he was a Roman citizen, as if he had a mind to comfort him under his affliction, and alleviate his punishment by a piece of honour done him, he ordered him a new cross, higher than usual, and whited over. By degree he gave himself up to a life of lazyness and inactivity, for fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, no body was obliged to be accountable for want of business. As he was holding the Assizes at new Carthage, he received advice of the rising in Gaul. And being solicited by the lieutenant of Aquitain for his assistance, soon after came letters from Vindex, begging of him to put himself at the head of mankind, in order to deliver them from the tyranny of Nero. And without demurring long upon the matter, he complied, from a mixture of fear and hope. For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the provinces to get him dispatched, and he was encouraged to the undertaking, as well by several auspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young lady of good quality, and the more so, because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, upon

Oriturum

Oriturum quandoque in Hispania principem, dominumque rerum.

advice by a dream, had discovered in the inner part of the temple the very same verses she had delivered her prophecy in, which had been likewise uttered by another young woman inspired about two hundred years before; the sense whereof was, That in time Spain should give the world a lord and a master.

10. Igitur cum quasi munitioni vacaturus confendisset tribunal, propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque à Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus, & adstante nobili puero, quem exulantem ex proxima Baleari insula, ob id ipsum acciverat, deploravit temporum statum, consalutatufque IMPERATOR, legatum se senatus ac populi Romani professus est. Deinde iustitio indicto, è plebe quidam provinciarum legiones & auxilia conscripsit, super exercitum veterem legionis unius, duarumque alarum, & cohortium trium. Ac è primoribus, prudentia atque ætate præstantibus, velut instar senatus, ad quos de majore re, quoties opus esset, referretur, instituit. Delegit & equestris ordinis juvenes, qui manente annulorum aureorum usu, Evocati appellarentur, excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent. Etiam per provincias edicta dimisit, auctor singulis universisque conspirandi simul, & ut qua posset quisque opera, communem causam juvarent. Per idem fere tempus in munitione oppidi, quod sedem bello delegerat, repertus est annulus opere antiquo, sculptura gemmæ victoriam cum trophæo experimente. Ac subinde Alexandrina navis Dertosam apulic armis onusta, sine gubernatore, sine nauta ac vectore ullo: ut nemini dubium esset, justum piumque, & faventibus diis, bellum suscipi. Cum repente ex inopinato prope cuncta turbata

10. Wherefore mounting the bench, under pretence of sitting for the manumising of slaves, having set up before him the statues of several who had been condemned and put to death by Nero, whilst a noble youth stood by, who had been banished, and whom he had purposely sent for out of the next Balearian island, he lamented the condition of the times; and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he publicly declared himself only the Lieutenant of the senate and people of Rome. And then proclaiming a vacation, he raised out of the commonalty of the province Legions and auxiliary troops, besides his old army consisting of one legion, two bodies of horse, and three single battalions of foot. Out of the principal persons in the army he formed a kind of senate, consisting of the most considerable amongst them for age and prudence, to advise with upon all matters of importance, as oft as occasion should require. He likewise chose several young gentlemen of the Equestrian order, who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring, but under the title of Evocati, should keep guard before his bed-chamber, instead of the soldiers. He likewise issued proclamations throughout the provinces of the Empire, exhorting all to rise unanimously, and help forward the common cause, by all the ways and means in their power. About the same time, in fortifying a town, which he had pitched upon for the seat of war, a ring was found of antique workmanship, in the stone of which was cut the goddess victory with a Trophy. And presently after a ship of Alexandria arrived at Dertosà, loadened with arms, without any one to steer it, or so much as a sailor or passenger on board: So that now nobody made the least question, but the war they were a going upon was just and honourable, and fa-
sunt:

sunt : alarum altera castris appropinquantem, poenitentia mutati sacramenti, destituere conata est, atque reuera in officio : & servi, quos a liberto Nerone ad fraudem preparatos muneri acceperat, per angustum in balneas transeuntem pene interemerunt : nisi cohortantibus invicem, ne occasionem omitterent, interrogantibusque de qua occasione loquerentur, expressa cruciatu confessio esset.

11. Accessit ad tanta delicta mors Vindictis, qua maxime consternatus, destitutusque similis non multum abfuit quin vitam renuntiaret. Sed supervenientibus ab urbe munitis, ut occisum Neronem, timoreque in verba sua jurasse cognovit : de officio, LEGATI, suscepit CÆSARIS appellationem. Iter que ingressus est paludatus, ac dependente a cervicibus pugio. ne ante pectus, nec prius utrum togæ recuperavit quam oppressis, qui novas res moliebantur, præfecto prætorii Nymphidio Sabino, Romæ : in Germania, Fonteio Capitone : in Africa, Clodio Macro, legatis.

12. Præcesserat de eo fama sævitæ simul atque avaritiæ : quod civitates Hispaniarum Galliarumque, quæ cunctantius sibi accesserant, gravioribus tributis, quasdam etiam murorum destructione punisset : & præpositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis affecisset cum conjugibus ac liberis : quodque oblatam a Tarraconensibus è veteri templo Jovis coronam auream librarum quindecim constaret, ac tres uncias quæ ponderi deerant, jussisset exigi. Ea

required by the Gods, when all on a sudden the whole design had like to have been unexpectedly blasted. One of the two bodies of horse repeating the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to desert him upon his approach to the camp : and were with some difficulty kept in their duty. And some slaves which had been presented him by a freed man of Nero's, on purpose to murder him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow passage to the bath. But upon his advance, encouraging one another not to slip the opportunity, and being called to an account about it, a confession was forced from them by torture.

11. These dangers were followed by the death of Pindus, at which being terribly discouraged, as if fortune had quite forsaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life : But receiving advice by messengers from Rome that Nero was slain, and that all had sworn to him as Emperor, he laid aside the title of Lieutenant, and took upon him that of Cæsar. And putting himself upon his march with his general's cloak on, and a dagger hanging from his neck before his breast, he did not resume the use of the Toga, till Nymphidius Sabinus commander of the guards at Rome, with the two lieutenants Fonteius Capito in Germany and Claudius Macer in Africa, who opposed his settlement, were all suppressed.

12. A Rumor of his cruelty and avarice got to town before him ; as that he had punish'd some cities of Spain and Gaul, for not coming readily into him, by the imposition of heavy taxes, and some by levelling their walls ; and had put to death the governors and procurators therein, with their wives and children : And that he had melted down a golden crown, that had been presented him by the Tarraconians, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, of fifteen pound weight, and exacted from them three ounces that were wanting in the weight. This fame of him was confirmed and encreased, as soon as he entered the town. For some towers be-
fama

fama & confirmata & aucta est, ut primum urbem introit. Nam cum claffarios quos Nero ex remigibus iustos milites fecerat, redire ad pristinum statum cogeret, recitantes, atque insuper aquilam, & signa pertinacius flagitantes, non modo immisso equite disiecit, sed decimavit etiam. Item Germanorum cohortem à Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam, multisque experimentis fidelissimam, dissolvit, & sine ullo commodo remisit in patriam: quasi Cn. Dolabellæ, juxta cujus hortos tendebat, proniorem. Illa quoque, verene an falso, per Indibrium jactabantur, apposita lautiore comæ ingemuisse eum. Et ordinario quidem dispensatori breviarium rationum offerenti, paropsidem leguminis pro sedulitate ac diligentia porrexisset. Cano autem choraule, mire placenti, denarios quinque donasse, prolatos manu sua è peculiaribus loculis suis.

five denarii, taken out of his own pocket.

13. Quare adventus ejus non perinde gratus fuit: idque proximo spectaculo apparuit. Siquidem Atellanis notissimum canit cum exorhis,

Venit is Simus à villa:

*Soho! soho! now mind ye gentry,
Here's Flatnose just come out o'th' country.*

cuncti simul spectatores consentiente voce reliquam partem retulerunt, ac sæpius versu repetito egerunt.

14. Majore adeo & favore & autoritate adeptus est, quam gessit, Imperium: quamquam multa documenta egregit principis daret: sed nequaquam tam grata erant, quam invisa quæ secus fierent. Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una & in-

longing the fleet that had been taken into the troops by Nero, he would oblige to return to their former condition again, but they refusing to comply, and obstinately demanding to continue in the service they were in, he not only dispersed them by a body of horse let loose upon them, but likewise executed every tenth man among them. He also broke a battalion of Germans, which had been formed by the former Emperors, for the guard of their persons, and by various trials of them found very faithful, and sent them back into their own country, without any gratuity at all, pretending they were more inclinable to favour the advancement of Cn. Dolabella than his own, nigh whose gardens they had their encampment. The following things too were given out by way of ridicule upon him, but whether with or without foundation, I know not, as that he fetched a deep groan, upon the serving up of an handsome supper; and that when one of the stewards presented him with a short draught of his accounts, he reached him from his table, a dish of soap for his care and diligence; and when Canus, the piper, had plaid much to his satisfaction, he presented him, with his own hand,

13. Wherefore his arrival in town was not very agreeable to the people, as appeared pretty plainly at the next publick diversion after; for when the farce-actors began that noted song,

all the spectators, with one voice, went on with the rest, repeating and singing the first verse several times over.

14. He got the empire with more favour and authority than he managed it, tho' he gave many proofs too of his being an excellent prince: but these were not so grateful to the people, as his misconduct was offensive. He was governed by three favourites, who, because they resided at court, and were

tra Palatium habitantes, nec umquam non adherentes, pedagogos vulgo vocabant. Hi erant T. Vinus legatus ejus in Hispania, cupiditatis immentis: Cornelius Laco, ex assessore praefectus praetorii, arrogantia socordiaque intolerabilis: libertus Icelus, paullo ante annulis aureis & Martiani cognomine ornatus, ac jam summum equestris gradus candidatus. His diverso vitiorum genere grassantibus, adeo se abutendum permisit & tradidit, ut vix sibi ipsi constaret: modo acerbior parciorque, modo remissior ac negligentior quam conveniret principi electo, atque illud iratis. Quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros suspitione minima, inauditos condemnavit. Civitatem Romanam raro dedit. Juratrum liberorum vix uni atque alteri: ac ne his quidem, nisi ad certum praefinitumque tempus. Judicibus sextam decuriam adjici precantibus, non modo negavit: sed etiam concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hieme initioque anni ad judicandum evocarentur, eripuit.

them, but deprived them too of the vacation that had been granted them for the winter, and the beginning of the year.

15. Existimabatur etiam senatoria & equestria officia biennii spatio determinaturus, nec daturus nisi invitis ac recusantibus. Liberalitates Neronis non plus decimis concessis, per quinquaginta equites Romanos ea conditione revocandas curavit exigendasque, ut & si quid scenici aut xyfici donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emtoribus, quando illi absumto pretioolvere nequirent. At contra, nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio adipisci, aut donari gratia passus est, vestigalia, immu-

constantly about him, were called his pedagogues. These were T. Vinus his lieutenant in Spain, a man prodigiously covetous; Cornelius Laco, who from an assessor to the Prince, was advanced to be commander of the guards, a person of intolerable arrogance and laziness. His freed-man Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the cognomen of Martianus; who was now a candidate for the highest honour any of the equestrian order can rise to. He put himself so entirely into the power of these three favourites, who imaged very wildly, according to the impulse of their several vices, and was so much abused by them, that his conduct was not very consistent with it self. One while he was more rigorous and frugal, another while more lavish and careless, than became a prince that had been chosen by the people, and was so far advanced in years. He condemned some gentlemen of the first rank in the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one, and the privilege belonging to such as had three children only to one or two, and that with great difficulty; and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied

15. It was thought too, he designed to reduce the offices held by senators and gentlemen of the equestrian order to a term of two years continuance; and to dispose of them to none, but such as were unwilling to accept of them, and refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only the tenths thereof to the proprietors; for which purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights; with orders, that if player or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since they having, to be sure, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay: But on the other hand, he suffered his

nitates, poenas innocentum, impunitate noxiorum. Quinetiam populo Romano deposcente supplicium Haloti & Tigellini, solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis vel maleficientissimos incolumes præstitit: atque insuper Halotum procuratore amplissima ornavit. Pro Tigellino etiam sævitie populum increpuit edicto.

he had; and in favour of Tigellinus reprimanded the people for their cruelty by proclamation.

16. Per hæc prope universis ordinibus offensus, vel præcipua flagravat invidia apud milites. Nam cum in verba ejus absentis jurantibus donativum grandius solito præpositi pronuntiassent, neque ratam rem habuit, & subinde jactavit *legere se militem non emere consueisse*. Atque eo quidem nomine omnes qui ubique erant exacerbavit. Cæterum prætorianos etiam metu & indignitate commovit, removens subinde plerosque ut suspectos, & Nymphidii socios. Sed maxime fremebat superioris Germaniæ exercitus, fraudari se præmiis navare adversus Gallos & Vindicem operæ. Ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi, Kal. Januarii adigi sacramento nisi in nomen senatus, recusarunt: statimque legationem ad prætorianos cum mandatis destina-verunt, *dispicere Imperatorem in Hispania factum, eligerent ipsi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent*.

or another, such as the army's

17. Quod ut nuntiatum est, despectum esse non tam senectam suam, quam orbitatem ratum, Pisonem Frugi Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac sibi olim probatissimum, testamentoque semper in bona & nomen adscriptum, repente e media salutantium, umbra apprehendit: filiumque

attendants and freed-men, to sell or give the Revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, as also to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay when the Roman people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the most mischievous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, he protected them, and moreover dignified Halotus with a commission for one of the best procurators.

16. By these means he incur'd the displeasure of all the several orders of the people, but especially the soldiery. For his commanders having promised them in his name a donative upon their taking the oath to him, before his arrival in town; he refused to make it good, and now and then said that he used to choose his soldiers at pleasure, not buy them. And thus he set all the soldiery every where against him. But the guards he alarmed with apprehensions of danger, and scurvy usage; cashiering a great many of them now and then as disaffected to him, and such as had been favourers of Nymphidius. But the army in upper Germany were above all others in a mighty chafe, to be defrauded of the rewards due to them for the good service they had done against the Gauls and Vindex. Wherefore they first ventured to oppose the new emperor, refusing upon the Calends of January to swear to any but the senate; and immediately dispatched away deputies to the prætorian troops, to let them know, they did not like the emperor that had been set up in Spain, and to desire they would make choice

17. Upon hearing of this, supposing he was slighted, not so much for his age as want of children, he immediately singled out of a company of gentlemen, who came to pay their respects to him, Piso Frugi Licinianus, a youth of noble descent and fine talents, whom he had some time before taken such a fancy to, that he had appointed him in his will the heir of his

appellans, perduxit in castra ac pro concione adoptavit: ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta: quo facilio-rem occasionem M. Salvio Othoni præbuit perficiendi co- nata, intra sextum adoptio- nis diem.

18. Magna & assidua mon-stra jam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis evenit, por- tenderant. Cum per omne iter dextra sinistraque oppi- datim victimæ cæderentur, taurus securis ictu confterna- tus, rupto vinculo, essedum ejus invasit; elatisque pedi- bus totum cruore perfudit, ac descendentem spiculator im- pulsu turbæ lancea prope vul- neravit. Urbem quoque, & deinde Palatium ingressum, excepit terræ tremor, & al- similis quidam mugitus so- nus. Secuta sunt aliquanto manifestiora. Monile marga- ritis gemmisque confertum ad ornandam Fortunam suam Tusculanam, ex omni gaza secreverat: id repente quasi angustiore dignius loco Capi- tolina Veneri dedicavit: ac proxima nocte somniavit spe- ctem Fortunæ querentis frau- datam se dono destinato, mi- nantisque crepturam & ipsam quæ dedisset. Cumque ex- territus luce prima ad expian- dum somnium, præmissis qui rem divinam appararent, Tus- culum excucurrisset, nihil in- venit præter tepidam in ara favillam, atratumque juxta senem in carino vitreo thus tenentem, & in calice fictili merum. Observatum etiam est Kalendis Januariis sacrifi- canti coronam de capite exci- disse: auspicanti pullos evo- lasse: adoptionis die, neque milites allocuturo castrensem fellam de more positam pro Tribunali, oblitis ministris,

estate and name too. Him he now stil- led his son, and taking him to the camp, adopted him before an assembly of the troops, but without making any mention of a donative at all: which gave the better opportunity to M. Sal- vius Otho of accomplishing his design six days after the adoption.

18. He was forewarned of his ap- proaching fate by many remarkable prodigies that happened from the very beginning of his reign. Victims be- ing slain on the right and left of him in every town he passed through in his way from Spain to Rome, a bull be- ing frightened with the stroke of an axe broke the rope he was tied with, and running full drive against his chariot with his fore feet elevated, bespatter'd him all over with his blood: And as he was alighting one of the guard being pushed forward by the crowd, had like to have wounded him with his lance. And upon his entering the city and the palace, he was received with an earthquake, and a noise like the lowing of cattle. These signs of ill fortune were follow'd by some that were still more apparently such. Out of all his treasure he had culled a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn his image of fortune at Tusculum with: but on a sudden, as if it deserved to be dis- posed of in a more august place, he consecrated it to Venus in the capitol: and the next night dream'd fortune ap- peared to him, complaining she had been defrauded of the present designed her, and threatening to take from him what she had given him. At which being sadly terrified, about break of day, sending away some before him to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice, in order to avert the dan- ger from his dream, upon his arrival there himself, he found nothing but some hot embers upon the altar, and an old fellow standing by in black, holding some incense in a glass, and some wine in an earthen pot. Notice was taken too that as he was sacrificing upon the Calends of January, his crown fell from his head, and upon his con- sulting the pullets in the way of au-
sc in

& in senatu curulem perversè collocatam.

was to speak to the soldiers, the seat he used upon those occasions, through the forgetfulness of his attendants, was not placed according to custom upon his tribunal; and in the senate his curule chair was set with the back-side forward.

19. Prius vero quam occideretur, sacrificantem mane haruspex identidem monuit, caveret periculum, non longe percussores abesse. Haud multo post cognoscit teneri castra ob Othone: ac plerisque ut eodem quam primum pergeret suadenibus (posse enim auctoritate & presentia prevalere) nihil amplius quam continere se statuit; & legionariorum firmare praefidiis, qui multifariam diverseque rendebant, Loricam tamen induit, lintheam, quamquam haud dissimulans parum adversus tot mucrones profuturam. Sed extractus rumoribus falsis, quos conspirati, ut eum in publicum elicerent, de industria dissipant, paucis temere affirmantibus transactum negotium, oppressos qui tumultuantur, advenire frequentes caeteros gratulabundos, & in omne obsequium paratos. His ut occurreret, prodiit tanta fiducia, ut militi cui-dam occisum a se Othonem glorianti, Quo auctore, responderit, atque in Forum usque processit. Ibi equites, quibus mandata caedes erat, cum per publicam, dimota paganorum turba, equos adegissent, viso procul eo, parumper restiterunt: deinde rursus incitati, desertum à suis contracidarunt.

20. Sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum, Quid agitis commilitones? ego vester sum, & vos mei: donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt, obtulisse ultro jugulum: & ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum. Illud mirum admodum fuerit, neque praesentium quempiam opem Impera-

gury, they flew away; and that upon the day of his adopting Piso when he the seat he used upon those occasions, was not placed according to custom upon his tribunal; and in the senate his curule chair was

19. As he was sacrificing in the morning, the day before he was slain, the sooth-sayer warned him now and then to look to himself, for that he was in danger of being assassinated, and that very shortly. Soon after he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the camp. And tho' most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately, in hopes he might quell the tumult by his authority and presence, he resolved only to keep close within the palace, and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers, who were encamped here and there in different parts about the town, yet he put on a linnen coat of defence, tho' he could not forbear taking notice it would avail him little against the points of so many swords. But being tempted out by false rumors, which the conspirators had purposely spread, to make him venture abroad, some about him too hastily assuring him that the business was quite over, the mutineers all suppressed, and the rest coming to congratulate him, resolved to continue firm in their obedience; he went out to meet them with that assurance, that upon a soldier's boasting that he had killed Otho, he asked him by what authority; and went on as far as the forum. There the horse appointed to dispatch him, making their way through the crowd, upon seeing him at a distance, halted a while; after which galloping up to him, they stabbed him, being abandoned by all his attendants.

20. Some authors say, that upon their first approach he cried out, What mean you fellow-soldiers? I am your's, and you are mine, and promised them a donative, but the generality of writers relate, that he forwardly offered his throat, and bid them do their work and strike, since they were resolved upon it. This was really to be wondered at, that not one of those that were by, ever offered to assist the emperor; and all that were sent for

tori ferre conatum : & omnes qui accerferentur iprevisse nuntium, excepta Germaniciorum vexillatione. Hi ob recens meritum, quod se ægros & invalidos magnopere fovisset, in auxilium advolare: sed serius, itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati. Jugulatus est ad lacum Curtii, ac relictus, ita uti erat, donec gregarius miles à frumentatione rediens abjecto onere caput ei amputavit. Et quoniam capillo præ calvirie arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit. Mox inserto per os pollice ad Othonem detulit. Ille lixis calonibusque donavit: qui hasta suffixum, non sine ludibrio circum castra ortarunt acclamantes identidem, *Galba cupide fruor, ætate tua.* Maxime irritati ad talem jocosum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in vulgus, laudanti cuidam furmam suam, ut adhuc floridam & vegetam, respondisse eum.

slighted the summons, excepting only a battalion of troops from Germany. They in consideration of his late kindness in taking great care of them in a sickness they had amongst them, made all possible haste to his assistance, but came too late, for being not sufficiently acquainted with the town, they missed their way, and came about. He was slain nigh the Curtian lake, and left as he was; 'till a common soldier returning from the receipt of corn, throwing down his load, cut off his head; and because there was no hair upon it to carry it by, put it up in his lap; but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth, carried it in that manner to Otho. Who gave it to the drudges and slaves that attended the soldiery, and they fixing it upon the point of a spear, carried it with a deal of abusive merriment round the camp, crying out now and then, Enjoy thy self, GALBA, now in thy old age. Being moved to this rude way of banter by a report spread a few days before, that, upon some body's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,

ἔτι μοι αἰὼς ἐμπέδ' ἐστίν.

My strength as yet feels no decay.

Ab his Patrobius Nero-
niani libertus, centum aureis
redemptum, eo loco ubi jussu
Galbæ animadversum in pa-
tronum fuerat, abjecit. Sero
tandem dispensator Argius,
& hoc & cæterum truncum
in privatis ejus hortis Aure-
liæ vise sepulturæ dedit.

21. Statura fuit justa, ca-
pite præcalvo, oculis cæruleis
adunco naso, manibus pedi-
busque articulari morbo dis-
tortissimis, ut neque calce-
um perperî, neque libellos e-
volvere aut tenere omnino
valeret. Excreverat etiam
in dexteriore latere ejus ca-
ro, propendebatque adeo, ut ægre fascia substringeretur.

A freed-man of Petrobius's who him-
self had been Nero's, purchased the head
from them at the price of a hundred
gold pieces, and threw it in the place
where by Galba's order his patron had
been put to death. At last tho' late his
steward Argius, buried it with the rest
of his body, in his own gardens nigh
the Aurelian way.

21. He was a well sized person, bald
before, blue-eyed, crook-nosed, and
his hands and feet were so distorted
with the gout, that he could neither en-
dure a shoe, nor turn over, or so much
as hold a book. He had an excrescence too
in his right side, which hung down to
that degree, that it was with difficul-
ty kept up with a swathe.

22. Cibi

22. Cibi plurimi traditur, quem tempore hiberno etiam ante lucem cape reconfueverat, inter cœnam vero usque eo abundantem, ut congelatas super manus reliquias circumferri juberet, spargique ad pedes stantibus. Libidinis in mares pronior: & eos non nisi præduros, exoletosque. Ferebant in Hispania Icelum è veteribus concubinis, de Neronis exitu nuntiantem, non modo arctissimis osculis palam exceptum ab eo, sed ut sine mora velleretur oratum, atque seductum.

23. Periit tertio & septuagesimo ætatis anno, Imperii mense septimo. Senatus, ut primum licitum fuit, statuam ei decreverat rostratæ columnæ superstantem, in parte Fori, qua trucidatus est. Sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Judæam submisisse opinatus.



22. He is said to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter time before day. And at supper he fed so heartily, that he would give of the relicks of his plate by handfulls to be distributed amongst the waiters. He was in his lust more inclinable to the male-sex, and such of them too as were past their prime for that vile service. They tell you that in Spain, when Icelus an old catamite of his brought him the news of Nero's death, he not only kissed him heartily before company, but begged of him to make a clear coast, and then took him aside with him into a private room.



23. He lost his life in the seventy third year of his age; and the seventh month of his reign. The senate, as soon as it was safe from them so to do, ordered a statue to be erected for him upon the pillar called Rostrata, in that part of the forum, where he was slain. But Vespasian cancelled that decree, upon a suspicion that he had sent assassins from Spain into Judæa to murder him.

C. SUET. TRANQUILLI M. SALVIUS OTHO.

VIII.

CAPUT I.

1.   Aiores Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentino, familia vetere & honorata, atque ex principibus Etruriæ. Avus M. Salvius Otho, patre equite R. matre humili, ingentum an ingenna, per gra-

  HE ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentinum, of an ancient and honourable family, and indeed one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfather M. Salvius Otho, whose father was a Roman knight, but his mother of mean extraction, for

tiam Livie Augustæ, in cuius domo creverat, senator est factus, nec præturæ gradum excessit. Pater L. Otho materno genere præclaro, multarum & magnarum propinquitatum, tam charus, tamque non absumilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores, proconsulatum Africae, & extraordinaria imperia, severissime administravit. Ausus etiam est in Illyrico milites quosdam, quod motu Camilli ex poenitentia præpositos suos, quasi defectionis adversus Claudium auctores occiderant, capite punire: & quidem ante principis se coram; quamvis ob id ipsum promotos in ampliorem gradum Claudio scirer. Quo facto, sicut gloriam auxit, ita gratiam minuit: quam, tamen mature recuperavit, detecta equitis R. fraude, quem, prodentibus servis, necem Claudio parare compererat. Namque & senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, profectus est eum: & Claudius allec-tum inter patricios collaudans amplissimis verbis, hoc quoque adiecit, *Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem.* Ex Albia Terentia splendidissima femina duos tulit filios, L. Titianum, & minorem Marcum cognominem sibi. Tulit & filiam, quam nondum nubilem Drusus Germanici filio despondit. cognomen with himself. He had Drusus Germanicus's son, before

2. Otho Imperator III. Kalend. Maij natus est, Camillo Arruntio Domitio Enobarbo COSS. A prima adolescentia prodigus ac pro-cax, adeo ut sæpe flagris ob-jurgaretur a patre. Ferebatur & vagari noctibus soli-

It's not certain whether she was free-born, by the favour of Livia Augusta, in whose house he had his education, was made a senator, but never rose higher than the prætorship. His father L. Otho, was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, so dearly loved by Tiberius, and so like him in the face, that most people believed he was the father of him. He behaved with great strictness and severity, as well in the city offices as the proconsulate of Africa, and some extraordinary commissions in the troops. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illyricum, who in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put to the sword their commanders as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. And the execution he order'd to be before his tent under his own eyes; altho' he knew they had been advanced to higher posts in the army for that very thing by Claudius. By which action, tho' he raised his character in the world, yet he lessened his interest at court; but soon recovered it again, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight, which he had learnt from some of his slaves. For the senate ordered a statue to be erected for him in the palace, which was an honour that had been paid but to very few before him. And Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a patrician; commending him at the same time in the highest terms, and concluding with these words, A Man, than whom I don't so much as wish to have children that should be better. He had two sons by a very noble lady Albia Terentia, viz. L. Titianus, and a younger called Mark that had the same also a daughter, whom he contracted to she was of age to marry.

2. The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the calends of may, in the consulship of Camillus Arruntius and Domitius Enobarbus. He was from his youth so prodigal and wild, that he was oftentimes severely scourged by his father. He was said to run about in the night time, and to seize upon any
tus:

tus: atque invalidum quemque obvicorum vel potulentum corripere, ac distento fago impositum in sublime jactare. Post patris deinde mortem, libertinam aulicam gratiosam, quo efficacius coleret, etiam diligere simulavit, quamvis anum, ac pæne decrepitam. Per hanc insinuat- tus Neroni, facile summum inter amicos locum tenuit congruentia morum: ut vero quidam tradunt, & consuetudine mutui stupri: ac tantum potentia valuit, ut damnatum repetundis consularem virum, ingens præmium pactus, priusquam plane restitutionem ei impetrasset, non dubitaret in senatum ad agendas gratias introducere.

3. Omnium autem consilio- rum secretorumque particeps, die quem Nero necandæ ma- tri destinaverat, ad averten- das suspiciones cœnam utriq; exquisitissimæ comitatus dedit. Item Poppæam Sabinam, tunc adhuc amicam ejus, abduc- tam marito, demandatamque interim sibi, nuptiarum specie recepit. Nec corruptisse con- tentus, adeo dilexit, ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem æ- quo tulerit animo. Creditur certe non modo missos ad ar- cessendam non recepisse, sed ipsum etiam exclusisse quon- dam pro foribus adstantem, miscentemque frustra minas & preces, ac depositum re- poscentem. Quare diducto matrimonio, sepositus est per causam legationis in Lusta- niam. Id satis visum, ne poena acrior minum omnem divulgaret: qui tamen sic quoque hoc disticho enotuit,

one he met, that was either drunk or too feeble to make resistance, and cast him in a blunder. After his father's death, in order to make his court the more effectually to a freed-woman about the palace, that was in great favour, he pretended to be in love with her, tho' she was old and almost decrepit. Hav- ing by her means got into Nero's good graces, he soon came to be one of his principal favourites, by the conformity of his temper with that of the empe- ror's; or as some say, by a customary practice of mutual pollution. And he had so vast a sway at court, that when a consular gentleman was con- demn'd for bribery, having clapp'd up a bargain with him for a round sum of money, to procure his pardon, before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the senate, to return his thanks.

3. Being now made privy to all the emperor's projects and secrets, upon the day designed for the murder of his mo- ther, he entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to prevent suspicion. Poppæa Sabina, whom Nero being in love with had taken from her husband, and committed to his trust, he received under pretence of marrying her. And not sa- tisfied with debauching her, he loved her so extravagantly, that he could not with patience bear with Nero for his ri- val. It is however believ'd he not only refused to admit those sent by Nero to fetch her, but that he once shut him out too, and kept him standing before the door, mixing threats and prayers in vain, and demanding back again, what had been entrusted to his keeping. Where- fore his pretended marriage being dissol- ved, he was sent lieutenent into Lusta- nia. That treatment of him was thought severe enough, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which notwithstanding got wind at last, and was published to the world in the following distich.

*Cur Otho mentito sit quaritis exsul honore?
Uxoris mæchus caperat esse sua.*

Why in feign'd honour's Otho banish'd, why?
With his own wife the rogue was found to ly.

Provia-

Provinciam administravit quæstorius per decem annos, moderatione atque abstinentia singulari.

4. Ut tandem ultionis occasio data est, conatibus Galbæ primus accessit: eodemque momento & ipse spem Imperii cepit, magnam quidem & ex conditione temporum, sed aliquanto majorem ex affirmatione Seleuci mathematici. Qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore sponsidisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperatorum quoque brevi repromittens. Nullo igitur officii aut ambitionis in quinquam genere omisso, quoties cœna principem acciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritum dividebat: nec eo minus alium alia via militum demerebatur. Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litigant, adhibitus arbiter, totum agrum redemit, emancipavitque: ut jam vix ullus esset, qui non & sentiret & prædicaret solum successionem Imperii dignum.

5. Speraverat autem fore ut adoptaretur a Galbæ: idque in dies expectabat. Sed postquam, Pisone prælato, spe decidit, ad vim conversus est: instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine æris alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat, nisi principem, se stare non posse: nihilque referre, ab hope in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus, caderet. Ante paucos dies servo Cæsaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium expresserat. Hoc subsidium tanti cœpti fuit. Ac primo quinque spiculatoribus commissa est res, deinde decem aliis, quos singuli binos produxerant, omnibus dena sestertia representata, & quinquagena promissa. Per hos

He governed the province in quality of Quæstor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice.

4. As soon as he had an opportunity of revenge given him, he readily joined Galbæ in his design, and at the same time conceived hopes of the empire for himself, to which he was much encouraged by the condition of the times; but still more by the assurances given him by Seleucus the astrologer, who having formerly told him, he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising him the empire again; and that shortly too: Wherefore he let slip no opportunity of making his court to all about him, by all manner of civilities. As oft as he entertained Galbæ at supper, he distributed to every man of the battalion at that time attending the emperor as his guard, a gold piece; and endeavoured too nevertheless to oblige the rest of the soldiers one way, and another another. Being chose an arbitrator by one that had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bought it and gave it him; so that now every body thought and said, he was the only man worthy to succeed the emperor.

5. He was in hopes of being adopted by Galbæ, and expected it every day. But after he was balked of those hopes by Piso's being preferred before him, he resolved upon the use of violence, to bring his designs about, being pushed on thereto, as well by the greatness of his debts, as the resentment of Galbæ's behaviour towards him. For he could not forbear taking notice, that he must sink unless he was emperor, and that it signified nothing whether he fell by the hands of his enemys in the field, or of his creditors in the forum. He had a few days before squeezed out of a slave of Cæsars a million of sesterces for a stewardship he procured him. And this was all the fund he had for carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was entrusted to only five of the guards, but afterwards to ten others, each of the five naming two. They had every one sollicitati

solicitati reliqui, nec adeo multi, hand dubia fiducia in ipso negotio plures affuturos.

when the matter came to be publicly broached, they should have enough to join them.

6. Erat animus post adoptionem statim Castra occupare, coenantesque in Palatio Galbam aggredi: sed obstitit respectus cohortis, quæ tunc excubabat, ne oneraretur invidia, quod ejusdem statione & Caius fuerat occisus, & desertus Nero. Medium quoque tempus religio & Seleucus exemit. Ergo destinata die, præmonitis consiliis, ut se in foro sub æde Saturni ad Miliarium aureum operirentur, mane Galbam salutavit: utque consueverat, osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit. auditque prædicta haruspiciis. Deinde liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi vanalem domum inspecturus abscessit, proripuitque se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum. Alii febrem simulasse aiunt, eamque excusationem proximis mandasse, si quæreretur. Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in Castra contendit: ac deficientibus lexicariis, cum descendisset, cursumque cepisset, laxato calceæ restitit, donec omiſsa mora succollatus, & à præſente comitatu IMPERATOR conſalutatus, inter fauſtas acclamationes ſtriſtosque gladios ad principia devenit: obvio quoque, non aliter ac ſi conſcius & particeps foret, ad hærente. Ibi miſſis qui Galbam & Piſonem trueidarent, ad conciliandos pollicitationibus militum animos nihil magis pro concione teſtatus eſt, quam id demum ſe habiturum quod ſibi reliquiſſent.

ten thousand ſeſterces paid down, and were promiſed fifty thouſand more. By theſe others were drawn in, but not many, from a confident aſſurance, that

they ſhould have enough

6. He had at firſt an intention, immediately after the departure of Piſo, to ſeize the camp, and fall upon Galba, whiſt he was at ſupper in the palace, but was reſtrain'd by a regard for the battalion at that time upon duty, leſt he ſhould bring too great an odium upon it, becauſe the ſame happened to be upon the guard before, both when Caius was ſlain, and Nero deſerted. For ſome time after too he was reſtrain'd by a ſcruple of mind about the luckineſs of the ſeaſon, as alſo the advice of Seleucus. Wherefore upon the day fixt for the deſign, having given his accomplices notice to wait for him in the forum, nigh the temple of Saturn, at the gilded Mile-pillar, he went in the morning to pay his reſpects to Galba, and being received with a kiſs as uſual, he attended him at ſacrifice too, and heard the predictions of the haruſpex. After which a freedman of his bringing him word, that the architects were come, which was the ſignal had been agreed upon, he withdrew as if it were with a deſign to view a houſe upon ſale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some ſay he pretended himſelf taken with an ague fit, and ordered thoſe about him to make that excuſe for him, if he was enquired after. And then being quickly put into a woman's ſedan, he made the beſt of his way for the camp. But the chairmen growing tired, he came out, and began to run for it; but his ſhoe coming looſe, he ſtopt again; but being immediately taken up by his attendants upon their ſhoulders, and unanimouſly ſaluted by the title of Emperor, he came amidſt lucky acclamations and drawn ſwords to the principia in the camp, all that met him joining in the carvalcade, as if they had been ſtriv'g to the deſign. Upon this ſending away ſome to diſpatch Galba and Piſo, he

Said nothing else in his address to the soldiery to secure their affections but only this, That he should be content with whatever they thought fit to leave him.

7. Deinde vergente jam die ingressus senatum, politicaque brevi ratione, quasi raptus de publico, & suscipere Imperium vi coactus, gesturusque communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petiit. Ac super cæteras gratularium adulantiumque blandicias, ab intima plebe appellatus NERO, nullum indicium recusantis dedit: immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistolis suis ad quosdam provinciarum Præfides, Neronis cognomen adjecit. Certe & imagines statuasque ejus reponi passus est: & procuratores atque libertos ad eadem officia revocavit. Nec quidquam prius pro potestate subscripsit, quam quingentes HS. ad peragendam Auream domum. Dicitur ea nocte per quietem pavefactus gemitus maximos edidisse: repertusque à concursantibus humi ante lectum jacens, per omnia piaculorum genera manes Galbæ, a quo deturbari expellique se viderat, propitiare tentasse: postmodum quoque in augurando tempestate onia graviter prolapsus, identidem obmurmurasse:

7. Towards the close of the day, he entered the senate, and after he had made a short speech to them, pretending he had been seized in the streets, and compelled by violence to take the government upon him, which he designed to manage in conjunction with them, he went to the palace. And besides other civilities he received from such as flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and seem'd not at all offended with it. Nay, as some Authors tell us, he put the cognomen of Nero to his patents, and the first letters he sent to some governors of provinces. However he suffered all his images and statues to be replaced, and restored his procurators and freedmen to their former posts. And the first thing he sign'd as emperor, was a promise of fifty millions of Sesterces to finish the golden house. He is said to have been terribly frighted that night in his sleep, and to have groaned heavily; and being found, by those that came running in to see what the matter was lying upon the ground before his bed, he endeavour'd by all manner of atonements to pacify the ghost of Galba, by whom he had seen himself violently tumbled out of bed. The next day too, as he was taking the omens, a great storm arising, and he getting a grievous fall upon it, he now and then muttered to himself,

Τί γὰρ μοὶ καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς.

Wretch! what have I to do with things divine?

8. Sub idem vero tempus, Germaniciani exercitus in Vitellii verba juraverant. Quod ut comperit, auctor senatui fuit mittendæ legationis, quæ doceret, electum jam principem; quietem & concordiam suaderet. Et tamen per internuntios ac litteras, consuetem Imperii, generumque se Vitellio obtulit. Verum haud

8. About the same time, the army in Germany swore to Vitellius as emperor. Upon news of which he advised the senate to send deputies thither, to inform them, that a prince had been already chose; and to persuade them to peace and a good agreement. However by messengers and letters he offered Vitellius to become his partner in the empire, and his son-in-law. But a war being now unavoidable, and the

dubio

dubio bello, jam ducibus & copiis quas Vitellius præmiserat, appropinquantibus, animum fidemque prætorianorum erga se pæne interneccione amplissimi ordinis expertus est: Placuerat per classiarios arma transferri, remittere navibus. Ea cum in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quidam suspicati, tumultum excitaverunt: ac repente omnes, nullo certe duce, in Palatium cucurrerunt, eadem senatus flagitantes: repulsis que tribunorum, qui inhibere tentabant, nonnullis & occisis, sic ut erant cruenti, ubinam Imperator esset requirentes perreperunt in triclinium usque, nec nisi viso destiterunt. Expeditionem autem impigre atque etiam præpropere inchoavit: nulla ne religionum quidem cura, sed & moris necdum conditis ancilibus, quod antiquitus infaustum haberetur: & die, quo cultores Deum matris lamentari & plangere incipiunt: præterea adversissimis auspiciis. Nam & victima Diti patri cæsa litavit: cum tali sacrificio contraria exta potiora sint. Et primo egressu inundationibus Tiberis retardatus, ad xx etiam lapidem ruina edificiorum præclusam viam offendit.

the most promising. And at the first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber, and at twenty miles distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses.

9. Simili temeritate, quamvis dubium nemini esset quin trahi bellum oporteret, quando & fame & angustiis locorum urgeretur hostis, quam primum tamen decertare statuit: sive impatiens longioris sollicitudinis, speransque ante Virelli adventum profligari plurimum posse: sive impar militum ardori, pugnam deposcentium. Nec ulli pugne affuit, substititque Brixelli. Et tribus qui-

Generals and troops, which Vitellius had sent before him, advancing, he had a proof of the affection and fidelity of the guards, which had like to have proved fatal to the senatorian order. It was thought proper to send away some arms to the north of Italy by sea. As these were a fetching out of the camp in the evening, some of the soldiers suspecting there was treachery in the case, made a mighty bustle about it; and on a sudden all of them, without any leader, ran to the palace, demanding to have the senate all put to the sword, and having repulsed some of the tribunes that endeavoured to stop them, and slain others, they broke all bloody as they were into the banquetting room, enquiring for the emperor, nor would they stir till they had seen him. He now entered upon his expedition against Vitellius with great briskness; but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous circumstances that attended it; for the ancilia had been taken out of the temple of Mars for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced, during which time it had of old been look'd upon as very unfortunate to engage in any enterprize. He set forward too upon the day, when the worshippers of the mother of the gods begin their lamentations and wailing: with several other very unlucky omens attending him. For in a victim offered to father Dis, he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are looked upon as favourable, whereas in such a sacrifice the contrary intimations are judged

9. And tho' it was every body's opinion, that it would be proper to protract the war, by reason the enemy were distressed by famine and the straitness of their quarters, yet he resolved with the like rashness to come to an engagement as soon as possible; whether from an impatience under his present uneasiness of mind, and in hopes of accomplishing his design in a great measure before the arrival of Vitellius, or because he was not able to withstand the violence of the soldiery, who were

dem, verum medicribus præliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, & ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est, vicit: novissimo maximoque apud Bebriacum fraude superatus est: cum spe colloqui facta, quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improvviso, atque in ipsa confaluratione, dimicandum fuisset ac statim moriendi impetum cepit: ut multi, nec frustra opinantur, magis pudore, ne tantorum hominumque periculo dominationem sibi asserere perleveraret, quam desperatione ulla, aut diffidentia copiarum; quippe residuis, integrisque etiam nunc, quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, & supervenientibus aliis e Dalmatia, Pannoniaque & Mœsia: ne victis quidem adeo afflictis, ut non in ultionem ignominiae quidvis discriminis ultro, & vel solæ subirent.

10. Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Is mox referre crebro solebar, Othoniem etiam privatum usque adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassii Brutique exitu, cohorrerit: nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi consideret sine bello rem transigi posse. Tunc ad despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum: qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret, nec cuiquam fidem faceret, ac nunc mendacii, nunc timoris, quasi fugisset ex acie, argueretur, gladio ante pedes ejus incubuerit. Hoc viso proclamasse eum aiebat, non amplius se in periculum tales tamque benemeritos conjecturum. Fratrem igitur, fratrisque filium, & singulos amicorum cohortatus

all clamorous for battle. However he was not in any of the fights that ensued, but stay'd behind at Brissellum. He had the better of it in three slight engagements, nigh the Alps, about Placentia, and a place call'd Castor's, but was by the treachery of the enemy defeated in the last and greatest battle, at Bebriacum. For some hopes of a conference being given, and the soldiers being drawn out as it were to hear the conditions of peace declared very unexpectedly and amidst their mutual salutations, they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this he took up a resolution to put an end to his life, more out of shame, as many think, and not with one reason, to persist in a struggle for the empire to the hazard of the publick, and so many lives, than out of despair, or any distrust of his troops, for he had still left entire those he had reserved for a second tryal of his fortune, and others were coming up from Dalmatia, Pannonia and Mœsia, nor were these that had been lately defeated so far discouraged, as not to be very ready alone to run any risk to wipe of their former disgrace.

10. My Father Suetonius Lenis was in this battle, being at that time an angusticlavian tribune in the thirteenth legion. He used frequently to say, that Otho before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that upon hearing an account given once at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he would never have meddled with Galba, but that he was confident, he might carry his point without a war. And that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defeat of the army, and finding that he met with no credit, but was rail'd at for a liar and a coward, that had run away from the field of battle, he fell upon his sword at the Emperor's feet, upon sight of which, my father said, Otho cryed out, that he would expose to no further danger such brave fellows, that had deserved so well at his hands. Wherefore advising his

ut sibi quisque pro facultate consuleret, ab amplexu & osculo suo dimisit omnes, secretoque captato, binos codicillos exaravit ad sororem consolatorios. Sed & ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destinaverat, commendans reliquias suas & memoriam. Quidquid deinde epistolarum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxæ apud victorem forent, concremavit. Divisit & pecunias domesticis ex copia præsentî.

11. Atque ita paratus, intentusque jam morti, tumultu inter moras exorto, ut eos qui discedere, & abire cœptabant, corripere quasi deferiores, detinerique sensit. Adjiciamus, inquit, vite & hanc noctem, his ipsis, toridemque verbis, veto: neque vim cuiquam fieri: & in serum usque patiente cubiculo, si quis adire vellet, potestatem sui præbuit. Post hæc sedata siti gelidæ aquæ porione, arripuit duos pugiones, & explorata utriusque acie cum alterum pulvino subdidisset, foribus adportis arctissimo somno quievit. Et circa lucem demum expergefactus, uno se trajecit ictu infra lævam papillam: irrupentibusque ad primum gemitum, modo celans, modo detegens plagam, exanimatus est: & celeriter (nam ita præceperat) funeratus, xxviii ætatis anno, & xcv Imperii die.

12. Tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competuit. Fuisse enim traditur & modicæ staturæ, & male pedatus, scambusque. Munditiarum vero pæne muliebrium: vulso corpore: galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato &

brother, his brother's son and the rest of his friends to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, he sent them away, and then withdrawing into a private room by himself, he writ a large letter of consolation to his sister. He likewise sent another to Messalina, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, recommending to her his relics and memory. Then he burnt all the letters he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror. And what money he had left, he distributed amongst his domesticks.

11. And now being prepared and just upon the point of dispatching himself, there happened in the mean time a great uproar in the camp; whereupon finding that such as were making off had been seized and detained as deserters, Let us add, says he, this night to our life. These were his very words. And then he gave orders that no violence should be offered to any body, and keeping his chamber door open till late at night, he gave all that had a mind liberty to come and see him. After that quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took up two ponyards, and having examined the points of both, put one of them under his pillow, and shutting his chamber door, slept very soundly, till awaking about break of day, he ran himself into the body under the left pap. And some breaking into the room, upon the first groan he gave, he died soon after, one while covering, and another while exposing his wound to the view of the by-standers. His funeral was dispatched immediately, according to his own order, in the thirty eighth year of his age, and ninety fifth day of his reign.

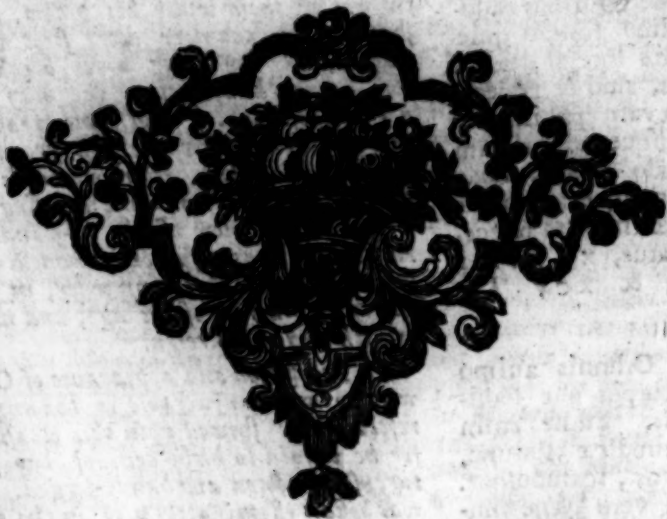
12. The person and appearance of Otho was no ways answerable to the mighty resolution he shewed upon this occasion: for he is said to have been of low stature, splay-footed and bandy-legged. He was besides effeminately nice in the care of his person, the hair of his body he took away by the roots, and because he was somewhat bald, wore a kind of

annexo

anuexo, ut nemo dignosceret. Quin & faciem quotidie rasitare, ac pane madido linere consuetum: idque instituisse à prima lanugine, ne barbatus unquam esset. Sacra etiam Idis sæpe in lintea religiosæque veste propalam celebrasse. Per quas factum putem, ut mors ejus minime congruens vitæ, majori miraculo fuerit. Multi præsentium militum cum plurimo fletu manus ac pedes jacentis exosculati, fortissimum virum, unicum Imperatorem prædicantes, ibidem statim nec procul à rogo vim suæ vitæ attulerunt. Multi & absentium accepto nuntio præ dolore armis inter se ad internecionem concurrerunt. Denique magna pars hominum, incolumem gravissimè decessata, mortuum laudibus talit: ut vulgo jactatum sit etiam, Galbam ab eo non tam dominandi, quam Reip. ac libertatis restituendæ causa intererunt.

by him, not so much from a desire to reign himself, as to restore Rome to its antient liberty.

peruke, so exactly fitted to his head, that no body could have known it for such. He used to shave every day, and rub his face with bread soaked in asses milk, which he began when the down first appeared upon his chin, to prevent his having any beard. They say likewise he celebrated the holy rites of Isis publicly, clad in a linnen garment, such as is worn by the worshippers of that goddess. All which things, I suppose, gave occasion to the world to wonder the more at his death so little suitable to his life. Many of the soldiers then present, kissing his hands and feet as he lay dead with abundance of tears, and celebrating him as a most gallant man, and an incomparable emperor, immediately put an end to their own lives on the spot, not far from his pile. Many of them too that were at a distance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguish of their souls, fell a fighting amongst themselves, till they dispatch'd one another. To conclude, the generality of mankind, tho' they hated him whilst living, yet extolled him most highly after he was dead: insomuch that it was the common talk and opinion, That Galba had been taken off





C. SUET. TRANQUILLI
A. VITELLIUS.

IX.

CAPUT I.

1. **VITELLIORUM**
V originem alii ali-
V am, & quidem
V diversissimam, tra-
dunt : partim veterem & no-
bilem : partim vero novam
& obscuram, atque etiam sor-
didam. Quod ego per adula-
tores obtrectatoresq; Impera-
toris Vitellij evenisse opina-
rer, nisi aliquanto prius
de familie conditione va-
riatum esset. Exstat Q. Eu-
logii ad Q. Vitellium, divi
Augusti questorem, libellus,
quo continetur, Vitellios Fau-
no Aboriginum rege, & Vi-
tellia, quæ multis locis pro
numine coleretur, ortos, toto
Latia imperasse. Horum re-
siduam stirpem ex Sabinis
transisse Romam, atque inter
patritios allectam : indicta
stirpis diu mansisse, viam
Vitelliam ab Janiculo ad
mare usque : item colo-
niam ejusdem nominis, quam
gentili copia adversus Æqui-

1. **DIFFERENT** Authors
D give very different ac-
D counts of the original of
D the Vitellian family. Some
will have it to be antient and noble, o-
thers of late standing and obscure, nay
very mean indeed : which I should be fit
to think had been occasioned by the
the flatterers and detractors of Vitellius,
after he came to be emperor, but that
the condition of that family was dif-
ferently represented some time before.
There is extant a book of Q. Eulogi-
us to Q. Vitellius Quæstor to Augus-
tus, wherein it's said that the Vitellii
were descended from Faun King of the
Aborigines, and Vitellia, who was wor-
shipped in many places as a goddess,
and that they reigned formerly over all
Latium. That all who were left of the family,
removed out of the country of the Sa-
bines to Rome, and were chose amongst
the Patricians, that some monuments
of the family continued a long time,
as the Vitellian way reaching from
the Janiculum to the sea, and likewise
a colony of that name, which in the
days of old they desired leave of the
cudo

culos tutandam olim depoposcissent : tempore deinde Samnitici belli praesidio in Apuliam misso, quosdam ex Vitelliis subsedisse Nuceriae ; eorumque progeniem longo post intervallo reperisse urbem, atque ordinem senatorium. Contra, plures auctorem generis libertinum prodiderunt. Cassius Severus, nec minus alii, eundem & futorem veteramentarium, ejus filius sectionibus & cognituris uberius compendium nactus, ex muliere vulgari, Antiochi cujusdam furnariam exercentis filia, equitem Rom. genuerit. Sed quod discrepat, sit in medio.

2. Ceterum P. Vitellius domo Nuceria, sive ille stirpis antiquae, sive pudendis parentibus atque avis, eques certe Romanus, & rerum Augusti procurator, quatuor filios amplissimae dignitatis cognomines, ac tantum praenominebus distinctos, reliquit, Aulum, Quintum, Publium & Lucium. AULUS in consulatu obiit, quem cum Domitio Neronis Caesaris patre inierat : praelatus alioqui, famosusque coenarum magnificentia. QUINTUS caruit ordine, cum auctore Tiberio secerni minus idoneos senatores, removerique placuisset. PUBLIUS Germanici comes Cn. Pisonem inimicum, & interfectorem ejus, accusavit condemnavitque : ac post praeturae honorem inter Sejani consocios arreptus, & in custodiam fratri datus, scalpro librario venas sibi incidit : nec tam mortis poenitentia quam suorum obtestatione obligari, curarique se passus, in eadem custodia morbo periit. LUCIUS ex consulatu Syriae praepositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus, non modo ad

government to defend against the Aequiculi, with a force raised out of their own family only. Also that, in the time of the war with the Samnites, some of the Vitellii that went along with the troops raised for the security of Apulia, settled at Nuceria, and that their descendants a long time after returned to Rome again, and were chose into the senate. On the other hand the generality of writers say, that the founder of the family was a freed-man, Cassius Severus and some others will have it he was a cobbler too, whose son having raised a considerable fortune by the purchase of confiscated estates, and the practise of information, begot of a common strumpet, the daughter of one Antiochus a baker, a Roman Knight. But of these different accounts the reader is left to judge.

2. However P. Vitellius of Nuceria, whether he was of an antient family, or of sordid extraction, was, it's certain, a Roman knight, and a procurator of Augustus's. He left four sons behind him, all men of very great figure, who had the same cognomen, but the different praenomina of Aulus, Quintus, Publius and Lucius. Aulus died consul, which office he bore together with Domitius the father of Nero Caesar, otherwise elegant to an excess in his manner of living, and infamous for the vast expence of his entertainments. Quintus was turn'd out of the senatorian order, when, upon a motion of Tiberius's, it was resolved to purge the senate of such as were in any respect not duly qualified for that honour. Publius was an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, who prosecuted his enemy and murderer Cn. Piso, and procured sentence against him, and after he had been praetor, being taken up amongst the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother, to be confined in his house, he open'd a vein in order to bleed to death, however he suffered the wound to be bound up and cured, not so much that he was loath to dy, as to comply with the opportunity of his relations. He died afterwards a natural death in that confinement. Lucius after his consulship was made governor of Syria, and by his colloquium

colloquium faum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit. Mox cum Claudio principe, duos insuper ordinarios Consularis, Censuramque gessit. Curam quoque imperii sustinuit, absente eo, expeditione Britannica: vir innocens, & industrius, sed amore Libertinae perinfamis, cuius etiam salivis melle commistis, nec clam quidem auraro, sed quotidie ac palam arterias, & fauces pro remedio fovebat. Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit: cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset, quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Claudium nxoribus, libertisque addictum, ne qua non arte demereretur, pro maximo munere à Messalina petiit, ut sibi pedes præberet exalceandos; detractumque focculum dextrum, inter togam tunicasque gestavit assidue nonnunquam osculabundus. Narcissi quoque & Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit. Hujus & illa vox est, *Sape facias*, cum sæculares ludos edenti Claudio gratularetur.

images of Narcissus and Pallas amongst his house-hold gods. It was he too that, when Claudius exhibited the Secular games, in his complements to him upon that occasion, had this expression, may you often do the same.

3. Decessit paralyti altero die quam correptus est, duobus filiis superstitibus, quos ex Sextilia probatissima, nec ignobili femina editos Consul vidit, & quidem eodem ambobus toroque anno, cum majori minor in vi menses successisset. Defunctum senatus publico funere honoravit, item statua pro Rostris, cum hac inscriptione, **PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM.** Aulus Vitellius L. filius IMP. natus est VIII Kalendas Octobris,

politick management not only brought Artabanus king of the Parthians to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions. He afterwards bore two ordinary consulships, and the censorship too together with the emperor Claudius. He likewise had the care of the empire committed to him, whilst Claudius was absent upon his expedition into Britain, being a man of great integrity and industry, but lessened his character very much by his passionate fondness for a freed-woman, with whose spittle mixed with honey he used to anoint his throat and chaps by way of remedy for some malady therein, not privately or seldom, but daily and publicly. He had likewise a wonderful disposition for flattery. He first gave rise to the worshipping of C. Cæsar as a god, when upon his return from Syria, he would not presume to accost him any otherwise, than with his head covered, turning himself round, and then falling flat upon the earth. And to leave no trick untried to secure the favour of Claudius, who was entirely at the disposal of his wives and freed men, he requested as the greatest favour in the world from Messalina, that she would be pleased to let him take off her shoes, which when he had done, he put up her right shoe, and wore it constantly betwixt his toga and his tunic, kissing it now and then. He likewise worshipped golden

3. He died of a palsy the day after he was first taken with it, leaving two sons behind him, which he had by a most excellent and noble lady Sextilia, and lived to see them both consuls, the same year and the whole year too, the younger succeeding the elder for the latter six months. The senate honoured him after his decease with a funeral at the expence of the publick, as also with a statue in the Rostra, which had this inscription upon the base, a person of invincible loyalty to his prince. The emperor Aulus Vitellius the son of this Lucius was born upon the eighth of the Calends of
S 1 vel,

vel, ut quidam, v. 11 Idus Septembris, Druso Cesare Norbano Flacco Coss. Genu-ram ejus prædictam à mathematicis, ita parentes exhortuerunt, ut pater magnopere semper contenderit, ne qua ei provincia vivo se committeretur: mater & missum ad legiones, & appellatum Imperatorem pro afflicto statim lamentata sit. Pueritiam primamque adolescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, & ipse perpetuo spintriae cognomine notatus: ex-istimatusque corporis gratia initium & causa incrementorum patri fuisse.

4. Sequenti quoque ætate omnibus probris contamina-tus, præcipuum in aula lo-cum tenuit: Cajo per auri-gandi, Claudio per alexæ stu-dium familiaris. Sed aliquan-
to Neroni acceptior, cum propter eadem hæc, tum pecu-liari merito: quod præsidens certamini Neroneo, cupien-tem inter citharædos contem-deret, nec, quamvis flagitantibus cunctis, promittere au-dentem, ideoque egressum Theatro, revocaverat, quasi perseverantis populi legatione suscepta exorandumque præ-buerat.

5. Trium itaque principum indulgentia, non solum hono-ribus, verum & sacerdotiis amplissimis auctus, procon-sulatum Africæ post hæc, cu-ram quoque operum publico-rum administravit: & volun-tate dispari, & existimatione. In provincia singularem in-nocentiam præstitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitutus esset. At in urbano officio dona atque ornamenta templorum

October, or, as some say, upon the seventh of the ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Cesar and Norbannus Flaccus. His parents were so terrified with the predictions of astro-logers upon the calculation of his na-tivity, that his father used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being sent governour into any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, im-mediately lamented him as utterly ruin-ed. He spent his youth amongst the Catamites of Tiberius at Caprea, and was himself constantly stigmatized with the name of Spintria, and was suppo-sed by the gratification of the emperor's lust to have been the occasion of his father's rise.

4. In the following part of his life too, he was most scandalously vicious, but however in mighty favour at court; being very intimate with Caius, because of his fondness for the exercise of chariot-driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming: but still more acceptable to Nero, as well upon these same accounts, as for a particular piece of service. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, tho' he was extremely desirous to perform a-mongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not let him, notwithstanding the people begg'd hard for it. Upon his quitting the Theater Vitellius fetched him back again, pretending he was commissioned by the people who persisted in their suit, to request the favour of his return, and so gave the company a further handle to prevail with him.

5. Wherefore by the favour of these three princes he was not only advan-ced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred or-der, after which he held the proconsul-ship of Africa, and had the superin-tendency of the publick works, which he managed with a great difference of behaviour, and reputation. For he govern'd the provinces with singular integrity for two years together; the latter of which he acted as his bro-ther's deputy who succeeded him. But in his other office at Rome, he was surripuisse,

urripuisse, & commutasse quædam ferebatur: proque auro & argento, stannum & aurichalcum supposuisse.

6. Uxorem habuit Petroniam consularis viri filiam, & ex ea filium Petronium caprum altero oculo. Hunc heredem à matre sub conditione institutum, si de potestate patris exisset, manu emisit: brevique, ut creditum est, interemit, insimulatum insuper parricidii, & quasi paratum ad scelus venenum ex conscientia hausser. Duxit mox Galeriam Fundanam prætorio patre. Ac de hac quoque liberos utriusque sexus tulit: sed marem titubantia oris, prope mutum, & elinguem.

7. A Galba in inferiorem Germaniam contra opinionem missus est. Adjutum putant T. Junii suffragio, tunc potentissimi, & cui jam pridem per communem factionis suæ favorem conciliatus esset: nisi quod Galba præ se tulit, nullos minus metuendos, quam qui de solo victu cogitarent: ac posse provincialibus copiis profundam ejus expleri gulam, ut cuivis evidens sit, contemptu magis, quam gratia electum. Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore & liberis, quos Romæ relinquebat, meritorio cænaculo additis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret: utque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit, ad itineris impensas. Creditorum quidem præstolantium, ac detinentium turbam, & in iis Sinuessanos Formianosque, quorum publica vectigalia interverterat, non nisi terrore calumniæ amovit: cum libertino cuidam acer-

said to pillage the temples of their presents and ornaments, and to make now and then an exchange of tin and brass for gold and silver.

6. He had to wife Petronia the daughter of a consular gentleman, and by her a son named Petronius, who was blind of an eye. His mother being willing to appoint him his heir, upon condition he should be discharged from under his father's authority, he discharged him accordingly, but shortly after, as was believed, murdered him, charging him moreover with a design upon his life, and pretending he had from a consciousness of his guilt drunk the poison he had prepared for his father. Soon after he married Galeria Fundana, the daughter of a prætorian gentleman, and had by her both sons and daughters, and one son that had such a stammering in his speech, that he was little better than if he had been dumb.

7. He was sent by Galba into lower Germany, contrary to his expectation. It's supposed he was assisted therein by the interest of T. Junius, at that time very powerful at court, to whom he had long before been recommended by his favouring the same party that he did in the Circensian games. But Galba openly declared that none were less to be fear'd, than those who were only concerned for their bellies, and that his profound gut would sure be sufficiently stuffed with the plenty of that province, so that it's plain he was pitched upon for that government, more out of contempt than kindness for him. It's certain, that when he was to set forward, he wanted money for the expences of his journey, his condition at that time being so very strait, that he was obliged to pack his wife and children which he left at Rome, into a garret he hired for them, in order to let his own house for the remaining part of the year, and pawned a pearl too taken from a pendant of his mother's, to defray his charges upon the road. A crowd of creditors that were waiting for him in order to stop him, and amongst them the Sinuessani and Formiani, whose taxes he had converted to his own use, he got

bis debitum reposcenti injuriarum formulam, quali calce ab eo percussus, intendisset, nec aliter quam extortis quinquaginta HS remisisset. Advenientem male animatus erga principem exercitus, pronusque ad res novas, libens ac supinis manibus excepit, velut dono Deum oblatum ter consulis filium, ætate integra, facili ac prodigo animo. Quam veterem de se persuasionem experimentis auxerat, tota via caligatorum quosque militum obvios exosculans: perque stabula ac diversoria, mulionibus ac viatoribus præter modum comis: ut mane singulos jamne jenerassent sciscitaretur, seque fecisse ractu quoque ostenderet.

8. Castra vero ingressus nihil cuiquam poscenti negavit: atque etiam ignominiosis notas, reis sordes, damnatiss supplicia demisit. Quare vix dum mense transacto, neque diei, neque temporis habita ratione, ac jam vespere subito à militibus è cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica, Imperator est confalutatus, circumfatusque per celeberrimos vicos, strictum divi Julii gladium tenens, detractum delubro Martis, atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi à quodam: nec ante in prætorium rediit, quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini. Tum quidem consternatis, & quasi omine adverso anxiiis omnibus, inquit, *Beno amico estote, nobis alluxit*; nullo sermone alio apud milites usus. Consentiente deinde etiam jam superioris provincie exercitu, qui prius à Galba ad Senatum defecerat, cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis

rid of, by alarming them with the apprehension of false accusation, having brought an action for damages against a certain freed-man, that was somewhat brisk in demanding a debt of him, under pretence that he had kicked him, which action he would not drop, till he had squeezed 'out of him fifty thousand sesterces. Upon his arrival in the province, the army that was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for rebellion, received him with a hearty welcome and open arms, as if he had been sent them from heaven, being the son of a gentleman that had been thrice consul, in the prime of his years, of an easy prodigal temper, which old opinion of him Pictorius had confirm'd by some late practices, having kissed all the common soldiers he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the mule-drivers and travellers, asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see by belching that he had.

8. After he was got into the camp, he denied no man any thing he asked him, and forthwith relieved all that lay under any brand of infamy, prosecution, or sentence of death. Wherefore before a month had passed, without regard to the day or time of the day, he was hurried by the soldiers in the evening out of his bed-chamber in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of emperor, and then carried round all the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of Julius Cæsar in his hand, which had by some body or other been taken out of a temple of Mars, and presented to him at the beginning of the solemnity. Nor did he return to his pavilion, till his room of entertainment was all in a blaze by the chimney's taking fire. Upon this all being in a mighty consternation, and very much troubled at it, as an unlucky omen, he cried out, *Courage boys, it shines upon us, which was all he said to the soldiers, upon his advancement. After this the army of the upper province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the senate, joining in the proceedings,*
cupide

cupide recepit: *Augusti* dis-
tulit: *Cæsaris* in perpetuum
reculavit.

ferred assuming that of Augustus, and for ever refused that of Cæsar.

9. Ac subinde cæde Galbæ
annuntiata, compositis Ger-
manicis rebus, partitus est co-
pias, quas adversus Othonem
præmitteret; quasque ipse
perduceret. Præmisso agmi-
ni lætum evenit auspiciū;
siquidem à parte dextra re-
pente aquila advolavit: lu-
stratisque signis, ingressos
viam sensum antecessit. At
contra ipso movente, statuæ
equestres cum plurisariam ei
ponerentur, fractis repente
cruribus pariter corruerunt:
& laurea, quam religiosissime
circumdederat, in profluen-
tem excidit. Mox Viennæ
pro Tribunali jura reddenti,
gallinaceus supra humerum,
ac deinde in capite adstitit.
Quibus ostentis, par respon-
dit exitus: nam confir-
matum per legatos suos im-
perium, per se retinere non
potuit.

10. De Bebricacensi victo-
ria, & Othonis exitu, cum
adhuc in Gallia esset, audiit:
nihilque cunctatus, quidquid
prætorianarum cohortium fuit,
ut pessimi exempli, uno exau-
toravit edicto, iussas tribunis
tradere arma. Centum autem
atque viginti, quorum libellos
Othoni dados invenerat, ex-
poscentium præmia ob edi-
tam in cæde Galbæ operam,
conquiri, & supplicio affici
imperavit: egregie prorsus,
atque magnifice, & ut sum-
mi principis spem ostenderet,
nisi cetera magis ex natura
& priore vita sua, quam ex
Imperii maiestate gessisset.
Namque itinere inchoato, per
medias civitates ritu trium-
phantium vestus est: perque
flumina delicatissimis navi-
gis, & variarum coronarum

he very forwardly accepted the cognomen
of Germanicus, offered him by the an-
animous consent of both armies, but de-

9. Soon after news arriving of the
death of Galba, after he had settled
his affairs in Germany he divided his
troops into two parts, in order to send
one of them before him, against Otho,
and to follow after with the other him-
self. The part he sent before had a
lucky omen; for on a sudden an eagle
came flying up to them on the right,
and having moved round the standards,
went easily before them in their march.
But on the other hand, when he began
to move forward, the statues on horse-
back, which were erected for him in
several places, fell down all together
on a sudden with their legs broke;
and the laurel-crown, which he had for
luck's sake put on, fell off his head into
a river. Soon after at Vienna, as he
was upon the bench trying causes, a
cock perched upon his shoulder, and
afterwards upon his head. And the
issue was answerable to these omens,
for he was not able to keep the empire
which had been acquired for him by
his lieutenants.

10. He heard of the victory at Be-
bricacum, and the death of Otho, whilst
he was yet in Gaul, and without de-
murring at all upon the matter, by
one proclamation disbanded all the præ-
torian battalions, as having given a
very ill precedent to the army by the
murder of Galba, and commanded them
to deliver up their arms to his tribunes.
A hundred and twenty, under whose
hands he had found petitions presented
to Otho for rewards in consideration of
their service in the killing of Galba, he
moreover ordered to be sought out, and
punished. All which was excellently
well and nobly done, and so as to give
hopes of his proving a fine prince, had
he not managed his other affairs in a
way more agreeable to his own nature
and his former manner of life, than
the imperial dignity. For after he be-
gun his march, he rid through every
city he came at, in a triumphant man-
ner, and sailed down the rivers in his
genere

genere redimiti, inter profusissimos opsoniorum apparatus, nulla familiæ aut militis disciplina, rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in jocum vertens, qui non contenti epulo ubique publice præbito, quoscumque libuisset, in libertatem asserebant, verbera & plagas, sæpe vulnera, nonnumquam necem representantes adversantibus. Utq; campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, alhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestabili voce confirmate ausus est, *Optime olere occisum hostem, & melius civem.* Nec eo secius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit, passumque divisit pari vanitate, atque insolentia. Lapidem memorie Othonis inscriptum intuens, dignum eo Mausoleo ait: pugionemque, quo se is occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam misit, Marti dedicandum. In Apennini quidem jugis etiam pervigilium egit.

II. Urhem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus, ferroque succinctus, inter signa atque vexilla, sagularis comitibus, ac detectis commilitonum armis. Magis deinde ac magis, omni divino humanoque jure neglecto, Aliensi die pontificatum maximum cepit: comitia in decem annos ordinavit, seque perpetuum Consulem. Et ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendæ reip. eligeret, medio Martio campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit. Ac sollenni convivio citharædum placentem palam admonuit, ut & aliquid de Domitio diceret: inchoanti-

rout, in ships delicately built, and dressed up with various kinds of crowns, amidst the most extravagant entertainment, without the least discipline either in his family or army, making a jest of all the sawcy behaviour and ravage made by his domesticks and soldiers, who not satisfied with the provision every where made for them at the publick expence, set slaves at liberty as they pleased, and if any dared to oppose them, would beat and abuse them, oftentimes wound, and sometimes kill them. And when he was got upon the plains where the battle was fought, some being offended at the smell of the carcases that lay rotting on the ground, he had the imprudence to hearten them by that detestable saying, That an enemy when slain smelt very well, especially a fellow citizen. However to qualify the offensiveness of the stench, he drunk in the face of the army a large quantity of wine, and with the like silliness and insolence distributed it about him. Springing a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said, he deserved such a Mausoleum; and sent the ponyard he had killed himself with, to the colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. And upon the hills of the Apennine he celebrated a pervigilium.

II. Finally he enter'd the city with trumpets sounding, in his general's cloak, and with his sword on, amidst standards and banners, his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arm of the soldiers uncovered. After this flighing more and more all law both divine and human, he took upon him the office of high-priest, upon the day of the overthrow at Alia, ordered the election of magistrates to be made at once for ten years to come, and made himself consul for life. And to put it out of all doubt, what model he intended to follow in his government of the empire, he made his offerings to the host of Nero in the middle of the field of Mars, and with a full assembly of the publick priests attending him. And at a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper that gave

que

que Neroniana cantica, pri-
mus exultans etiam plaufit.

up before the reft of the company,

12. Talibus principiis magnam Imperii partem, non nifi confilio & arbitrio viliffimi cujusque hiftrionum & aurigarum adminiftravit: & maxime Afiani liberti. Hunc adolescentulum mutua libidine confupratum, mox tadio profugum, cum Puteolis pofcam vendentem deprehendiffet, coniecit in compedes, ftatimque folvit, & rurfus in deliciis habuit: iterum deinde ob nimiam contumaciam & ferocitatem gravatus, circumforaneo laniftæ vendidit, dilatumque ad finem muneris repente furripuit, & provincia demum accepta manumifit: ac primo Imperii die aureis donavit annulis fuper cœnam; cum mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis, deteftatus efferet feveriffime talem equeftris ordinis maculam.

that favour in his behalf, he expreffed the utmoft abhorrence of laying fo great a blemifh upon the

great content to the company, to fmg something of Demitius, and upon his beginning fome fongs of Nero's, he ftarted up before the reft of the company, and clapt him.

12. After this beginning, he managed his affairs, for the moft part of his reign, entirely by the advice and direction of the vileft amongst the players and charioteers, and efpecially his freed-man Afianicus. This fellow had when young been engaged with him in a courfe of mutual and unnatural pollution, but being at laft quite weary of the work, ran away. His mafter caught him fome time after felling a liquor called poſca at Puteoli, clapt him in chains, but ſoon releaſed him, and made the ſame lewd uſe of him as before; but being again tired out with his ſawcy rugged temper, ſold him to a ſtrolling fencing-maſter; yet when he was to have been brought up to play his part at the concluſion of an entertainment of gladiators, he ſuddenly ſtole him away, and at length upon his being advanced to the government of a province, manumitted him, and on the firſt day of his reign, preſented him with gold rings at ſupper, tho' in the morning, when all about him requested the utmoſt abhorrence of laying

13. He was principally addicted to the vices of luxury and avarice. He had always three meals a day, and ſometimes four, breakfasts, dinners and ſuppers, and drunken repaſts after all. And this load of victuals he could diſpence with well enough, from a cuſtom he had taken up of frequent vomiting. And for theſe ſeveral meals he would make different appointments, at ſo many ſeveral friends houſes in the ſame day. And none ever came off at a leſs charge than four hundred thouſand ſeſterces. The moſt famous ſupper above all others was that given him by his brother, to welcome him to town; at which were ſerved up, they tell you, no leſs than two thouſand choice fiſhes and ſeven thouſand fowls. Yet he out-did that too himſelf in a feaſt he made upon the firſt uſe of a diſh of his, which for its bigneſs he

13. Sed vel præcipue luxuriæ ſævitixque deditus, epulaſtrifariam ſemper, interdum quadrifariam diſperſiebat in jentacula, & prandia, & cœnas, commeaſationeſque: facile omnibus ſufficiens, vomitandi conſuetudine. Indicebat autem aliud alii eadem die: nec cuiquam minus ſinguli apparatus quadringenis millibus nummum conſtiterunt. Famoliſſima ſuper ceteras fuit cœna ei data adventitia à fratre, in qua duo millia lectiſſimorum piſcium, ſeptem avium appoſita traduntur. Hanc quoque exuperavit ipſe dedicatione patinæ, quam ob immenſam magnitudinem clypeum Minervæ, αἰγὶς αὐτοῦ dictabat. In

hac scarorum jacinora, phasianorum & pavonum cerebella, linguas phœnicopterum, murænarum lactes à Carpathio usque, fretoque Hispantiæ, per navarchos ac trirèmes petitarum commiscuit. Ut autem homo non profunda modo, sed intempestivæ quoque ac sordidæ gulæ, ne in sacrificio quidem unquam, aut itinere ullo temperavit, quin inter altaria ibidem statim viscus & farra pæne rapta è foco manderet, circaque viarum popinas fumantia opsonia, vel pridiana atque semesa.

dress'd and smoking hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half eaten, it was all one to him, down it went.

14. Pronus vero ad cujusq; & quacumque de causa, necem atque supplicium : nobiles viros, condiscipulos, & æquales suos omnibus blanditijs tantum non ad societatem Imperii allicefactos, vario genere fraudis occidit : etiam unum veneno manu sua porrecto in aquæ frigidæ portione, quam is affectus febre poposcerat. Tum sceneratorum & stipulatorum publicanorumque, qui unquam se aut Romæ debitum, aut in via portorium flagitassent, vix ulli pepercit. Ex quibus quendam in ipsa salutatione supplicio traditum, statimque revocatum cunctis clementiam laudantibus, coram interfici jussit, *vellere se dicens pascere oculos*. Alterius poenæ duos filios adjecit deprecari pro patre conatos. Sed & equitem Romanum proclamantem, cum raperetur ad poenam, *Heres meus es*, exhibere testamenti tabulas coegit : utque legit coheredem sibi libertum ejus adscriptum, jugulari cum liberto imperavit. Quosdam & de plebe ob id ipsum, quod Veneræ factioni clare maledixerant, interemit : con-

called the shield of Minerva. In this he had toss'd up together the livers of scares, the brains of phasants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingos and the guts of lampreys, fetch'd in large ships of war, as far as from the Carpathian sea, and the Spanish streights. But he was not only a man of an insatiable appetite, but would gratify it too at unseasonable times, and with any coarse stuff that came in his way, so that at a sacrifice he could not forbear snatching from the fire flesh and cakes, which he would eat upon the spot ; and in a journey he would do the same in the victualling houses upon the road, whether the meat was fresh

14. He had a wonderful inclination to be punishing and with death too, without any distinction of persons or occasions. Several noble men, his school-fellows and comrades, he invited to court, with such an excess of complaisance, as if he had meant almost to make them his partners in the empire, yet he killed them all by one base means or other. To one he gave posson with his own hand in a cup of cold water he called for in a fever. Then he scarce spared one of all the usurers, attorneys and publicans, that had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or custom upon the road. One of which in the very act of paying his respects to him, he ordered away for execution, but immediately sent for him again, upon which all about him applauding his clemency, he commanded him to be slain in his presence, saying, He had a mind to feed his eyes. Two sons interceding for their father, he ordered to be executed along with him. A Roman knight too upon being hurried away for execution crying out to him, you are my heir, he made him produce his will, and finding he had made his freed-man joynt heir with him, he commanded him and his freed-man to have their throats cut both together. He put to death some of the common people, for cursing aloud the blue party in the Circensian games, supposing it was done in contempt of himself, and the

temu.

temtu sul, & nova spe id aulos opnatus. Nullis tamen infensior, quam vernaculis, & mathematicis, ut quisque deferretur, inanditum capite puniebat. Exacerbarus, quod post edictum suum, quo jubebat intra Kal. Octobris urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus est propositus, & Chaldaeos dicere, Bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset. Suspectus & in morte maris fuit, quasi egre præberi cibum prohibuisset, vaticinante Catra muliere, cui velut oraculo acquiescebat, ita demum firmiter ac diutissime imperaturnum, si superstes parenti exstisset. Et alii tradunt, ipsam tædio præsentium & imminentium metu, venenum a filio impetrasse haud sane difficulter.

15. Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Mœsiarum atque Pannoniæ: item ex transmarinis, Judæus & Syriacus: ac pars in absentis, pars in præsentis Vespasiani verba jurarunt. Ad retinendum ergo ceterorum hominum studium ac favorem, nihil on publice privatimque nullo adhibito modo, largitus est. Delectum quoque ea condicione in urbe egit, ut voluntariis non modo missionem post victoriam sed etiam, veteranorum justæque militiæ commeda polliceretur. Urgenti deinde terra marique hosti, hinc fratrem cum classe, ac tironibus & gladiatorum manu opposuit: hinc & Bedriacenses copias, & duces. Atque ubique aut superatus, aut proditus, salutem sibi, & millies H.S. a Flavio Sabino Vespasiani fratris pepigit: statimque pro

expectation of a revolution in the government. But he was against none more severe than drals and astrologers, immediately as any one was thus inform'd against, he put him to death without the formality of a trial: Being sadly enraged against them, because after his proclamation, whereby he commanded all astrologers to quit the city and Italy too, before the calends of October, the following words were immediately posted up in town, That the Chaldeans likewise publish'd their proclamation, that the same Vitellius Germanicus should be no more, by the day of the said calends. He was suspected too for his mother's death, as if he had forbid any sustenance to be given her, when she was not well; a German witch whom he confided in as an oracle, having told him, That he would reign secure and for a long time, if he survived his mother. But others say, that she being quite weary of the present state of affairs, and apprehensive of the future, obtained without much difficulty a dose of poison from her son.

15. In the eighth month of his reign, the armys of both Mæstias and Pannonia revolted from him, as did likewise of the armys beyond sea, those in Judæa and Syria, part of which took an oath to Vespasian as their emperor, being upon the spot with them, and others where he was not personally present, did the same for him. Wherefore Vitellius to secure the favour and affection of the people, gave about him all that he had, publickly and privately, in the most extravagant manner. He likewise made a levy of soldiers in town, and promised all that would come in as volunteers, not only their discharge after the victory, but likewise all the advantages due to veterans that had served up their time in the wars compleatly. The enemy now pressing on both by sea and land, on one hand he opposed against them his brother with a fleet, the new levys and a body of gladiators, and in another quarter the troops and generals that were engaged at Bedriacum. But being every where beaten or be-

gradibus Palatii apud frequen-
tes milites cedere se Imperio,
quod invitus recepisset professus,
cunctis reclamantibus rem
distulit: ac nocto interposita
primo diluculo sordidatus de-
scendit ad Rostra: multisque
cum lacrymis eadem verba,
verum è libello, testatus est.
Rursus interpellante milite,
ac populo, & ne deficeret
hortante, omnemque operam
suam certatim pollicente, ani-
mum resumpsit. Sabinumque
& reliquos Flavianos nihil
jam metuentes, vi subita in
Capitolium compulit; succen-
sque templo Jovis opr. max.
oppressit. Cum & prælium, &
incendium è Tiberiana pro-
spiceret domo inter epulas.
Non multo post poenitens facti
& in alios culpam conferens,
vocata concione juravit, coe-
gitque jurare ceteros, nihil sibi
antiquius quiete publica fore.
Tunc solum a latere pugio-
nem, Consuli primum, deinde
illo recusante, Magistratibus,
ac mox senatoribus singulis
porrigens; nullo recipiente,
quasi in æde Concordiæ posi-
turus, abscessit. Sed quibus-
dam acclamantibus, ipsum ef-
se Concordiam, rediit: nec
solum retinere se ferrum af-
firmavit, verum etiam Con-
cordia recipere cognomen.

up in the temple of Concord. But some crying out that he was Concord, he came back again, and said that he would not only keep his sword, but for the future wear the cognomen of Concord.

16. Suavit Senatui, ut le-
gatos cum virginibus Vestali-
bus mitterent, pacem, aut
certe tempus ad consultandum
petituros. Postridie responsa
opperienti, nuntiaturum est per
exploratorem, hostem appropinquare. Continuo igitur
abstrusus gestatoria sella, duo-
bus solis comitibus, pistore &
coquo, Aventinum, & pater-
nam domum clam petiit, ut
inde in Campaniam fugeret.
Mox levi rumore, & incerto

tray'd, he came to an agreement with
Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother
to abdicate upon the condition of hav-
ing his life and a hundred million of
sesterces granted him, and immediately
upon the palace steps publicly declared
to the soldiers there assembled in a full
body, that he resigned the government,
which he had received against his will,
But they all remonstrating against it.
he deferred the matter; and the next
day betimes in the morning came down
to the forum in a very poor habit, and
with a great many tears repeated the
same words from a writing he held in
his hand, but the soldiers again interpo-
sing, and the people too, and encouraging
him to have a good heart, and with
great appearance of zeal promising him
their service, he recovered his courage,
and forced Sabinus and the rest of the
Flavian party, who now thought them-
selves secure, into the capitol, where he
destroy'd them all by setting fire to the
temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the
battel and the fire from Tiberius's house,
where he was at an entertainment.
Not long after repenting of what he had
done, and throwing the blame of it up-
on others; he summoned the people to-
gether, and swore himself and oblig'd
the rest to swear, To have the utmost
regard to the peace of the publick.
Then taking his dagger from his side he
presented it first to the consul, and upon
his refusing it, to the magistrates, and
then to every one of the senators, but
none of them being willing to accept it,
he went away as if he meant to lay it

16. He advised the senate to send
deputys with the vestal virgins, to de-
fire peace, or at least time to consider of
matters. The day after, whilst he was
waiting for an answer, he received ad-
vice by a scout, that the enemy was
advancing. Wherefore immediately
clapping himself into a sedan, with two
attendants only, a baker and a cook,
he privately made off for Aventinum,
and his father's house there, in order to
fly from thence into Campania. But
presently an idle groundless report flying
about, as if the Enemy were willing to
tamquam

tanquam pax impetrata esset, referri se in Palarium passus est: ubi cum deserta omnia reperisset, dilabentibus etiam qui simul erant, zona se aureorum plena circumdedit: confugitque in cellulam janitoris, religato pro foribus cane, lectoque & culcita objectis.

17. Irruperant autem jam agminis antecessores; ac, nemine obvio, rimabantur, ut fir, singula. Ab iis extractus è latebra sciscitantes quisnam esset (nam ignorabatur) & ubi esse Vitellium sciret, mendacio elusit. Deinde agnitus rogare non destitit, quasi quædam de salute Vespasiani dicturus, ut custodiretur interim vel in carcere: donec religatis post terga manibus, injecto cervicibus laqueo, veste discissa seminudus in forum tractus est, inter magna rerum verborumque ludibria, per totum viæ sacræ spacium, reducto coma capite, ceu noxii solent, atque etiam mento mucrone gladii subjecto, ut visendam præberet faciem, neve submitteret, quibusdam stercore & cæno incessantibus, aliis incendiarium & patinarium vociferantibus, parte vulgi etiam corporis vitia exprobrante (erat enim in eo enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumque ex vinolentia, venter obesus, alterum femur subdebile, impulsu olim quadrigæ, cum auriganti Cajo ministratorem exhiberet) tandem apud Gemonias minutissimis ictibus excarnificatus, atque consecutus est, & inde unco tractus in Tiberim.

18. Periit cum fratre, & filio, anno vitæ septimo quinquagesimo, nec fefellit conjecturam eorum, quiaugurio, quod factum ei Viennæ ostendimus, non aliud portendi prædixerant, quam venturum

come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. But finding no body there, and those too that were with him stopping off, he girt about him a belt stuffed full with gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and clapping the bed and bedding against it.

17. And now the fore-runners of the Enemy's army had broke into the palace, and meeting with no body, searched all places, as was natural upon such an occasion. Being dragged by them out of his cell, he was asked who he was (for they did not know him) and if he knew where Vitellius was, and impos'd upon them by a lie. But at last being discovered, he begged hard to be kept, if it were in prison, as if he had something to say relating to the security of Vespasian's person, till he was dragged half naked into the forum, with his hands tied behind him, a rope about his neck and his cloaths all torn, amidst the utmost abuse both by word and deed, all along the Via sacra, his head being held back by the hair, in the manner condemned criminals are treated, and the point of a sword put under his chin, that he might not hang down his head; but hold up his face to publick view, several in the mean time passing him with dung and ocker dirt, whilst others called him Incendiary and Glutton, and the mob many of them upbraided him with the defects of his person (for he was monstrously tall, and had a face usually very red with hard drinking, a bog belly, and one thigh weakly, occasioned by a chariot's running against him, as he was attending upon Cæsus in his exercise of driving.) At length upon the Scala Gemonia he was tormented and dispatched in a lingering tedious manner, and then dragged by a hook into the Tiber.

18. He lost his life together with his brother and son, in the fifty seventh year of his age, and verified the conjecture of those, who from the omen which we have above related, happened to him at Vienna, foretold he would be made prisoner by some Gaul: fir
T t 2 in

In alicujus Gallicani hominis potestatem: siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est: cui Tolosæ nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat, id valet, gallinacel rostrum.

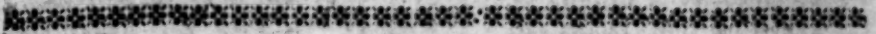
he was seized by Antonius Primus a general of the adverse party, who was born at Tholouse, and when a boy, had the name of Beccus which signifies a cock's bill.



C. S U E T. T R A N Q U I L L I T. F L A V I U S V E S P A S I A N U S

A U G U S T U S.

X.



C A P U T I.

I. DE REBELLIONE
GR trium Principum
GR & cæde, incertum
GR diu & quasi va-
 gum Imperium suscepit firma-
 vitq; tandem gens Flavia:
 obscura illa quidem, ac sine
 ullis majorum imaginibus:
 sed tamen reipubl. nequaquam
 poenitenda: constet licet Do-
 mitianum cupiditatis ac sæ-
 vitæ merito poenas luisse.
 Titus Flavius Petronius mu-
 niceps Reatinus, bello civili
 Pompæjanarum partium Cen-
 turio, incertum sponte an e-
 vocatus, profugit ex Pharsa-
 lica acie, domumque se con-
 tulit. Ubi deinde venia &
 missione impetrata, coactiones
 argentarias facitavit. Hujus
 filius cognomine Sabinus ex-
 pers militiæ (et si quidam eum
 primpilarem, nonnulli, cum
 adhuc ordines duceret, sacra-
 mento solutum per causam
 valerudinis, tradunt) publi-
 cum quadragesimæ in Asia
 egit. Manebantque imagines

I. DE HE empire which had now
GR been a long time in an un-
GR certain and an unsettled
GR condition, by the rebellion and
 violent death of three several princes,
 was at length reduced to a state of peace
 and security by the Flavian family, a
 family obscure indeed, and ignoble, yet
 such as the publick had no reason to
 be sorry for the rise of; tho' it is ac-
 knowledged that Domitian met with
 the just reward of his avarice and
 cruelty. Titus Flavius Petronius a na-
 tive of Reate, whether a centurion or
 an evocatus of Pompey's party in the
 civil war, is uncertain, fled out of the
 battle of Pharsalia and went home.
 Where having at last obtained his par-
 don and discharge, he became a collector
 of moneys raised by publick sales in
 the way of auction. His son surnamed
 Sabinus was never engaged in the mi-
 litary service (tho' some say he was a
 centurion of the first rank, and others,
 that while he was such, he was dischar-
 ged upon account of his bad state of
 health) this Sabinus, I say, was a
 collector of the custom of the fortieth
 penny in Asia. And there were re-
 a civi;

à civitatibus ei positæ sub hoc titulo, καλῶς τελευτῶντι. Postea fœnus apud Helvetios exercuit, ibique diem obiit, supersticibus uxore Vespasia Polla, & duobus ex ea liberis: quorum major Sabinus ad Præfecturam urbis, minor Vespasianus ad principatum usque processit. Polla Nursiæ honesto genere orta, habuit Vespasium Pollionem, ter Tribunum militum, Præfectumque castrorum, fratremque Senatorem prætoris dignitatis. Locus etiam nunc ad sextum milliarium a Nursia Spoletum cunctibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiæ; ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiæ, & vetustatis. Non negaverim jactatum à quibusdam, Petronii patrem e regione Transpadana fuisse mancipem operarum, quæ Umbria in Sabinos ad culturam agrorum quotannis commeari solerent: subsedisse autem in oppido Reatino, uxore ibidem ducta. Ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.

2. Vespasianus natus est in Sabinis ultra Reate, vico modico, cui nomen est Phalacrine, xv. Kalendas Decembres vesperti, Q. Sulpicio Camerino C. Poppæo Sabino COSS. quinquennio antequam Augustus excederet: educatus sub paterna avia Tertulla, in prædiis Cosanis, Quare Princeps quoque & locum incunabulorum assidue frequentavit, manente villa, qualis fuerat olim: ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret. Et avia memoriam tantopere dilexit, ut solennibus ac festis diebus pocillo quoque ejus argenteo potare perseveraverit. Sumta roga virili, latum clavum, quamquam fra-

maining, at the time of the advancement of the family, several statues that had been erected for him by the cities of that province, with this inscription To the honest Publican. After that he turned usurer amongst the Helvetii, and there died leaving behind him his wife Vespasia Polla, and two sons by her; the eldest of which Sabinus came to be præfect of the city, and the younger Vespasian to be emperor. Polla was descended of a good family at Nursia, whose father was Vespasius Pollio, thrice made tribune of the soldiers, and at last præfect of the camp: and her brother was a senator of prætorian dignity. There is to this day about six miles from Nursia in the road to Spoletum, a place upon the top of a mountain called Vespasia: where there are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendor and antiquity of the family. I must not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petronius's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire work-folks that used to go yearly from the country of Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry, but that he settled at last in the Town of Reate, and married there. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest enquiry.

2. Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country-town called Phalacrine, upon the fifth of the calends of December in the evening, in the consulship of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus; and was educated under the care of Tertulla his grand-mother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging the family at Cosa. After his advancement to the empire, he used very much to frequent the place where he spent his infancy, and the Villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used to do. And he had such a dear love for the memory of his grand-mother, that upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly used to drink out of a silver cup of
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tre adepto, diu averfatus est : nec ut tandem appeteret, compelli nisi à matre potuit. Ea demum extrahit, magis convictio quam precibus vel auctoritate, dum eum idemtidem per contumeliam anteaambulonem fratris appellat. Tribunatu militum in Thracia meruit. Quæstor Cretam & Cyrenas provinciam sorte cepit. Adilitatis, ac mox Præturæ candidatus, etiam non sine repulfa, sextoque loco vix adeptus est. Ac prima statim petitione, & in primis Prætor, infensus Senatui, Cæjum ne quo non genere demereretur, ludos extraordinarios pro victoria ejus Germanica depoposcit, pœnæque conjuratorum addendum censuit, ut insepulcri projicerentur. Egrot & gratias ei apud amplissimum ordinem, quod se honore cœnæ dignatus esset.

of the Conspirators against his life, the expsing of their corpse unburied. He likewise gave him thanks before that honourable house for the honour of being admitted to his table.

3. Inter hæc Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statillii Capellæ equitis R. Sabratenfis ex Africa delicatam olim, Latinæque conditionis, sed mox ingenuam & civem Romanam recuperatorio judicio pronuntiatam, patre asserente Flavio Liberali Ferentini genito, nec quidquam amplius quam Quæstorio scriba. Ex hac liberos tulit, Titum, & Domitianum, & Domitillam. Uxori ac filiæ superstes fuit : atque utramque adhuc privatus amisit. Post uxoris excessum, Cænidem Antonia libertam, & a manu, dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium : habuitque etiam Imperator pæne jultæ uxoris loco.

4. Claudio Principe, Narcissi gratia Legatus legicnis in Germaniam missus est : in-

her's. After he took upon him the habit of manhood, he had a long time an aversion for the senatorian tunick, tho' his brother had obtained it ; nor could he be engaged by any body but his mother to sue for that badge of honour. She at length did indeed drive him to it, more by reproaching him about it, than by her entreatys and authority, calling him now then by way of abuse his brother's foot-man. He served in quality of a tribune in Thrace. When he was made Quæstor, he got by lot the province of Crete and Cyrene. He was candidate for the Adileship, and soon after for the prætorship, not without a refusal in the former case, but at last with much ado he came in sixth in the poll-books. But the office of prætor he carried upon the first attempt and came in with the foremost in number of votes. Being incensed against the senate, in order to gain by all possible means the good graces of Cæjus, he demanded of the house games extraordinary for his success in Germany, and advised to add to the other punishment

3. In the mean time he married Flavia Domitilla, who had formerly been mistress to Statilius Capella a Roman Knight of Sabrata in Africa, and of Latin Condition, but was soon after declared a free-born citizen of Rome, in a tryal before the judges called recuperatores, and brought by her father Flavius Liberalis a native of Ferentinum, and no more than a secretary to a Quæstor. By her he had the following children, Titus, Domitian and Domitilla. He outlived his wife and daughter, and lost them both before he was made emperor. After the death of his wife, he took again to his bed his former concubine Cænis, the freed-woman of Antonia, and her amanuensis, and kept her even after he was emperor, almost as if she had been his wife.

4. In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent lieutenant general of a legion into Ger-
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de in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque xx opida, & insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam, in deditionem redegit: partim Auli Plautii consularis Legati, partim Claudii ipsius ductu. Quare triumphalia ornamenta, & in spatio brevi, duplex sacerdotium accepit. Præterea Consulatum, quem gessit per duos novissimos anni menses. Medium tempus ad Proconsulatum usque, in otio secessuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium & defuncti quoque Narcissi amicos peroriam. Exin sortitus Africam, integerrime, nec sine magna dignatione administravit: nisi quod Adrumeti seditione quadam, rapa in eum facta sunt. Rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui prope labefacta jam fide omnia prædia fratri obligavit: necessarioque ad mangonicos quæstus sustinendæ dignitatis causa descendit, propter quod vulgo Mulio vocabatur. Convictus quoque dicitur, ducenta HS. exprefisse juveni, cui latum clavum adversus patris voluntatem impetrarat, eoque nomine graviter increpitus. Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut discederet sapius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contumelio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in satis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum parerentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea patuit, prædictum. Judæi ad

many: from whence being removed into Britain, he engaged the enemy in thirty several battles, and reduced under the Roman subjection two very strong nations, and above twenty great towns, and the Isle of Wight upon the coast of Britain, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, and partly under that of Claudius himself. For which behaviour he received the triumphal ornaments, and in a short time after two priests offices, besides the consulship, which he held for the two last months of the year. The time following his proconsulship, he spent in ease and retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who had still a mighty sway with her son, and hated all the friends of Narcissus, who was then dead. Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great integrity, and met with as great respect from the provincials, excepting that once in an uproar at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips. It's certain he came home again ne'er a whit the richer, for his credit was so low, that he was obliged to mortgage his whole estate in land to his brother, and was reduced to the necessity of trading in mules, for the support of his dignity, for which reason he was commonly called, The Muleteer. He is said too to have been convicted of squandering out of a young gentleman two hundred thousand Sesterces for procuring him the *latus clavus*, contrary to the mind of his father, and was severely reprimanded for it. In his attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he would frequently withdraw out of the theatre, whilst he was singing, and when he was present, take a nap; which gave huge offence, insomuch, that he was not only turned out of the court, but deprived the liberty of saluting him in publick; whereupon he retired a little out of the city, where he continued till a province, with an army, was offered him, as he lay skulking there in constant fear of his life. A strong fancy had now of a long time passed current through all the east, That a prince from Judæa should at that time be master of the world. This which, as the Events shew-

se trahentes, rebellant: celsoque Præposito, Legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta aquila fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore & non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est: ut industrie expertum, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attingit, proximas quoque convertit in se: correctâ statim castrorum disciplina: uno quoque & altero prælio tam constanter intro, ut in oppugnatione castrorum lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit.

that resolution, that in the attack of a castle, he had his knee hurt by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield.

5. Post Neronem Galbamque, Othone atque Vitellio de principatu certantibus, in spem Imperii venit, jam pridem sibi per hæc ostenta conceptam. In suburbano Flavio-
rum quercus antiqua, quæ erat Marti sacra, per tres Vespasie partus singulos repente ramos à frutice dedit, haud dubia signa futuri cuiusque fati. Primum exilem, & cito refactum: ideoque puella nata non perannavit: secundum prævalidum, ac prolixum, & qui magnam felicitatem portenderet: tertium vero instar arboris. Quare patrem Sabinum ferunt haruspicio insuper confirmatum, renuntiâsse matri, nepotem ei Casarem genitum: nec illam quidquam aliud, quam cachinnasse, mirantem, quod adhuc se mentis compote deliraret jam filius suus, Mox cum Edilem

ed, was a prophecy of the rise of a Roman emperor, the Jews taking to themselves, broke out into a rebellion, and having slain their governor, routed moreover the consular lieutenant of Syria, that was coming to his assistance, and took an eagle the standard of one of his legions. As the suppressing of this rebellion appeared to require a stronger force, and an active general, that might be safely trusted in an affair of so much importance, he was above all others made choice of, both as a person of known industry, as also not to be feared in the least, by reason of the obscurity of his birth and name. Wherefore two legions, eight squadrons of horse, and ten separate battalions of foot being added to the former troops in Judea, and taking his elder son along with him as his lieutenant, as soon as he came into the province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with

5. After Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he was in hope of coming in for the empire, which he had indeed conceived long before, from the encouragement of the following omens. There was an old oak upon an estate belonging the Flavian family in the neighbourhood of Reate, sacred to Mars, which at the three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch, which proved plain intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, and quickly withered away, and accordingly the girl that was then born did not live a year to an end. The second was strong and tall, which portended great good-fortune: but the third was like a tree. Wherefore they say that his father Sabinus being moreover encouraged by some observations of the Aruspices, told his mother that she had got a grandson that would be emperor of Rome, at which she laughed heartily, and wondered, she

eum C. Cæsar succensens, propter curam verrendis viis non adhibitam, luto iussisset oppleri, congesto per milites in prætextæ sinum, non defuerunt, qui interpretarentur, quandoq; proculcatam, deferamq; rempublicam civili aliqua perturbatione, in tutelam ejus, ac velut in gremium deventuram: Prudente eo quondam canis extrarius e trivio manum humanam, intulit, mensæque subiecit. Cœnante rursus, bos arator decusso jugo, triclinium irrupit: ac fugatis ministris, quasi repente defessus, procidit ad ipsos accumbentis pedes, cervicemque submisit. Arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus, atque prostrata, insequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit. At in Achaja somnavit, initium sibi suisque felicitatis futurum, simulac dens Neroni eximius esset: evenitque, ut sequenti die progressus in atrium medicus dentem ei ostenderet tantum quod eximium. Apud Judæam Carmeli Dei oraculum consulentem, ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret, volveretq; animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur. Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore. Nuntiabantur & ex urbe præfagia, Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut thensam Jovis optimi maximi e sacratio in domum Vespasiani, & in Circum deduceret. Ac non multo post, comitia secundi Consulatus ineunte Galba, statua Divi Julii ad Orientem sponte conversa: acieque Bedriacensi,

said, that her son should doat already, whereas she still continued very sensible. Afterwards in his Exile, when C. Cæsar being in a rage at him, for not taking care to have the streets kept clean, ordered the bosom of his gown to be stuffed with dirt. Some at that time construed it as a sign, that the government being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap. Once as he was at dinner, a strange dog brought a man's hand out of the street, and laid it under the table. And as he was at supper another time, an ox at plough, throwing the yolk off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frighted away all the attendants, on a sudden, as if he had been fired, fell down at his feet, as he lay still upon his couch, and hung down his neck. A cypress-tree likewise in a field belonging the family was torn up by the roots and laid flat upon the ground, without any storm of wind to occasion it, but the next day it rose again fresher and stronger than before. He dreams in Achaja that the good fortune of himself and his family should then begin, when Nero should have a tooth drawn: and it happened that the day after a surgeon coming out of the atrium of the house the emperor then lodged in, shewed him a tooth which he had just then taken from Nero. In Judæa upon his consulting the oracle of Carmel, the answer was so encouraging as to assure him of success in whatsoever he designed, how great and important soever it might be. And when Josephus one of the prisoners of quality was put in chains, he affirmed with great assurance, that he should be released in a very short time by the same Vespasian, but he would be emperor first. Some presages too were brought in the news from Rome, that Nero towards the close of his days was ordered in a dream to carry Jupiter's holy chariot out of the sacred apartments it was in to Vespasian's house, and conduct it from thence into the circus. And not long after as Galba was going to the election, wherein he was made a second time consul, a statue of Julius

prius quam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium confixisse, victaq; altera, supervenisse tertiam a solis ortu, ac victricem abegisse.

6. Nec tamen quidquam ante tentavit, promissum atque etiam instantibus suis, quam sollicitus quorundam & ignotorum & absentium fortuito favore. Mœsiaci exercitus bina à tribus legionibus millia missa auxilio Othoni, postquam iter ingressis nuntiatum est, victum eum, ac vim vitæ suæ attulisse, nihilo secius Aquilejam usque perseveraverunt, quasi rumor minus crederent. Ibi per occasionem ac licentiam omni rapinarum genere grassati, cum timerent, ne sibi reversis reddenda ratio, ac subeunda pœna esset, consilium interunt eligendi creandique Imperatoris. Neque enim deteriores esse, aut Hispaniensi exercitu qui Galbam, aut prætoriano qui Othonem, aut Germaniciano qui Vitellium fecissent. Propositis itaque nominibus legatorum consularium, quot ubique tunc erant, cum ceteros alii alium alia de causa improbarent; & quidam e legione tercia, quæ sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Mœsiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent; assensere cuncti, nomenque ejus vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. Et tunc quidem compressa res est, revocatis ad officium numeris parumper. Cæterum divulgato facto, Tiberius Alexander præfectus Ægypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kal. Julii: qui Principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Judaicus deinde exercitus, v Idus Julii apud ipsum juravit. Plurimum coëpris contulerunt, jactatum exemplar epistolæ,

Caesar's turned to the east. And in the field of Bedriacum, before the battle began, two eagles engaged in the fight of the army, and one of them being beaten, a third came from the east, and drove away the conqueror.

6. However he made no attempt upon the sovereignty, tho' his friends about him were very ready to support him, and pressed him mightily to it, 'till he was encouraged thereto by the accidental favour of some persons unknown to him, and at a distance. Two thousand men drawn out of three legions in the Mæsiæ army, had been sent to the assistance of Otho. After they were upon their march, news came that he had been defeated, and put an end to his own life, however they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending they gave no credit to the report. There tempted by the opportunity the disorder of the times gave them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion, 'till at length fearing to be called to an account at their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon choosing and setting up an emperor. For they were not at all inferior, they said, to the army that made Galba emperor, or the prætorian troops, that had put up Otho, or those of Germany, which had done the same by Vitellius. Wherefore the names of all the consular lieutenants being offered to consideration, and one rejecting one, and another another for various reasons, at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Mæsa, extolled Vespasian most mightily, and all the rest agreeing to him, his name was forthwith inscribed in their banners. This design however was quashed, the troops being brought about to submit to Vitellius for a little time. But the fact making a noise in the world, Tiberius Alexander governor of Egypt first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, upon the calends of July, which was observed ever after as the day of his accession to the empire. After that the army in Judæa where he then was, took the oath to him upon the fifth of

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veræ sive falsæ, defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum, extrema obtestatione ultionem mandantis, & ut reip. subveniret, opantis : simul rumor dissipatus, destinasse Vitellium victorem permutare hiberna legionum, & Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam. Præterea ex præsidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus, & à regibus Volagesus Parthus : ille deposita similitudine, quam in id tempus ex æmulatione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promissit exercitum : hic XL millia sagittariorum.

7. Suscepto igitur civili bello, ac ducibus copiisque in Italiam præmissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Ægypti obtineret. Hic cum de firmitate Imperii capturus auspiciū, ædem Serapidis, submotis omnibus, solus intrasset, ac propitiato multum Deo, tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque & panificia, ut illic assideret, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est : quem neque admissum à quoquam, & jampridem propter nervorum valetudinem vix ingredi, longèque abesse constabat. Ac statim advenere litteræ, fusas apud Cremonam Vitellii copias, ipsum in urbe interentum nuntiantes. Auctoritas & quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato, & adhuc novo Principi decrat : hæc quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam à Serapide per quietem, restitutum oculos, si inspississet, confirmaturum crura, si dignaretur calce con-

the ides of July. What contributed very much to help forward the matter, was a copy of a letter whether real or counterfeit, that was handed about, said to be writ by Otho to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most earnest manner possible the revenge of his cause, and entreating him to relieve the commonwealth ; as also a rumor that was spread abroad, that Vitellius after his success against Otho, was for changing the winter quarters of the legions, and removing those in Germany to a more secure and easy service in the east. Besides, among the governors of the provinces, Licinius Mucianus dropping the prudge which 'till that time from a spirit of emulation he had visibly bore him, promised to join him with the Syrian army, and Volagesus king of the Parthians offered forty thousand bowmen.

7. Wherefore the civil war being now begun, sending before him his generals and forces into Italy, he in the mean time went over to Alexandria in order to possess himself of the barriers of Egypt. Here having entered alone without any attendants, the temple of Serapis, to take an auspice about the future settlement of his imperial authority, and having propitiated the deity with many sacrifices, upon turning himself about, appeared his freedman Basilides to present him with sacred greens, crowns and cakes, according to the usage there : who yet it's certain was not let in by any one, and by reason of a palsy had not for some time been able to walk, and was besides at a great distance from the place. Immediately after this arrived letters with advice, that Vitellius's troops had been defeated at Cremona, and he himself slain in the city. But Vespasian, as being raised unexpectedly from a low condition, wanted the authority and majesty of an emperor. Now this he received too. A poor man that was blind, and another that was lame, came both together up to him, as he was sitting upon the bench in a court of justice, begging of him a cure, which they said they did by the advice of the god Serapis in a dream, who assured them, that he might restore the one to his sight, by spitting upon his eye, and

tingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet: extremo hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumque tentavit, nec eventus defuit. Per idem tempus Tegez in Arcadia, instinctu vaticinantium, effossa sunt sacro loco vasa operis antiqui, atque in iis assimilis Vespasiano imago.

8. Talis, tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus, acto de Judæis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit. Suscepit & Censuram: ac per totum Imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius, quam prope afflictam, nutantemque rempublicam stabilire primo, deinde & ornare. Milites pars victoriæ fiducia, pars ignominie dolore, ad omnem licentiam audaciamque processerant. Sed & provinciæ, civitatesque liberæ, nec non & regna quædam tumultuosius inter se agebant. Quare Vitellianorum quidem & exauctoravit plurimos, & coercuit. Parricibus autem victoriæ adeo nihil extra ordinem indulgit: ut etiam legitima præmia nonnisi serò perolverit. Ac ne quam occasionem corrigendi disciplinam prætermitteret, adolescentulum fragrantem unguento, cum sibi pro impetrata Præfectura gratias ageret, autu aspernatus, voce etiam gravissima increpuit, *Maluissim aliud oboluisse*: litterasque revocavit. Classarios vero, qui ab Ostia & Puteolis Romam pedibus per vias commeant, petentes constitui aliquid sibi Calcearii nomine, quasi parum esset, sine responso abegisse, iussit posthæc excalceatos cursitare: & ex eo ita cursitant. Achajam,

give strength to the leg of the other, if he pleased but to touch it with his heel. He could scarce believe such a method of cure would succeed, and therefore durst not venture upon making the experiment. At last, by the advice of his friends, he attempted both openly before all the company, and with good success. About the same time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the direction of some prophets, some vessels of antient workmanship, were dug up out of a consecrated place, and amongst them a statue resembling Vespasian.

8. Returning now to Rome with the advantage of a mighty fame for the miraculous cures he had wrought, after he had triumphed for the reduction of the Jews, he added eight consulships to the former. He likewise took upon him the censorship, and made it his principal concern, during the whole time of his reign, to settle the commonwealth, which had been almost ruined, and was in a tottering condition, upon a secure bottom, in the first place, and then to improve it. The soldiers, one part of them emboldened by their victory, and the other from a concern at their disgrace, had run out into all manner of licentiousness and insolence. Nay, the provinces too, and free cities, and some kingdoms likewise under the Roman protection, were all in an uproar. Wherefore he disbanded a great many of Vitellius's soldiers, and others of them he punished: and was so far from granting any extraordinary favours to the sharers of his victory, that it was late e'er he paid them their premiums due to them by law. And that he might lose no opportunity of reforming the discipline of the army, upon a young gentleman's coming finely perfumed to return him thanks for a commission to command a squadron of horse, he turn'd away his head in disdain, and reprimanded him with this severe expression, I had rather you had smelt of garlic, and revoked his commission. The footmen belonging the fleet that run by turns from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome, petitioning to have some further allowance under the name of shoe-money, as if it was but a small matter to turn

Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate adempta, item Thraciam, Ciliciam, & Comagenem ditionis regie usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit. Cappadociæ propter assiduos Barbarorum incursus legiones addidit: consularemque rectorem imposuit, pro equite Romano. Deformis urbis veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat: vacuas areas occupare, & ædificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicumque permisit. Ipse restitutionem Capitolii aggressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit, ac suo collo quædam extulit: ærearumque tabularum tria millia, quæ simul confla-
verant, restituenda suscepit: undique investigatis exemplaribus, instrumentum Imperii pulcherrimum ac verissimum confecit: quo continebantur pæne ab exordio urbis Senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate, & foedere, ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.

decrees of the senate, almost from the building of the city, as also acts of the commons, relating to alliances, treatys, and privileges that had been granted to any one.

9. Fecit & nova opera, templum Pacis Foro proximum: Divi; Claudij in Coelio monte, coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed à Nerone prope funditus destructum. Item Amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse compererat Augustum. Amplissimos ordines, & exhaustos cæde varia, & contaminatos veteri negligentia, purgavit: supplevitque recensito senatu & equite: submotis indignissimis, & honestissimo quoque Italicorum ac provincialium allecto. Atque uti notum esset, utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam dignitate differre, de iurgio quodam senatoris equitisq; Romani ita

them away without an answer, he ordered them for the future to run without shoes, and so they have done ever since. He took from Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Samos their liberty, and reduced them into the form of provinces, as he also did by Thrace, Cilicia and Comagene, which till that time had been subject unto kings. He placed some legions in Cappadocia, because of the frequent inroads of the barbarians, and instead of a Roman knight, made a consular gentleman governor thereof. The city was much deformed by the houses lying in rubbish, that had been burnt down long before, to remedy which, he gave leave to any one that would to seize upon the void ground, and build thereon, if the owners would not take care to build themselves. He resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his hand to the clearing the ground of the rubbish, by carrying away some of it upon his own shoulder. And he undertook too to restore the three thousand brazen plates, which had been burnt at the same time, by searching in all places for copy of them, and thus again furnish'd the government with a collection of curious and antient records, wherein were contained the de-

9. He likewise raised several publick buildings, as the temple of Peace nigh the forum, that of Claudius in the Cælian mount, that had been begun by Agrippina, but had been almost entirely demolished by Nero. He built too an amphitheater in the middle of the city upon finding that Augustus had designed so to do. He purged the senatorian and equestrian orders, which had been much reduced by the havoc made of them at several times, and disparaged by the careless admission, for a long time past, of such as were unworthy of that rank. He review'd both, and fill'd them up again, degrading the most unworthy, and choosing in their room the most honourable persons in Italy, and the provinces. And to let the world see, that those two orders did not differ so much in privileges as dignity, upon occasion of some hard words that passed

profundius, Non oportere maledici senatoribus, remaledici civile fasque esse. lous language, unless they were the aggressors, and then it was fair and lawful to return it.

10. Litium series ubique majorem in modum excreverant, manentibus antiquis, interapedine jurisdictionis, accedentibus novis, ex condicione unumquodque temporum. Sorte elegit, per quos rapta bello restituerentur, quique judicia centumviralia, quibus peragendis vix suffectura litigatorum metas videbatur, extra ordinem dijudicarent, redigerentque ad brevissimum numerum.

11. Libido atque luxuria coercentur nullo invaluerat. Auctor Senatui fuit decernendi, ut quæ se alieno servo junxisset, ancilla haberetur. Neve filiorum familias feneratoribus exigendi crediti jus unquam esset: hoc est, ne post patrum quidem mortem.

12. Cæteris in rebus statim ab initio principatus usque ad exitum civilis & clemens. Mediocritatem pristinam neque dissimulavit unquam, ac frequenter etiam præ se tulit. Quin & conantes quosdam originem Flavij generis ad conditores Reatinos, comitemque Herculis cujus monumentum exstat via Salaria, referte, irrisit ultro. Adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus capide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate & tædio pompæ, non reticuerit, merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum majoribus suis, aut speratum unquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset. Ac ne TRIBUNITIAM quidem POTESTATEM & PATRIS PATRIÆ appellationem nisi sero recepit.

betwixt a senator and a Roman knight, be declared publickly, That senators ought not to be treated with scurrilous language, unless they were the aggressors, and then it was

90. Law-suits were grown to a prodigious number, the old ones continuing by reason of the interruption that had been given to the course of justice, and new ones being superadded to them, occasion'd by the disorder and confusion of the times. He chose commissioners by lot to provide for the restitution of what had been seized by violence during the war, as also some extraordinary commissioners to judge of centumviral causes, and reduce them to as small a number as possible, for the dispatch of which otherwise the lives of the partys concern'd could hardly allow time enough.

11. Lust and luxury through the licentiousness of the late times were grown to a great height; wherefore he moved the senate to decree that a woman that had to do with the slave of another person, should herself become a slave; and that usurers should have no action at law for the recovery of moneys lent young gentlemen, whilst they were in their father's family, not even after their fathers were dead.

12. In the other parts of his administration, from the beginning of his reign to the end of it, he behaved with great moderation and clemency. He was so far from being silent upon the subject of his former meanness, that he frequently took notice of it himself. And when some would needs run up his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and the companion of Hercules, whose monument is still to be seen in the Salarian way, he laughed at them for it. And he was so little fond of outward and borrowed ornaments, that upon the day of his triumph, being quite tired with the length and tediousness of the procession, he could not forbear saying, He was rightly served, for having in his old age been so silly to desire a triumph, as if it was either due to his ancestors, or had been ever expected by himself. Nor would he for a long time accept of the Tribunitian authority, or the title of father of his country.

T. F. L. VESPASIANUS.

Nam consuetudinem saluantes scrutandi, manente adhuc bello civili, omiserat.

13. Amicorum libertatem, caufidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime ruli. Licinium Mucianum notæ impuditiæ, sed meritorum fiducia, minus sui reverentem, nunquam nisi clam, & hæcenus relaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicum querens adderet clausulæ, Ego tamen vir sum. Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis, rei ausum dicere, quid ad Cæsarem, si Hipparchus HS millies habet? & ipse laudavit. Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post dominationem, ac neque assurgere, neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit Canem appellare.

14. Offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor ex cunctis, Vitellii hostis sui filiam splendidissime maritalit, dotavitque etiam & instruxit. Trepidum eum interdixit aula sub Nerone, querentemque quidnam ageret, aut quo abiret, quidam ex officio Admissionis simul expellens, abire Morboniam iusserat. In hunc postea deprecantem, hæc ultra verba excanduit, & quidem rotidem fere atque eadem. Nam ut suspitione aliqua, vel metu ad perniciem cuiusquam compelleretur tantum abfuit, ut monentibus amicis cavendum esse Metium Pompeianum quod vulgo crederetur genitum habere Imperatoriam, insuper confecerit, spondens quandoque beneficii memorem futurum.

15. Non temere quis punitus infons reperietur, nisi absente eo & ignaro, aut certo in viis atque decepto. Hel-

And for the custom of searching such as came to pay their respects to him, he dropped it, even in the time of the civil war.

13. He bore with great mildness the liberty of his friends; the wiles of the pleaders, and the sauciness of the philosophers. Licinius Mucianus, that had been notoriously guilty of prostitution, but presuming upon his great services, treated him very rudely, he reproved only in private, and so as in complaining of his carriage to a common friend of theirs, he concluded at last with these words, However I am a man. Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cause of a rich man under prosecution, presuming to say, What's that to Cæsar, if Hipparchus has an estate of an hundred millions of sesterces? he commended him for it. Demetrius the Cynick philosopher meeting him upon a journey, after he came to be emperor, and refusing to rise up to him, or salute him, nay snarling at him in foul-mouth'd language, he only call'd him a dog.

14. He was not in the least disposed to bear in mind or revenge former affronts or quarrels. He married the daughter of his enemy Vitellius very nobly, and gave her withal a suitable fortune and equipage. Being in a mighty consternation after he was forbid the court by Nero, and asking those about him, What he should do? Or, Whither he should go? One of those, whose office it was to introduce people to the presence of the emperor, thrusting him out, bid him go to Morbonia. But when this same person came afterwards to beg his pardon, he expressed his resentment only in almost the very same words. For he was so far from being wrought upon by any suspicion or fear, to seek the destruction of any body, that when his friends advised him to have a care of Metius Pompeianus, because he was commonly believed to have an imperial nativity, he made him consul, engaging for him, that he would be mindful of the favour done him.

15. Scarce so much as one innocent person will be found to have suffered in his reign, unless in his absence, and without his knowledge, or at least conviction

vidio Prisco, qui & reversum se ex Syria solus, privato nomine *Vespasianum* salutaverat, & in prætura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transfuderat, non ante succensuit, quam altercationibus insolentissimis poene in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde & interfici iustum magni aestimavit servare quoquo modo, missis qui percussores revocarent: & servasset, nisi jam periisse falso renunciatum esset. Ceterum neque eade cuiusquam unquam lætatus, iustis suppliciis illacrymavit etiam & ingemuit.

ready executed. He never rejoiced at the death of any man, nay would shed tears and sigh at the just punishment of the guilty.

16. Sola est, in qua merito culperetur, pecuniæ cupiditas. Non enim contentus omnia sub Galba vestigalia revocasse, nova & gravia addidisse; auxisse tributa provinciis, nonnullis & duplicasse; negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quedam tantum, ut pluris postea distraheret. Nec candidatis quidem honores, reifve tam innoxlis quam nocentibus, absolutiones venditare cunctatus est. Creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret: quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur *uti*, quod quasi & siccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes. Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei à sene bubulco, qui negata sibi gratuita libertate, quam imperium adeptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit. *Vulpem pilum mutare, non mores*. Sunt

trary to his mind, and where he was imposed upon. Tho' *Helvidius Priscus* was the only man that presumed to salute him at his return from Syria, by his private name of *Vespasian*, and when he came to be prætor, passed him by in all his edicts, without the least respect or mention of him, yet he was not angry with him, 'till by his rude opposition to him, he treated him in a manner as a person without authority. And tho' he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and accordingly dispatched away messengers to fetch again the persons employed for the execution; and he would have saved him, had he not been imposed upon by a false account brought him, that he was al-

16. The only thing to be deservedly blamed in him, was his love of money. For he was not satisfied with reviving the taxes that had been dropped under Galba, but others, and heavy ones too, raised the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some. He likewise openly practised a sort of traffick, that would have been scandalous even in a person below the dignity of an emperor, buying great quantities of goods together in order to retail them again to advantage. Nay he made no scruple to sell the great offices of state to the candidates, and pardons too to persons under prosecution, as well the innocent as the guilty. It is believed too he advanced all the most rapacious among the procurators to higher offices, on purpose to squeeze them after they were grown richer; whom indeed he was commonly said to make use of as sponges, because he did, as one may say, wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet. Some say he was a naturally very covetous, and that he was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperor's refusing to enfranchise him gratis, which at his advancement he humbly petitioned for, cried out, That the fox changed his hair, but not his

con.

contra qui opinentur, ad manubias & rapinas necessitate compulsum, summa ærarum fiscoque inopia : de qua restitutus sit initio statim principatus, professus *quadringentes millies opus esse, ut resp. stare posset.* Quod & verisimilius videtur, quando & male partis optime usus est.

17. In omne hominum genus liberalissimis explevit censum Senatorium : consulares inopes quingenis sestertiis annuis sustentavit : plurimas per totum orbem civitates terræ motu aut incendio afflictas, restituit in melius.

18. Ingenia & artes vel maxime fovit. Primus è fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit. Præstantes poetas, nec non artifices Cæce Veneris : item colossi refectorium insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit : mechanico quoque grandes columnas, exigua impensa perducturum in Capitolium pollicenti, præmium pro commentis non mediocriter obtulit, operam remisit, præfatus, *juneret se plebeculam pascere.*

19. Ludis per quos scena Marcelliani Theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoque acroamata revocaverat. Apollinari tragædo quadringena : Terpsio Diodoroque citharædis, ducena : nonnullis centena : quibus minimum, quadragena sestertia super plurimas coronas aureas dedit. Sed & convivabatur assidue : ac sæpius recte ac dapsile, ut macellarios adjuvarer. Sicut Saturnalibus dabat viris apophoreta, ita & Kalend. Martii

nature. There are some on the other hand, of opinion, that he was obliged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme poverty of the treasury and exchequer, which he took public notice of immediately in the beginning of his reign ; declaring that no less than forty thousand millions of sesterces was necessary for the support of the government, which is the more likely to be true of him, because he made a very good use of what he got so badly.

17. He was mighty liberal to all sorts of people. He made up to several senators the estate required by law to qualify them for that dignity, and relieved such consular gentlemen as were poor, with a yearly allowance of five hundred thousand sesterces ; rebuilt to advantage several cities up and down the empire, that had been much damaged by earthquakes or fires.

18. He was a great encourager of learning and learned men. He first appointed the latin and greek professors of rhetoric the yearly stipend of a hundred thousand sesterces a piece out of the exchequer. He was likewise extremely generous, to such as excelled in poetry, or even the mechanick arts, and particularly to one that brush'd up the picture of Venus at Cos, and another that repaired the Colossus. And a mechanick offering to convey some huge pillars into the Capitol, at a small expence, he rewarded him very handsomely for his invention, but would not accept of his service, saying he must allow him to take care of the poor people.

19. In the games celebrated at the first use of the new stage in Marcellus's Theatre, he revived the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris the Tragedian four hundred thousand sesterces ; Terpnus and Diodorus the harpers two hundred thousand, to some a hundred thousand ; and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides a great many golden crowns. He had company constantly at his table, and treated them in a very plentiful manner, on purpose to help the shambles. As in the Saturnalia he made the gentlemen at his table presents to car-

feminiis: & tamen ne sic quidem pristinae cupiditatis infamia caruit. Alexandrini *Cibiosacten* eum vocare perseveraverunt, cognomine unius è regibus suis turpissimarum sordium. Sed & in funere Favo archimimus personam ejus ferens, imitansque, ut est mos, facta ac dicta vivi, interrogatis palam procuratoribus *quanti funus & pompa constaret, ut audiret H. S. centies, exclamavit, Centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim projicerent.*

20. Statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris, vultu veluti nientis. Unde quidam urbanorum non infacere, siquidem petenti, ut *in se aliquid diceret: Dicam,* inquit *eum ventrem exonerare desieris.* Valetudine prospera usus est: quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam fauces ceteraque membra sibimet ad numerum in sphæristerio defricaret, inediamque unius diei per singulos menses interponeret.

21. Ordinem vitæ fere hunc tenuit. In Principatu maturius semper, ac de nocte vigilabat: deinde perlectis epistolis, officiorumque omnium breviariis, amicos admittebat, ac dum salutabatur & celcebat ipse sese et amiciebat. Postq; decisa quæcumque obvenissent negotia, gestationi, & inde quieti vacabat; accubante aliqua pallacarum, quas in defunctæ locum Cænidis plurimas constituerat: ac secreto in balneum tricliniumque transibat. Nec ullo tempore facilius, aut indulgentior traditur: eaque momenta domesticis ad aliquid petendum magnopere captabant. *those about him always watched that opportunity, when they had any favour to request of him.*

ry away with them, so did he the ladies upon the calends of march, and yet he cou'd not wipe off the infamy, of his former covetousness. The Alexandrians called him constantly *Cibiosactes*, which name had been given to one of their kings, who was sordidly covetous. Nay at his funeral Favo the arch mimick, representing his person, and imitating as usual, his behaviour both in word and deed, whilst he was living, ask'd aloud the procurators, how much his funeral pomp would cost? and being answered, Ten million of sesterces, he cryed out, That give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber if they would.

20. He was broad set, strong-limbed, and had the countenance of a person straining hard for a stool. And therefore one of your drols, upon the emperor's desiring him to say some merry thing upon him, answered wittily enough, I will when you have done eating yourself. He had a good state of health tho' he used no other means to preserve it, than rubbing his jaws and other parts of him a certain number of times in the tennis-court, and fasting one day in every month.

21. His course of life was commonly this. After he came to be emperor, he used to rise very early, and oftentimes before it was day, and after he had read over his letters, and the breviaries of all the offices about court, he ordered his friends to be admitted; and whilst they were paying their morning compliment to him, he wou'd put on his shoes and dress himself. And then after the dispatch of such business as was brought before him, he rid out in his chaise or chair: after which he took a nap, with some of his concubines lying by him, a great number of which he had taken into his service upon the death of Cænis. After his nap, he entered the bath, and then went to supper. Nor was he, they tell you, at any time more easy and complaisant than then; and therefore

22. Et super coenam autem, & semper alias, communissimus, multa joco transigebat. Erat enim dicacitatis plurimæ, & sic scurrilis ac fordidæ, ut ne prætextatis quidem verbis abstinere. Et tamen nonnulla ejus facetissima exstant, in quibus & hoc. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius, quam *plostra* dicenda, die postero *Flaurum* salutavit. Expugnatus autem à quadam, quasi amore sui deperiret, cum perductæ pro concubitu sestertia quadringenta donasset, admonente dispensatore quemadmodum summam rationibus vellet referri, *Vespasiano*, inquit,

23. Utebatur & versibus Græcis tempestive satis, ut de quodam proceræ staturæ, improbiusque nato,

22. At supper and at game he was mighty free and jocose. For he was extremely witty, but in a rough low way, insomuch that he would talk sometimes down-right bawdy. Yet there are some things related of him pretty enough, amongst which are these that follow. Being told once by Mestrius Florus, that *plaustra* was more proper than *plostra*, he the next day saluted him by the name of *Flaurus*. A certain lady pretending to be most desperately in love with him, he was prevailed with to gratify her inclination, and gave her four hundred thousand sesterces for lying with her. And when his steward desired to know how he would have the sum put down in his accounts, he replied, for a lady's being in love with Vespasian.

23 He used several greck verses seasonably enough, as of a certain tall fellow well furnished,

Μακρὰ βιβάς κραδών δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.

With monstrous strides shaking a vast long spear.

Et de Cerylo liberto, qui dives admodum ob subterfugiendum quandoque jus fisci, ingenium se & Lacherem, mutato nomine coeperat efferre,

And of the freed man Cerylus, who being very rich, to cheat the exchequer at his decease, had begun to pass himself upon the world as free-born under the name of Laches, he had these.

ὦ Λάχης Λάχης, ἵπ' αὖ ἀποδαίης,
Αὐδὲ δὲ ὑπαρχὸς εἰρήσῃ Κηρύλος.

Ah Laches Laches! when thou art no more,
Thou'lt Cerylus be stiled as before.

Et maxime tamen dicacitatem in deformibus lucris affectabat: ut invidiam aliqua cavillatione dilneret, transferretque ad sales. Quendam e caris ministris dispensationem cuidam, quasi fratri, petentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se vocavit; exactaque pecunia, quantum is cum suffragatore sub pepigerat, sine mora ordinavit. In-

He chiefly affected drolling upon his own scandalous means of raising money, to wipe off the odium thereof by some witty turn, and so make a jest of the matter. One of his ministers that was much in his favour, requesting of him a stewardship for some body, under pretence of his being his brother, he put him off, and sent for the party that sued for it; and having squeezed out of him as much money, as he had agreed to give his solicitor, he ordered him the

terpellanti mox ministro, *Alium tibi, ait, quære fratrem, hic, quem tuum putas, meus est.* Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus ad calcandas mulas defilisse, ut adveniæ litigatori spatium moramque præberet, interrogavit, *Quanti calceasset? pactusque est lucri partem.* Reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam urinæ vestigial commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur: & illo negante, *Aqui, inquit, e lotio est.* Nuntiantibus legatis, decretam ei publice non mediocris summa statuum colossæam, iussit ut continuo ponerent, cavam manum ostentans, & paratam basim dicens. Ac ne in metu quidem, ac periculo mortis abstinuit jocis. Nam cum inter prodigia cætera Mausoleum Cæsarium derepente patuisset, & stella in cælo crinura apparuisset, alterum ad Juliam Calvinam e gente Augusti pertinere dicebat, alterum ad Parthorum regem, qui capillatus esset. Prima quoque morbi accessione, *Ur, inquit, puto, Deus fio.*

24. Consulatu suo nono tentatus in Campania moriunculis levibus, ac protinus urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi æstivare quotannis solebat, periiit. Hic, cum super urgentem valetudinem, creberrimo frigida aqua usu etiam intestina vitiaffer: nec eo minus muneribus Imperatoriis ex consuetudineungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, *Imperatorem, ait, stantem mori oportere.* Dumque confurgit, ac nititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est VIII Kalend. Julii,

the place immediately. And the minister soon after addressing him again about it, You must, says he, make a brother of some body else, for he you take for your's, is really mine. Once upon a journey suspecting his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mule, only to give time and opportunity to one that had a law-suit depending to speak to him; he ask'd him, how much he had for shoeing? and would come in for snacks with him. When his son Titus blamed him for his dury laid upon urine, he put a piece of the money received in the first payment to his nose, and ask'd him, if it stunk? and he replying no; and yet, says he, it comes from piss. Some deputies coming to acquaint him, that a huge statue that would cost a vast sum was ordered to be erected for him at the publick charge, he bid them erect it immediately, shewing them a hollow hand, and saying, There was a base ready for it. Nay, when he was under the apprehensions and danger of death, he would not forbear his jests. For when amongst other prodigies, the Mausoleum of the Cæsars flew open on a sudden, and a blazing star appeared in the heavens, the one he said concerned Julia Calvina, who was of the family of Augustus, and the other the king of the Parthians, who wore his hair long. And when his distemper first seized him, I suppose, said he, I am going to be a god.

24. In his ninth consulship being attacked in Campania by some slight indispositions, and immediately returning to town upon it, he soon after went from thence for Cutilia, and the country about Reate, where he used every year to spend the summer. Here tho' his distemper incommoded him much, and he had prejudiced his bowels by the frequent use of cold water, he nevertheless gave his attendance for the dispatch of business and would give audience to ambassadors in bed. At last being taken with a fit of looseness, to such a degree that he was ready to faint away, he cryed out, An emperor ought to dy standing. And in endeavouring to rise, died in the hands of those that were helping him
annum

annum gerens ætatis sexagesimum ac nonum, superque mensem, ac diem septimum.

25. Convenit inter omnes, tam certum cum de sua fortunæque genitura semper fuisse, ut post assiduas in se conjurationes ausus sit affirmare Senatui, aut filios sibi successuros, aut neminem. Dicitur etiam vidisse quondam per quierem stateram in media parte vestibuli Palatinæ domus positam examine æquo: cum in altera lance Claudius & Nero starent, in altera ipse ac filii. Nec res fefellit: quando totidem annis, parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt.

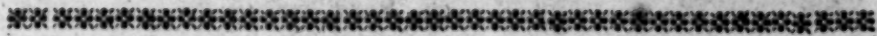
24, upon the eighth of the calends of July, being sixty nine years, a month, and seven days old.

25. It is agreed that he had that confidence in his own nativity, and that of his sons, that after several conspiracies against him, he told the senate, either his sons would succeed him or no body. It's said too, that he once saw in a dream a balance in the middle of the porch of the palatine house exactly even, in one scale of which stood Claudius and Nero, in the other himself and his sons. And the event was accordingly, for both partys reign'd the like number of years, and the same time exactly.



C. S U E T. T R A N Q U I L L I
T. F L A V I U S V E S P A S I A N U S
A U G U S T U S.

XI.



C A P U T I.

I. **COGNITUS** cognomine **COGNITUS** paterno, amor ac **COGNITUS** delicie generis humani, (tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii, vel artibus, vel fortune superfuit, & quod difficillimum est, in Imperio, quando privatus, atque etiam sub patre Principe, ne odio quidem, nedum viruperatione publica caruit.) Natus est III Kalend. Janu. insigni anno Cajana nece, prope Septizonium, fordidis

COGNITUS, who had the same cognomen with his father, was the darling and delight of mankind, so much of a happy humour, dexterity or good fortune had he to engage the favour of the world; and what is extremely difficult indeed, after he came to be emperor too: for before, even during the reign of his father, he lay under the displeasure and censure of the publick. He was born upon the third of the calends of January, in the year remarkable for the death of Caius, nigh the Septizonium, in a sorry house, and a little blind

ædibus:

adibus; cubiculo vero perparvo, & obscuro: nam manet adhuc, & ostenditur.

2. Educatus in aula cum Britannico simul, ac paribus disciplinis, & apud eosdem magistros institutus. Quo quidem tempore, ajunt, Metoposcopum à Narcisso Claudii liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse, illum quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope adstabat, utique imperaturum. Erant autem adeo familiares, ut de portione, qua Britannicus hausta periit, Titus quoque juxta cubans gustasse credatur gravique morbo afflictatus diu. Quorum omnium mox memor, statuum ei auream in Palatio posuit, & alteram ex ebore equestrum, quæ Circensi pompa hodieque præfertur, dedicavit, profectusque est.

3. In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenderunt: magisque ac magis deinceps per ætatis gradus. Forma egregia, & cui non minus auctoritatis inesset, quam gratiæ: præcipuum robur, quamquam neque procera statura, & ventre paullo projectiore: memoria singulari, docilitas ad omnes fere tum belli tum pacis artes. Armorum & equitandi peritissimus, Latine Græcæque linguæ, vel in orando, vel in fingendis poematibus promptus, & facilis ad extemporalitatem usque. Sed ne musicæ quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret & psalleret jucunde scienterque. E pluribus comperi, notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum jocumque certantem imitari chirographa quæcumque vidisset; ac profiteri sæpe, se maximum falsarium esse potuisse.

chamber; for it is still in being, and is shewn to the curious.

2. He was educated at court together with Britannicus, and instructed in the same parts of literature, and under the same masters with him. At which time, they tell you, that a Physiognomist was brought by Narcissus the freedman of Claudius to inspect Britannicus, who positively affirmed that he would never come to be emperor, but that Titus who stood by would. They were so familiar, that Titus being next him at table, is thought to have tasted of the poisonous potion that did Britannicus's business, and to have been thereby thrown into a dissemper that held him a long time. All which circumstances he retained a remembrance of, and afterwards erected a golden statue for him in the palace, and dedicated to him another on horseback of ivory, and attended it in the Circensian procession, in which it is still carried to this day.

3. Several fine accomplishments both of body and mind were conspicuous in him when a boy, and became more so, as he advanced in years. He had a graceful person, wherein was an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness: was very strong, tho' not tall, and somewhat big-bellied. He had an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war; was a perfect master of his weapons, and in riding the great horse; very ready at the latin and greek tongues, as well in verse as prose; insomuch that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor he was ignorant in musick, but would both sing and play upon the harp very finely, and with judgement. I have likewise been inform'd by many, that he was exceeding quick in the writing of short hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hands he saw, and oftentimes say, That he was admirably qualified for forgery.

4. Tribunus militum & in Germania & in Britannia meruit summa industria, nec minore modestia, & fama: sicut apparet ex imaginum ejus multitudine, ac titulis per utramque provinciam. Post stipendia foris operam dedit, honestam magis quam assiduam. Eodemque tempore Arricidiam Tertullo patre equite Romano, sed Præfecto quondam prætorianarum cohortium, duxit uxorem: & in defunctæ locum Marciam Furnillam splendidissimi generis: cum qua, sublata filia, divertium fecit. Ex Quæsturæ deinde honore legioni præpositus, Tarichæam & Gamalam urbes validissimas Judææ in potestatem redegit: equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso, alteroque incenso, cujus rector contra se dimicans occubuerat.

5. Galba mox tenente rempublicam, missus ad gratulandum, quaquā iret, convertit homines, quasi adoptionis gratia arcesceretur. Sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit, rediit ex itinere: aditoque Paphiæ Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de Imperii spe confirmatus est. Cujus brevi compos, & ad perdomandam Judæam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione VII propugnatores totidem sagittarum consecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiæ suæ, tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem, eum consalutaverint, & subinde decedentem provinciæ detinuerint, suppliciter nec non & minaciter efflagitantes, ut *ramanceret, aut secum omnes pariter abduceret*. Unde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere a patre, Orientalisque regnum sibi vindicare ten-

4. He served in quality of a military tribune both in Germany and Britain, and behaved in the service with the utmost activity, and no less modesty and reputation; as is manifest from the great number of his statues with honourable inscriptions, erected for him up and down both the provinces. After some campaigns he applied himself to the business of pleading, but not much, tho' sufficiently to acquire the character of a good orator. And at the same time he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only a knight, but had formerly been commander of the guards, and after her decease Marcia Furnilla of a very noble family, by whom he had a daughter, but afterwards divorced her. When the year of his quaestorship was up, he was made commander of a legion, and took the two strong cities of Tarichæa and Gamala in Judæa; and in a battle having his horse slain under him, he mounted another, whose rider he was engaged with, and killed.

5. Soon after when Galba came to be emperor, he was dispatched away to congratulate him upon the occasion, and turned the eyes of all people upon him, wherever he came, as being sent for, they imagined, by the emperor, with a design to adopt him for his son. But finding all things were ag- in in confusion, he turned back upon the road: and going to consult the oracle of Venus at Paphos about his voyage, he received assurances of obtaining the empire for himself. Wherein he was soon after confirmed, and being left to finish the reduction of Judæa, in the last assault upon Jerusalem, he slew seven of the enemy that defended it with just so many arrows, and took it upon his daughter's birth-day. Upon which occasion the soldiers expressed so much joy and fondness for him, that in their congratulation of him, they unanimously saluted him by the title of Emperor; and upon his quitting the province soon after, would needs have detained him, earnestly begging of him, and not without threats too, Either to stay, or take them all along with him. Which occasioned a tassel,

faller. Quam suspicionem
avit, postquam Alexandri-
am petens, in consecrando a-
pud Memphim bove Apide
diadema gestavit: de more id
quidem ritumque priscæ religio-
nis: sed non deerant, qui se-
cus interpretarentur. Quare fe-
stinans in Italiam, cum Rhe-
gium, dehinc Puteolos onera-
ria nave appulisset, Romam in-
de contendit expeditissimus:
inopinantique patri, velut ar-
guens rumorum de se temerita-
tem, *Veni, inquit, pater, veni.*
himself unexpectedly to his father said as it were by way of reflection
upon the rashness of the reports raised about him, I am come,
father, I am come.

6. Neque ex eo destitit par-
ticipem, atque etiam tutorem
Imperii agere. Triumphavit
cum patre, Censuramque gessit
una. Eidem collega & in
Tribunitia potestate & in sep-
tem consulatibus fuit. Recep-
taque ad se prope omnium of-
ficiorum cura, cum patris no-
mine & epistolas dicta-
ret, & edicta conscriberet, or-
ationesque in Senatu recita-
ret etiam quaestoris vice. Præ-
fecturam quoque prætorii sus-
cepit, nunquam ad id tem-
pus, nisi ab equite Romano ad-
ministratam, egitque aliquan-
to incivilius, & violentius. Si-
quidem suspectissimum quem-
que sibi, submissis quæ per thea-
tra & castra, quasi consensu
ad poenam deposcerent, haud
cunctanter oppressit. In his
A. Cæciliam consularem vi-
rum, vocatum ad coenam, ac
vix dum triclinio egressum,
confodi iussit, sane urgente
discrimine, cum etiam chiro-
graphum ejus præparatæ apud
milites conjurationis depre-
hendisset. Quibus rebus sicut
in posterum securitati satis ca-
vit, ita ad præsens plurimum
contraxit invidiæ: ut non
temere quis, tam adverso ru-
more, magisque invitis omni-
bus, transierit ad principatum.

*Suspicion of his being engaged in a de-
sign to rebel against his father, and
claim for himself the government of
the east. Which suspicion he increased,
when in his way to Alexandria he wore
a diadem at the consecration of the ox
Apis at Memphis: which tho' he did only
in compliance with an ancient religious
usage of the country, yet some put an
ill construction upon it. Wherefore ma-
king what haste he could into Italy, he
arrived first at Rhegium, and sailed
from thence to Puteoli in a merchant-
ship, from whence he went to Rome with
all possible expedition, and presenting*

6. From that time he constantly be-
haved as partner with his father in the
empire, and indeed the guardian thereof.
He triumphed with his father, and bore
the office of censor together with him,
was also his colleague in the Tribuni-
tian authority, and seven consulships.
And taking upon him the care and in-
spection of all offices whatever, he dic-
tated letters, and writ proclamations in
his father's name, and repeated his
speeches in the senate in room of the
quaestor. He moreover took upon him the
command of the guard, which till that
time, had never been managed by any
but a Roman knight, and behaved with
great haughtiness and violence, taking
off without scruple or delay such as he
was most jealous of, after he had under-
hand employed several people to disperse
themselves up and down the theaters
and camp, and demand them as it were
by consent to be delivered up to punish-
ment. Amongst these he invited A.
Cecina a consular gentleman to supper,
and ordered him to be stabbed immedi-
ately after he was got out of the room
again, being provoked to it indeed by a
most pressing danger, for he had discover-
ed a writing under his own hand, con-
taining the project of a plot carried on
amongst the soldiery. By which means,
tho' he did indeed provide for the future
security of his family, yet for the present
he so much incurred the hatred of the
people, that scarce ever any one came
to the empire with so odious a character;
or more universally disliked.

7. Prætor

7. Præter sævitiam, suspecta in eo etiam luxuria erat : quod ad mediam noctem commensationes cum profusissimo quoque familiarium extendere. Nec minus libido, propter exoletorum & spadonum greges, propterque insignem reginæ Beronices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. Suspecta & rapacitas, quod constabat incognitionibus patris nudinari, præmiarique solitum. Denique propalam alium Neronem & opinabantur, & prædicabant. At illi ea fama pro honore cessit, conversæque est in maximas laudes : neque ullo vitio repperit, & contra virtutibus summis. Convivia instituit jucunda magis, quam profusa. Amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut & sibi & reipubl. necessariis acquieverunt, præcipueque sunt usi. Beronice, statim ab urbe dimisit invitæ invitæ. Quosdam e gratissimis delicatorem, quamquam tam artifices saltationis, ut mox scenam tenuerint, non modo fovere prolixius, sed spectare omnino in publico cœtu superfedir. Nulli civium quidquam ademit : abstinuit alieno, ut si quis unquam : ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas collationes recepit. Et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor. Amphitheatro dedicato, thermisque juxta celeriter exstructis, munus edidit apparatusissimum, largissimumque. Dedit & navale prælium in veteri naumachia, ibidem & gladiatores : atque una die quinque millia omne genus ferarum.

8. Natura autem benevolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberii omnes dehinc Cæsares beneficia à superioribus concessa principibus, aliter rata non haberent, quam si

7. Besides his cruelty he lay under the suspicion of luxury too, because he would continue his revels till midnight with the most prodigal of his acquaintance. Nor was he less suspected of excessive lewdness, because of the swarms of catamites and eunuchs about him, as also his famous intrigue with queen Beronice, to whom he was reported to have promised marriage too. He was likewise supposed to be of a ravenous temper, for it's certain in causes that came before his father, he used to offer his interest to sale, and take bribes. In short people openly declared their opinions of him, and said he would prove another Nero. But this ill character proved much to his advantage, and did not a little enhance his praises, because there was no vice appeared in him, but on the contrary the noblest virtues. His entertainments were pleasant rather than extravagant, and he chose such a set of friends, as the following princes acquiesced in as necessary for them and the government. He sent away Beronice from the city immediately, much against both their inclinations. Some of his old catamites, who such artists in dancing, that they carried all before them upon the stage, he was so far from treating with any extraordinary kindness, that he would not so much as see them in any publick assembly of the people at all. He deprived none of his subjects of their property, and kept himself clear of all injustice, if ever man did, nay would not accept of the allowable and customary contributions. And yet was inferior to none of the princes before him in generosity. Having opened his amphitheater and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with a most ample and noble publick diversion. He likewise exhibited a sea fight, in the old naumachia, and a combat of gladiators in the same place, and in one day brought into the theater five thousand wild beasts of all sorts.

8. He was by nature extremely benevolent ; for whereas the emperors after Tiberius, according to the example he had set them, would not allow of grants made by former princes as valid, un-

eadem iisdem & ipsi dedissent : primus præterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto : nec à se peti passus est. In cæteris vero desiderijs omnium hominum obstinatissime tenuit, ne quem sine spe dimitteret. Quin & admonentibus domesticis, quasi plura polliceretur quam præstare posset : *Non oportere, ait, quemquam à sermone Principis tristem discedere.* Atque etiam recordatus quondam super coenam, quod nihil cuiquam toto die præstitisset, memorabilem illam, meritoque laudatam vocem edidit, *Amici, diem peridi.* Populum in primis univèrsum tanta per omnes occasiones comitate tractavit, ut proposito gladiatorio munere, non ad suum, sed ad spectantium arbitrium editurum se professus sit. Et plane ita fecit. Nam neque negavit quidquam petentibus : & ut quæ vellent peterent, nitro adhortatus est. Quin & studium armaturæ Thracum præ se ferens, sæpe cum populo & voce & gestu, ut fautor, cavillatus est : verum majestate salva, nec minus æquitate. Ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret, nonnunquam in thermis suis, admissa plebe, lavit. Quædam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt : ut conflagratio Vesevi montis, in Campania : & incendium Romæ, per triduum, totidemque noctes : item pestilentia, quanta non temere alias. In his tot adversis ac talibus, non modo Principis sollicitudinem, sed & parentis affectum unicum præstitit : nunc consolando, per edicta : nunc opitulando, quatenus suppeteret facultas. Curatores restituendæ Campaniæ & consularium numero sorte duxit. Bona oppressorum in Vesevo, quorum hæredes non exstabant, restitutioni afflictarum

less they thought fit expressly to continue them, he confirm'd them all by one single proclamation, without suffering himself to be address'd about them. And let who would petition him for any thing, his constant practice was to send none away without hopes. And when his ministers insinuated to him, As tho' he promised more than he could perform, he reply'd, That no body ought to go away sad from the speech of his prince. And once at supper reflecting that he had done nothing for any one that day, he broke out into that memorable and justly admired saying, Friends, I have lost a day. He treated especially the whole body of the people upon all occasions with so much complaisance, that upon promising them an entertainment of gladiators, he declared, He would manage it, not according to his own fancy, but that of the spectators, and did accordingly. For he deny'd them nothing, and very frankly encouraged them to ask what they pleas'd. And being a favourer of the gladiators called Thraces, he would as such, oftentimes take a merry freedom with the people both in his words and gestures, but not without a due regard to his imperial dignity and justice too. And to let slip no occasion of making himself popular, he let the common people be admitted into his bath, when he made use of it himself. Some sad accidents happened in his time, as an eruption of mount Vesuvius in Campania, and a fire at Rome that lasted three days and three nights, besides a plague such as was scarce ever known before. In these dismal calamities he not only behaved with all the concern that might be expected from a prince, but with the affection of a father for his people, one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while assisting them as far as was in his power. He chose by lot from amongst the consular gentlemen commissioners for the relief of Campania. He applied the estates of such as had perished in the fire of Vesuvius, and left no heirs, to the repair of such cities as were damaged thereby. As to the publick buildings destroyed in the fire of the city he de-

civi.

civitatum attribuit. Urbis incendio nihil nisi sibi publice periisse testatus, cuncta prioriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit: præposuitque complures ex equestri ordine, quæque maturius peragerentur. Medendæ valetudini, leniendisq; morbis, nullam divinam humanamque opem non adhibuit, inquisito omni sacrificiorum remediumque genere. Inter adversa temporum, & delatores mandatoresque erant, ex licentia veteri. Hos assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus cæsos ac novissime traductos per Amphitheatri arenam, partim subijci ac venire imperavit: partim in asperimas insularum avehi. Utque etiam similia quandoque aures perpetuo coerceret, vetuit inter cætera, de eadem re pluribus legibus agi, quærive de cujuscumque defunctorum statu, ultra certos annos.

9. Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere, ut puras servaret manus, fidem præstitit: nec auctor posthac cujuscumque necis, nec conficius, quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non deesset, sed periturum se potius, quam perditurum, adjurans. Duos patricii generis convictos in affectatione Imperii, nihil amplius, quam ut desisterent monuit, dicens, principatum fato dari: si quid præterea desiderarent, promittens se tributurum: & confestim quidem ad alterius matrem, quæ procul aberat, cursores suos misit, qui anxie filium salvum nuntiarent. Cæterum ipsos non solum familiari cœnæ adhibuit, sed & insequenti die gladiatorum spectaculo circa se ex industria collocatis, oblata sibi ornamenta

clored no body should be a loser by them but himself; and accordingly he applied all the ornaments of his palaces for the decoration of the temples and other great works, and appointed several gentlemen of the equestrian order to oversee the business, and hasten the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed all manner of means both humane and divine, in the way of sacrifice to appease the Gods, and medicine. Amongst the calamities of the times were informers, and such as employed them, a sort of vermin that grew up under the license of former reigns. These he frequently had lashed or well cudgelled in the forum, and then after he had obliged them to pass in parade through the amphitheater commanded them to be sold for slaves, or else banished them into some rocky Islands. And to discourage others from the like practices for the future, amongst other things he forbid any one to be proceeded against upon several laws for the same fact, and that the condition of persons deceased should, after a certain number of years be exempt from all enquiry.

9. He declared he would take the office of high priest upon him, in order to have his hands undefiled, and he was as good as his word, for after that time he was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the death of any man whatever, tho he was sometimes sufficiently provoked, but he swore, He would perish himself, before he would be the destruction of any man. Two gentlemen of patrician quality being convicted of aspiring to the empire, he only advised them to desist, saying, That sovereign power was disposed of by fate; and promised them, if they had anything else to desire of him he would gratify them. Upon which he immediately dispatched away messengers to the mother of one of them, that was at a great distance, and concern'd about her son, to satisfy her that he was safe. Nay he not only invited them to sup with him, but the day after, at a show of gladiators purposely placed them close by him, and when she arms of the

pugnantium inspicienda porrexit. Dicitur etiam cognita utriusque genitura, imminere ambobus periculum affirmasse, verum quandoque & ab alio: sicut evenit. Fratrem infideli sibi non desinentem, sed pæne ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, nec occidere, neque seponere, ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit: Sed, ut à primo Imperit die, consortem successoremque testari perseveravit: nonnunquam secreto lacrymis & precibus orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse.

be his successor, begging of him sometimes in private with tears, To make him a return of the like affection.

10. Inter hæc morte præventus est, majore hominum damno, quam suo. Spectaculis absolutis, in quorum fine, populo coram ubertim fleverat, Sabinos peti aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat, quodque tempestate serena tonuerat. Deinde ad primam statim mansionem febrim nactus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis cælum: multumque conquestus, eripi sibi vitam immanentem. Neque enim exstare ullum suum factum pœnitendum, excepto duntaxat uno. Id quale fuerit, neque ipse tunc prodidit, neque cuiquam facile succurrat. Quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum, quam cum fratris uxore habuerit. Sed nullam habuisse perfancte Domitia jurabat; haud negatura, si qua omnino fuisset; immo etiam gloriantura, quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris.

11. Excessit in eadem, qua pater, villa, Idibus Septembris, post biennium ac menses duos diesque xx, quam successerat patri, altero & quadragesimo ætatis anno. Quod ut

combatants were presented to him, he handed them to the two gentlemen. It is said too, that upon hearing their nativitics, he assured them, That some great calamity would sometime befall them, but from another hand not his, as it accordingly happened. Tho' his brother was perpetually plotting against him, and almost barefacedly spiriting up the army to rebellion, and contriving to leave the court in order to put himself at the head of them, yet he could not endure to put him to death, or so much as banish him the court, or treat him with less respect than before. But from his first accession to the empire he constantly declared him his partner therein, and that he should

10. In the mean time he was taken off by an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind, than himself. In the close of the publick diversions he entertained the people with, he wept bitterly before them all, and then went away very melancholy for the country of the Sabines. At night he was taken with a fever, and being carried from thence in a sedan, they tell you, he put by the curtains, and looked up to heaven, complaining heavily, that his life was taken from him, tho' he had done nothing to deserve it: For there was no action of his he had occasion to repent of but one. What that was, he neither discovered himself, nor is it easy for any one to guess. Some fancy he reflected upon the unlawful familiarity he had formerly had with his brother's wife. But Domitia solemnly denied it with an oath, which she would never have done, had there been any thing of truth in it, nay she would certainly have boasted of it, as she was forward enough to do of all her scandalous pranks.

11. He dyed in the same villa his father had done before him, upon the ides of september, two year, two months and twenty days after he had succeeded his father, and in the one and fortieth year of his age. As soon as the news

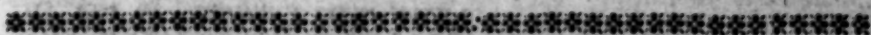
palam

palam factum est, non secus atque in domestico luctu morientibus publice cunctis, Senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur, ad Curiam cecurrit: obleratque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congefist, quantas ne vivo quidem unquam atque presententi.


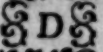
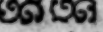
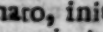
of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relation. The Senate before they could be summoned by proclamation, drew together, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening of them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises now he was dead, as they never had done for him, whilst he was alive and present amongst them.

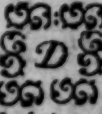
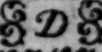
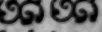
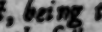


C. SUET. TRANQUILLI
FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS
XII.



CAPUT I.

I.  DOMITIANUS
 natus est 1x Kalend.
 end. Novembris,
 patre consule designato, inituroque mense insequenti honorem, regione urbis sexta, ad Malum Punicum, domo, quam postea in templum gentis Flavie convertit. Pubertatis ac primæ adolescentiæ tempora, tanta inopia, tantaque infamia gessisse fertur, ut nullum vas argenteum in usu haberet. Satisque constat Clodium Polionem prætorium virum, in quem est poema Neronis, quod inscribitur Luscio, chirographum ejus conservasse, & nonnunquam protulisse, noctem sibi pollicentis: nec defuerunt, qui affirmarent corruptum Domitianum & à Nerva successore mox suo. Bello Vitelliano confugit in

I.  DOMITIAN was born
 upon the ninth of the
 calends of november, when
 his father was consul elect, being to enter upon his office the month following, in the sixth ward of the city, at the Pome-granate, in the house which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is said to have spent the time of his youth in so much want and infamy, that he had no plate at all belonging him. And it's well known, that Clodius Pollio a prætorian gentleman, against whom there is a poem of Nero's extant, intitled Luscio, kept a note under his hand, which he sometimes produced, wherein he promised him a night's lodging. And some too pretended to say that he was catamite to Nerva who succeeded him. In Vitellius's war he fled into the capitol with his uncle Sabinus and a part of the troops they then had in town. But the enemy breaking in, and the temple being set
Capitolium

Capitolium, cum patre Sabino, ac parte presentium copiarum: sed irruentibus adversariis, & ardente templo, apud editum clam pernoctavit: ac mane Isiacelatus habitu interque sacrificulos vanæ superstitionis, cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipuli sui matrem comite uno confulisset, ita latuit, ut scrutantibus qui vestigia subsequuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit. Post victoriam demum progressus, & Caesar consalutatus, honorem præturæ urbanæ cum consulari potestate suscepit titulo tenus: quam jurisdictionem ad collegam proximum transtulit. Cæterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut jam tum qualis futurus esset, ostenderet. Ne exsequar singula, contrectatis multorum uxoribus, Domitiam Longinam Elia Lamia nuptam etiam in matrimonium abduxit: atque uno die super xx urbana officia, atque peregrina distribuit: mirari se Vespasiano dictitante, *quod successorem non & sibi mitteret.*

2. Expeditionem quoque in Galliam, Germaniasque, neque necessariam, & dissuadentibus paternis amicis inchoavit: tantum ut fratri se & operibus, & dignatione, adæquarer. Ob hæc correptus, quo magis iratis & conditionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una, fellamque ejus ac fratris, quoties prodirent, lætica sequebatur: ac triumphum utriusque Judæum, equo albo comitatus est. In sex Consulatus, non nisi unum ordinarium gessit: eumque cedente, & suffragante fratre. Simulavit & ipse mire modestiam: in primisque poeticæ studium, tam insuetum antea sibi,

on fire, he hid himself all night with the keeper of the temple, and next morning disguising himself in the habit of a worshipper of Isis, and mixing with the priests of that idle superstition, he got over the Tiber to the house of a gentlewoman mother to one who had formerly been his schoolfellow, with only one attendant, and lay so close there that tho' the enemy that pursued him close at the heels, searched the house very strictly, they could not find him. At last after the success of his party appearing in publick, and being unanimously saluted by the title of Caesar, he took upon him the office of city prætor with consular authority, but in effect had nothing but the name, for the jurisdiction of the place he transferred to his next colleague. However he administered upon the occasion in so licentious a manner, that he even then sufficiently discovered what sort of a prince he was like to prove. I shall only mention a few of his pranks, after he had made free with the wives of a great many gentlemen, he took Domitia Longina from her husband Elia Lamia, and married her, and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in town and the provinces together, upon which Vespasian said several times, he wondered he did not send him a successor too.

2. He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends, and this he did only to come up with his brother in military achievements and glory. But being severely reprimanded for it, that he might the more effectually be kept to a sense of his age and condition, he lived with his father, and followed his and his brother's chair, as oft as they went abroad in a litter. And attended them in their triumph for the reduction of Judæa mounted upon a white horse. Of his six consulships he had but one ordinary one, and that he got too by the cession and interest of his brother. He was a mighty pretender to modesty, and above all to poetry insomuch that he rehearsed his performances of that kind in publick, tho' it was a study which had formerly been as much disused

quam

quam postea spretum & abjectum: recitavitque etiam publice. Nec tamen eo secius, cum Vologesus Parthorum rex auxilia adversus Alanos, ducemque alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depoposcisset, omni ope contendit, ut ipse potissimum mitteretur. Et quia discussa res est, alios Orientis reges, ut idem postularent, donis ac pollicitationibus sollicitare tentavit. Patre defuncto, diu cunctatus, an duplum donativum militi donaret, nunquam jactare dubitavit, *relictum se participem Imp.rii, sed fraudem testamento adhibitam.* Neque cessavit ex eo insidias struere fratri clam palamque: quoad corruptum gravi valetudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deferi jussit: defunctumque nullo præterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, sæpe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus, & edictis.

in his speeches and proclamations

3. Inter inutia principatus quotidie secretum sibi horarium sumere solebat: nec quidquam amplius, quam muscas captare, ac stilo præacuto confingere, ut cuidam interroganti, *esset ne quis intus cum Cesare*, non absurde respondit *ut a Vibio Crispo, Ne musca quidem.* Deinde uxorem suam Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo Consulatu filium tulerat, alteroquo anno consulaverat ut Augustam, eandem Paridis histriionis amore deperditam, repudiavit: intraque breve tempus impatiens dissidii, quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit. Circa administrationem autem Imperii aliquandiu se varium præstitit: mistura quoque inæquabili vinorum atque virtutum, donec virtutes quoque in vitiis flexit: quantum con-

as it was afterwards despised and rejected by him. However when Vologesus king of the Parthians desired succours against the Alani, and one of Vespasians sons, to command them, he laboured hard to procure that commission for himself. But that occasion blowing over, he attempted to engage by presents and promises other kings of the east to make the like request. After the death of his father, he was for some time in doubt with himself, whether he should not offer the soldiery a donative double to that of his brother, and made no scruple to say frequently, That he had been left his partner in the empire, but that a trick had been plaid with his father's will. And from that time forward he was continually forming designs against him as well publicly as privately, till upon his falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendants to leave him under pretence of his being dead, before he really was so, and at his decease paid no other honour to his memory, besides that of enrolling him amongst the gods, notwithstanding which he would often both abuse him by sly ugly reflections.

3. In the beginning of his reign, he used to spend daily an hour by himself in private, during which time he was wholly taken up in the catching of flies, and sticking them through the body with a bodkin. And therefore when somebody inquired whether any one was with the emperor, it was wittily enough answered by Vibius Crispus not so much as a fly: Soon after his advancement his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son in his second consulship, and whom the year following he complemented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with the player Paris, he divorced her, but in a short time after, being unable to bear the separation, he took her again, under pretence of complying with the people's importunity in her favour. There was in his administration for some time an odd mixture of virtue and vice, till at last his virtues themselves degenerated into vices, being, as a body may reasonably conjecture, not
jectare

jectare licet, super ingeni
inaturam, inopia rapax,
metu sævus.

4. Spectacula magnifica
assidue, & sumptuosa edidit,
non in Amphitheatro modo,
verum & in Circo: ubi præ-
ter solennes bigarum qua-
drigarumque curius, prælium
duplex etiam equestre ac
pedestre commisit: atque
in Amphitheatro navale
quoque. Nam venationes
gladiatorumque, & noctibus
ad lychnuchos: nec virorum
modo pugnas, sed & femina-
rum. Præterea Quæstoriis
muneribus, quæ olim omissa
revocaverat, ita semper in-
terfuit, ut populo potestatem
fecerit, bina paria e suo ludo
postulandi, quæ novissima
aulico apparatu induceret. Ac
per omne gladiatorum spec-
taculum ante pedes ejus stabat
puerulus coccinatus, parvo
portentosoque capite, cum
quo plurimum fabulabatur,
nonnunquam serio. Audi-
tus est certe, dum ex eo
quærit, ecquid sciret, cur sibi
visum esset, ordinatione proxi-
ma Ægypto præficere Metium
Rufum. Edidit navales pug-
nas pæne iustarum classium,
effosso & circumstructo juxta
Tiberim lacu: atque inter
maximos imbres prospectavit.
Fecit & ludos sæculares:
computata ratione temporum
ab anno, non quo Claudius
proxime, sed quo olim Au-
gustus ediderat. In his Cir-
censium die, quo facilius
centum missus peragerentur,
singulos à septenis spatiis
ad quina corripuit. Instituit
& quinquennale certamen,
Capitolino Jovi triplex, mu-
sicum, equestre, gymnium,
& aliquanto plenum, quam
nunc est, coronatum. Cer-
tabant etiam & prosa orati-
one Græce, Latineque: ac

only naturally inclined to avarice and
cruelty, but yet more so to the former
vice through want, and to the latter
through fear.

4. He frequently entertained the
people with most magnificent and cost-
ly shews, not only in the Amphitheatre
but the Circus too, where besides the
usual races with chariots drawn by two
or four horses a breast, he exhibited the
representation of an engagement betwixt
both horse and foot, and a sea-fight
in the Amphitheatre. The chase of wild
beasts as also the combats of gladiators,
he entertained the people with, even in
the night time by the light of lamps.
Nor did men only fight upon these oc-
casion, but women too. He always at-
tended at the games given by the
Quæstors, which had been dropped for
some time, but were revived again by
himself; and upon those occasions, always
gave the people the liberty of demand-
ing two pair of gladiators out of his
own school, which came up last in the
court livery. And during his atten-
dance upon this diversion, there stood
at his feet a little boy in scarlet, with
a monstrous small head, with whom
he used to talk very much, and some-
times gravely too. It's certain he
was overheard asking him, If he
knew for what reason he had in the
late promotion of publick officers
made Metius Rufus governour of
Egypt. He presented the people with
naval fights perform'd by fleets al-
most as numerous as what are usually
employed in real engagements; mak-
ing a huge lake nigh the Tiber, and
building it round with seats for the
purpose. And he attended himself at
the diversion, during a very rainy
season. He likewise celebrated the se-
cular games, reckoning not from the
year wherein they had been exhibited
by Claudius, but from the time of
Augustus's celebration thereof. In
these upon the day of the Circensian
diversions, in order to have a hun-
dred races performed, he reduced each
from seven rounds to five. He like-
wise instituted in honour of Jupiter
Capitolinus a solemn contest to be per-
formed every five years in musick,
præte

præter citharædos chorocitharistas quoque, & psilocitharistas. In stadio vero cursu etiam virgines. Certamini præfedit crepidatus, purpureaque amictus toga Græcanica, capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Jovis, Junonis, Minervæque: assidentibus Diali sacerdote & collegio Flavialium pari habitu: nisi quod illorum coronis inerat & ipsius imago. Celebrabat & in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervæ, cui collegium instituerat: ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur, ederentque eximias venationes, & scenicos ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina. Conglarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit: atque inter spectacula muneris, largissimum epulum. Septimontiali sacro quidem senatui equitique patris, plebei sportellis cum opsonio distributis, initium vescendi primus fecit: dieque proximo omne genus rerum missilia sparsit: & quia pars major intra Popularia decidebat, quinquagenas tesseras in singulos cuneos equestris ac senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit.

great variety of things, and because the greater part of them fell into the seats of the populace, he ordered five hundred tickets to be thrown into each range of seats belonging to the senatorian and equestrian order.

5. Plurima & amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit: in quæ & Capitolium, quod rursus arserat: sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo, ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit ædem in Capitolio Custodi Jovi, & forum quod nunc *Nervæ* vocatur. Item Flavie templum gentis, & stadium, & odeum & naumachiam: e cujus postea lapide maximus Circus, densis utrimque lateribus constructus est.

horse-racing, and the exercises of the Gymnasium, with more prizes than are at present allowed. Nay, there was too a publick performance in eloquence both greek and latin, and besides the harpers that sing to that instrument, others that play'd in consort, or single without using their voice. Virgins likewise run races in the stadium, at which himself presided in his crepiae, dressed in scarlet after the Græcian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, with the priest of Jupiter and the whole company of those appointed for the Flavian family sitting by him in the like dress, excepting only that their crowns had his picture likewise upon them. He celebrated also upon the Alban mount every year the festival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of priests, out of which were chose by lot persons to preside as governors over the college, who were obliged upon his account to entertain the people with extraordinary chases of wild beasts, stage-plays, besides contests for prizes in oratory and poetry. He thrice bestowed a boon upon the people of three hundred sesterces a man. And at a publick diversion of gladiators, a very plentyfull feast. And at the septimontial festival, distributing large baskets of provisions to the senatorian and equestrian orders, he encouraged them to fall to by setting them an example. And the day after he made scramble of a

5. He likewise rebuilt a great many noble fabricks that had been destroyed by fire, and amongst them the Capitol, which had been burnt down a second time, but all in his own name, and without the least mention of the original founders. He likewise erected a new temple in the Capitol to Jupiter Custos, and a Forum, which is now called *Nervæ's* as also the temple of the Flavian family, a Stadium, an Odeum and Naumachia; out of the stone of which the sides of the great Circus being burnt down were rebuilt.

6. Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario. Sponte in Catos: necessario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato simul caesa. In Dacos duas, primam Oppio Sabino consulari oppresso, secundam Cornelio Sufco praefecto cohortium praetorianarum, cui belli summam commiserat. De Cattis Dacisque post varia praelia, duplicem triumphum egit. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit. Bellum civile motum à L. Antonio superioris Germaniae praefide confecit absens, felicitate mirra: cum ipsa dimicationis hora resolutus repente Rhenus, transcuras ad Antonium copias Barbarorum inhibuisset. De qua victoria prius praesagiis, quam nuntiis comperit. Siquidem ipso quo dimicatum erat die, statuam ejus Romae insignis aquila circumplexa pennis, clangores latissimos edidit: pauloque post occisum Antonium adeo vulgatum est, ut caput quoque ejus apportatum vidisse se plerique contenderent.

Shortly after a rumour grew common, that Anthony was slain, nay many positively affirmed they saw his head brought to town.

7. Mulca etiam in communi rerum usu novavit. Sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata coenarum rectorum consuetudine. Duas Circensibus gregum factiones aurati purpureique panni ad quatuor pristinas addidit. Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concessio. Castrari mares vetuit. Spadonum, qui residui apud mangones erant, pretia moderatus est. Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret: urque in pro-

6. He undertook some expeditions partly out of choice, and partly necessity. That against the Catti, was voluntary, but that against the Sarmatians he was forced too, an entire legion together, with a lieutenant-general having been cut off by that people. He had two expeditions against the Dacians, the first upon the overthrow of Oppius Sabinus a consular gentleman by them; and the second upon that of Cornelius Fuscus commander of the praetorian battalions, to whom he had committed the management of that war. After several battles with the Catti and Daci, he had for his success against them two triumphs. But he only made an offering of a laurel crown to Jupiter Capitolinus for his performances against the Sarmatians. The civil war begun by L. Antonius governor of upper Germany he quelled without being obliged to be personally present at it, with wondrous good fortune: for at the time of the engagement, the Rhine suddenly breaking its banks, put a stop to the troops of the Barbarians that were ready to go over to Anthony. Which victory he had notice of by some presages before the express came with advice of it: for upon the very day the battle was fought, a large eagle grasping his statue at Rome with its wings, made a most joyful noise over it. And

7. He made a great many innovations in the publick usages of his country. He took away the Sportula, and revived the old practice of formal suppers. He added to the four former parties in the Circensian games two new ones in gold and scarlet colour. He forbid the players acting in the theater, but allowed them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbid the gelding of males. And reduced the prices of eunuchs that were left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. Upon the occasion of great plenty of wine, but a scarcity of corn, supposing the tillage of the ground was neglected, by reason of a too great application to the cultivating of vineyards, he published a proclamation forbidding the planting of any new vines

vinctis

vinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta, ubi plurimum, dimidia parte: nec exequi rem perseveravit. Quædam ex maximis officiis inter libertinos militesque Romanos communicavit. Geminari legionum castra prohibuit: nec plus, quam mille nummos à quoquam ad signa deponi; quod L. Antonius apud duarum legionum hiberna, res novas moliens, fiduciam cepisse etiam ex depositorum summa videbatur. Addidit, & quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos.

8. Jus diligenter & industrie dixit. Plerumque & in foro pro Tribunali extra ordinem ambitiosas Centumvirorum sententias rescidit. Recuperatores, ne se semper perfu foris assertionibus accommodarent, identidem admonuit. Nummarios iudices cum suo quemque consilio notavit. Auctor & Tribunis pleb. fuit, ædilem sordidum repetundarum accusandi, iudicesque in eum à Senatu petendi. Magistratibus quoque urbicis, provinciarumque Præsidibus coercendis, tantum curæ adhibuit, ut neque modestiores umquam, neque justiores exstiterint: è quibus plerisque post illum reos omnium criminum vidimus. Suscepta morum correctione, licentiam theatrali promiscue in equite spectandi inhibuit. Scripta famosa, vulgoque edita, quibus primores viri ac feminae notabantur, abolevit, non sine auctorum ignominia. Quæstorium virum, quod gesticulandi saltandique studio teneretur, movit Senatu. Probris feminis lecticæ nolum ademit: jusque capendi legata hæreditatesque. Equitum Romanum ob redactam

in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, excepting at most but one half of them any where. But he did not go on with the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices about court he conferred upon his freed-men and soldiers. He forbid two legions any where to encamp together, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier at the standards; because it was thought L. Antonius had been encouraged in his late rebellious design, by the great sum deposited in the military chest, by the two legions he had together in the same winter-quarters. He made an addition to the soldier's pay of three gold pieces a year.

8. He was in the administration of justice very diligent and industrious: and very often sat in the Forum out of course to cancel the judgements of the centumviral court, that had been procured by favour and interest. He now and then warned the judges called recoverers, to have a care of being too easy in favour of claims for liberty brought before them. He set a mark of infamy upon judges that took bribes together with their assessors. He likewise put the tribunes of the commons upon prosecuting a corrupt ædile for extortion, and desiring from the senate judges for his tryal. He likewise took such effectual care for punishing the city magistrates, and governours of provinces guilty of any male-administration, that they were never at any other time more modest or more just: most of which since his reign we have seen prosecuted for all manner of crimes. Having taken upon him the reformation of the publick manners, he restrained the licence of the populace in sitting promiscuously with the knights in the theater. Scandalous libels published to defame persons of quality, either gentlemen or ladies he suppress'd, not without a mark of infamy upon the authors. He turn'd a Quæstorian gentleman out of the senate, for the practice of mimicry and dancing. He debarred infamous women the use of the sedan: as also the right of receiving legacies or inheriting e.

in matrimonium uxorem, cui dimissæ adulterii crimen intenderat, erasit iudicium albo. Quosdam ex utroque ordine lege Scatinia condemnavit. Incesta Vestalium virginum, a patre quoque suo & fratre neglecta, varie ac severe coercuit: priora capitali supplicio, posteriora more veteri. Nam cum Ocellatis sororibus, item Varonillæ liberum mortis permisisset arbitrium, corruptoresque earum relegasset: mox Corneliam virginem maximam, absolutam olim, dehinc longo intervallo reperitam atque convictam, defodi imperavit: stupratoresque virginis in comitio ad necem cædi, excepto prætorio viro: cui dubia etiam tum causâ, & incertis quæstionibus atque tormentis, de semet professo, exilium indulxit. Ac ne qua religio Deum impune contaminaretur, monumentum, quod libertus ejus e lapidibus templo Capirolini Jovis destinatis filio construxerat, diruit per milites: ossaque & reliquias quæ inerant, mari merfit.

9. Inter initia ulque adeo ab omni cæde abhorrebat, ut absente adhuc patre, recordatus Virgilii versum,

Impia quam casis gens est epulata juvencis :

E'er impious men did feast on bullocks slain,

edicere destinaverit, ne boves immolarentur. Cupidinis quoque atque avaritiæ vix suspicionem ullam, aut privatus umquam, aut Princeps aliquandiu dedit, imo è diverso magna læpe non abstinentiæ modo, sed etiam liberalitatis experimenta. Omnes circa se largissime persecutus

states. He struck out of the judges list a Roman knight for taking his wife again, whom he had divorced, and prosecuted for adultery. He condemned several gentlemen of the senatorian and equestrian orders upon the Scatonian law. The lewdness of the vestal virgins, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished differently and severely; viz. offences committed before his reign with death, and those in it according to ancient custom. For to the sister called Ocellata he gave liberty to choose the manner of dying they liked best and banished their paramours. But Cornelis, the eldest of the vestal ladies, who had formerly been acquitted upon an accusation of lewdness, being a long time after again prosecuted and condemned, he ordered to be buried alive; and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the Comitium, excepting only a prætorian gentleman, to whom, because he confessed the fact, whilst his cause was dubious, and the truth of the case left uncertain, notwithstanding the torture of the evidence, he granted the favour of banishment. And to preserve the religious respect due to the Gods pure and unassail'd, he ordered the soldiers to demolish a monument, which a freed-man of his had erected for his son, out of the stones designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and sunk the bones and relicks buried under it in the sea.

9. Upon the first advancement of the family, he had so much abhorrence for the shedding of blood, that before his father's arrival in Rome, calling to mind this verse of Virgil,

he design'd to have published a proclamation to forbid the sacrifice of oxen. And before his advancement to the empire, and some time after, he scarce gave the least occasion to suspect him of covetousness or avarice; nay, on the contrary, he frequently gave considerable specimens not only of his justice, but his generosity &c. He was profusely liberal to all about him, and above all things strictly

nihil

nihil prius aut acrius monuit, quam ne quid sordide facerent. Relictas sibi hereditares ab iis, quibus liberi erant, non recepit. Legatum etiam ex testamento Rufi Caplonis, qui caverat, ut quotannis ingredientibus curiam senatoribus, certam summam virritum præsentes heredes suos, iuratum fecit. Reos qui ante quinquennium proximum apud ararium pendissent, universos discrimine liberavit: nec repeti, nisi intra annum, eaque conditione permisit, ut accusatori, qui causam non teneret, exilium poena esset. Scribas Quæstorios negotiantes ex consuetudine, sed contra Glodiam legem, venia in præteritum donavit. Subseciva, quæ divisæ per veteranos agris carptim superfuerunt, veteribus possessoribus, ut usucapta concessit. Fiscales calumnias magna calumnianrium poena repressit: ferebaturque vox ejus, *Princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.*

10. Sed neque in clementiæ neque in abstinentiæ tenore permansit: & tamen aliquanto celerius ad severitatem descendit, quam ad cupiditatem. Discipulum Paris pantomimi puberem adhuc, & cum maxime ægrum, quod arte formæque non absummis magistro videbatur, occidit. Item Hermogenem Tarsensem, propter quasdam in historia figuras, librariis etiam qui eam descripserant crucifixis. Patrem familias quod Threcent mirmilioni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e speculaculis in arenam, canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo: **IMPIE LOCUTUS PARMULARIUS.** Complures Senatores, in his aliquot consulares, interemit: ex quibus Civicam Cerealem in ipso Asiæ Proconsulatu, Salvidie-

charged them against all sordid behaviour. He would not accept of the estates left him by such as had children. He likewise set aside a legacy left by the will of Rufus Caplo, who had ordered his heir to make a present yearly to every senator upon their first assembling. He discharged all those who had been under a prosecution from the treasury for above five years before, and would not suffer the suits to be renewed against them, unless it was done within a year after, and upon condition too, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries attending the Quæstors trading according to custom, but contrary to the Glodian law, he pardoned for their past behaviour. Such portions of land as were here and there left upon any partition made amongst the veteran soldiers, he granted to the ancient possessors as theirs by prescription. He put a stop to false prosecutions in the exchequer, by severely punishing the prosecutors; and this saying of his was much taken notice of, That a prince who does not punish such as make a practice of informing, encourages them.

10. But he continued not long in this course of Clemency and Justice, yet he sooner fell away to the practice of cruelty, than avarice. He put to death a disciple of Paris the Pantomimick, tho' a minor, and then sick, only because in the practice of his art and person both he resembled his master: as he did likewise Hermogenes of Tarsus for some sly reflections in his history, crucifying moreover the scribes that had writ it out. One that was master of a family happening to say, That a Thracian was a match for a Mirmillo, but not so for the exhibiter of the games, he had him dragged out of his seat into the theater, and exposed to the dogs with this label upon him, A Parmularian guilty of talking impiously. He put to death a great many senators, and amongst them several consular gentlemen, of which Cricca Cerealis when he was proconsul of Africa, Salvidienus Orfitus, and Acilius Glabrio in exile, under pretence of their designing an insur-

num Orfitum, Acilium Gla-
brionem exilio, quasi molito-
res novarum rerum. Ceteros
levissima quemque de causa:
Ælium Lamiam, ob suspicio-
fos quidem, verum & veteres
& innoxios jocos: quod post
abductam uxorem laudanti vo-
cem suam, *Hæu taceo*, dixerat:
quodque Tito hortanti se ad
alterum matrimonium respon-
derat, *μὴ γὰρ οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν*
ΔΙΑΝΕ. Salvium Coccejanum,
quod Othonis Imperatoris pa-
trui sui diem natalem celebra-
verat: Merium Pomposia-
num, quod habere Imperato-
riam genefim vulgo ferebatur:
& quod depictum orbem ter-
ræ in membrana, conciones-
que regum ac ducum ex Tito
Livio circumferret: quodque
servis nomina Magonis &
Annibalidis indidisset. Sallus-
tium Lucullum Britannicæ le-
gatum, quod lanceas novæ
formæ appellari *Luculleas* pas-
sus esset. Junium Rusticum,
quod Paris Thraseæ & Helvidii
Prisci laudes edidisset, appel-
lassetque eos *sanctissimos viros*,
cujus criminis occasione, phi-
losophos omnes urbe Italiaque
submovit. Occidit & Hel-
vidium filium, quod quasi
scenico exodio sub persona
Paridis & Oenones divortium
suum cum uxore taxasset.
Flavium Sabinum alterum e
patruelibus, quod eum comi-
tionum consularium die desti-
natum, perperam præco non
Consulem ad populum, sed Im-
peratorem, pronuntiasset. Ve-
rum aliquanto post civilis
belli victoriam sævior, pleris-
que partis adversæ, dum e-
tiam latentes conscios investi-
gat, novo questionis genere
distorsit: immisso per obscæna
igne, nonnullis & manus am-
putavit. Satisque constat duos solos e notioribus venia donatos, tri-
bunum laticlavium & centurionem: qui se, quo facilius expertes
culpæ ostenderent, impudicos probaverant, & ob id neque apud du-
cem, nec apud milites, ullius momenti esse potuisse.

rection against him. The rest he punish-
ed upon very trivial occasions; as *Ælius*
Lamias for some fly jests, but of old
date, and very harmless, because upon his
commending his voice after he had ta-
ken his wife from him, he reply'd, *Alas*
I hold my tongue. And when *Titus*
advised him to take another wife, he
answered him thus, *What, have you a*
mind to marry too? *Salvius Cocceia-*
nus for keeping the birth-day of his un-
kle *Otho* the emperor. *Merius Pompo-*
sianus, because he was commonly reported
to have an imperial nativity, and to
carry about with him a map of the
world on parchment, and the speeches of
kings and generals extracted out of
T. Livius, and for giving his slaves the
names of *Mago* and *Annibal*. *Sallus-*
tius Lucullus lieutenant of Britain for
suffering some lances of a new inven-
tion to be called *Lucellæan*. *Junius Ru-*
sticus for publishing a treatise in praise
of *Petius Thraseas* and *Helvidius Priscus*,
and calling them, most upright men.
Upon which occasion he banished all the
philosophers from the City and Italy too.
He likewise put to death *Helvidius* the
son, for reflecting in a farce prepared
by him for the stage under the person of
Paris and *Oenone*, upon his divorcing
his wife: and also *Flavius Sabinus* one
of his cousins, because the publick cryer
upon his being chosen at the consular
election into that office, had by a blun-
der declared him to the people not consul
but emperor. But growing still more
savage, after his success in the civil
war, he used his utmost industry to
discover those of the adverse party that
absconded, and racked abundance of
them with a new invented torture, by
putting fire up their privy parts, and
cut off the hands of some. And it's
certain only two of any note were par-
doned, a laticlavian tribune, and a
centurion, who to clear themselves from
the charge of being concerned in that
affair, proved themselves to have been
guilty of prostitution, and therefore such
as could have no sway at all with ei-
ther general or soldiers.

11. Erat autem non solum magnæ sed & callidæ inopinatæque sævitie. Auctorem summarum pridie quam crucifigeret, in cubiculum vocavit: affidere in roto juxta coegit, securum hilaremque dimisit, partibus etiam de cœna dignatus est. Arretinum Clementem consulare virum & familiaribus & emissariis suis, capitis condemnaturus, in eadem, vel etiam in majore gratia habuit, quoad novissime simul gestanti, conspecto delatore ejus, *Vit, inquit, hunc nequissimum servum cras audiamus?* Et quo contemptius abuteretur patientia hominum, nunquam tristiores sententiam, sine præfatione clementie, pronuntiavit: ut non aliud jam certius atrocis exitus signum esset, quam principii lenitas. Quosdam majestatis reos in Curiam induxerat: & cum prædixisset experturum se illa die, quam carus senatui esset, facile perfererat, ut etiam more majorum puniendi condemnarentur: deinde atrocitate poenæ conterritus, ad leniendam invidiam intercessit, his verbis, neque enim ab re fuerit ipsa cognoscere, *Permittite Patres Conscripti a pietate vestra impetrari, quod scio me difficulter impetraturum, ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgeatis. Nam & parcetis oculis vestris, & intelliget me omnes Senatus interfuisse*

spare your own eyes, and the world will understand that I was present in the house at their condemnation.

12: Exhaustus operum ac munerum impenlis, stipendioque quod adjecerat, tentavit quidem, ad relevandos castrenses sumptus, militum numerum diminueret. Sed cum obnoxium se Barbaris per hoc animadverteret; neque eo secius in explicandis oneribus hæreret:

11. His cruelty was not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucify'd a collector of his rents, he sent for him into his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away very secure and well pleas'd, having vouchsafed him the favour of a plate of meat from his table. When he was upon the point of condemning to death Arretinus Clemens a consular gentleman, and one of his friends and spies, he kept him about him in the same or greater favour than ever, till at last upon seeing the person that had informed against him, as he was riding in the same chair with him, Shall we hear, says he, this wicked slave to morrow? And to abuse the patience of men in a way that discovered his contempt of them, he never pronounced sentence of death without a preface to it that gave hopes of mercy, so that at last there was no surer sign of a dismal conclusion, than a gentle beginning. He brought some accused of treason before the senate, and declaring, That he would try that day how dear he was to the senate, he so influenced the house, that they quickly condemned them to be punished according to antient usage. And then, as if alarmed at the dismal severity of the punishment, to qualify the odiousness of the proceeding, he interposed in these words, for it won't be amiss to give them the reader precisely as he delivered them, Permit me, fathers of the senate, so far to prevail upon your affection for me, which I am sensible will be difficult enough, as to grant the condemned criminals the favour of dying in the manner they like best: For thus you will

12. Being exhausted by the expence of his buildings and publick diversions for the entertainment of the people, together with the addition made to the pay of the soldiery, he made an attempt to reduce the number of his troops: in order to make that charge more easy. But considering that he should be thereby more exposed to the insults of the Barbarians, and yet not sufficiently enabled to ex-

nihil

nihil pensi habuit, quin prædaretur omni modo. Bona vivorum & mortuorum usquequaque, quolibet & accusatore & crimine, corripiebantur. Satis erat objici qualecumque factum dictumque, adversum majestatem Principis. Confiscabantur alienissimæ hæreditates: vel existente uno qui diceret, audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi *Cæsarem esse*. Præter cæteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est: ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaicam intra urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulata origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum à procuratore, frequentissimoque consilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. Ab juvena minime civilis animi, confidens etiam, & cum verbis, tum rebus immodicus. Cænidî patris concubinæ ex Istria reversæ, osculumque ut, assueverat, offerenti, manum præbuit. Generum fratris indigne ferens albatos & ipsum ministros habere, proclamavit: *Οἱ καὶ ἀδελφὸν πολυνοσηρὰ*.

vin.

waiters dressed in white, he cried out, Let us have no more Princes than one.

13. Principatum vero adeptus, neque in senatu jactare dubitavit, & patri se & fratri imperium dedisse: illos sibi reddidisse. Neque in reducenda post divortium uxore edicere, vocatam eam in pulvinar suum. Acclamai etiam in Amphitheatro epulari die libenter audivit, *Domino & Domine feliciter*. Sed & Capitolino certamine cunctos ingenti consensu precantes, ut Palfurium Suram restitueret, pulsum olim Senatu, ac tunc deoratoribus coronatum: nullo responso dignatus, tacere tan-

tricate himself out of the difficulties he was in for want of money, he fell to plunder his subjects in all the ways he could think of, without fear or wit. The estates of the living and the dead were seized upon any accusation brought against them by any body whatever. It was enough to alledge any thing as as said or done by them against the majesty of the emperor. Estates belonging to such as were no ways allied to him, were brought into the exchequer, if there was but any one to say, he had heard from the deceased when he was living, That he had made the emperor his heir. Above all others the Jews were miserably mawled by the confiscation of their estates, that is, such who declining to give in their names as Jews to the exchequer, yet lived after the manner of Jews, or who concealing their original did not pay the tribute laid upon that nation. I remember, when I was a young man, I was by when an old fellow of ninety was turned up to view by a procurator in a full court, to see whether he was circumcised. He was from his youth of an assuming bold temper, and extravagant both in words and actions. When Cænis his father's concubine upon her return from Istria, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her with his hand. Taking it much amiss that his brother's son-in-law should be attended at table by

13. *After he came to be emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the senate, that he had given the Empire to his father and brother, which they had returned him. And upon taking his wife home again after the divorce, he declared by proclamation that he had recalled her to his pulvinar. He was not a little pleased too to hear the people cry out in the amphitheatre upon a feast day, All happiness to our Lord and Lady. At the celebration of the capitoline solemnity too, tho' all the whole body of the people with one consent begged of him to restore Palfurius Sura, who had long before been turned out of the senate, but then*
tummodo

tummodo jussit, voce præconis. Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem distaret epistolam, sic cœpit, *Dominus, & Deus noster sic fieri jubet.* Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter. Statuas sibi in Capitollo non nisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit, ac ponderis cert. Janos arcusque cum quadrigis & insignibus, triumphorum per regiones urbis, tantos ac tot extruxit, ut cuidam Græce inscriptum arcui sit, *ἀπὸ τοῦ* Consulatus xvii cepit, quod ante eum nemo. Ex quibus septem mēdios continuavit: omnes autem pæne titulo tenus gessit: nec quemquam ultra Kalendaras Maij: plures ad Idus usque Januarias. Post autem duos triumphos, Germanici cognomine assumpto. Septembrem mensem & Octobrem ex appellationibus suis, Germanicum, Domitianumque transnominavit: quod altero suscepisset Imperium, altero natus est.

14. Per hæc terribilis cunctis & invisus, tandem oppressus est amicorum libertorumque intimorum conspiratione, simul & uxoris. Annum diemque ultimum vitæ jampridem suspectum habebat, horam etiam, nec non & genus mortis. Adolescentulo Chaldæi cuncta prædixerant. Pater quoque super cœnam quondam fungis abstinenter palam iriserat, ut ignaram fortis suæ, quod non ferrum potius timeret. Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis etiam suspicionibus præter modum commovebatur: ut edicti de excidendis vineis propositi, gratiam facere non alia magis se compulsus credatur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant,

carried away the prize of eloquence from all the orators that put in, he did not so much as vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded them by the voice of the crier to be silent. With the like arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus, *Our Lord and God commands so and so,* from which it became a custom to stile him constantly in the same manner, both in writing and conversation. He suffered no statues to be erected for him in the capitol, but of gold and silver, and of a certain weight. He built such large ports and arches, and so many of them, with chariots and four, and other triumphal ornaments upon them, that one of them had inscribed upon it enough. He bore the office of consul seventeen times, which no body had ever done before him, and for the seven middle turns successively, but in them all almost he had little more than the title; for he never continued in office beyond the calends of May, and for the most part only to the ides of January. After his two triumphs assuming the name of Germanicus, he called the month of September and October from himself Germanicus and Domitian, because he began his reign in one, and was born in the other.

14. Becoming by these means terrible and odious to every body, he was at last taken off by a conspiracy of his friends and favourites freed-men together with his wife. He had for a long time before a suspicion of the year and day he was to dye, nay of the very hour, and manner of his death, all which he had learnt from the Chaldeans, when he was a very young man. His father too once at supper laugh'd at him for refusing to eat some mushrooms before him, as ignorant of his fate in not rather fearing the sword. Wherefore being in a perpetual fright and anxiety, he was exceedingly alarmed with every little suspicion, insomuch that he is thought to have dropped the proclamation he design'd for cutting up the vines for no other reason so much as that of the publication of the following distich,

A a a

Eadem

Κῆρ μὲ πᾶν ἐν πίζῳ, ὅμως ἐν καὶροῖς
 Ὁσὺ ἐκαστὸς Καίσαρ Δυσπῶ.

Gnaw thou my root, yet shall my juice suffice
 To pour on Cæsar's head in sacrifice.

Eadem formidine oblatum à Senatu novum et excogitatum honorem, quamquam omnium talium appetentissimus, recusavit: quo decretum erat, ut quoties gereret Consulatum, equites Romani quibus fors obtingisset, trabeati, & cum hastis militaribus, prederent eum, inter lictores apparitoresque. Tempore vero suspecti periculi appropinquante, sollicitior in dies, porticum, in quibus spatari consueverat, parietes phengite lapide distinxit: e cujus splendore per imagines quidquid à tergo fieret, provideret. Et nec nisi secreto atque solus pleraque custodias, receptis quidem in manum catenis, audiebat. Uque domesticis persuaderet, ne bono quidem exemplo, audendam esse patroni necem, Epaphroditum à libellis, capitali pœna condemnavit: quod post destitutionem, Nero in adipiscenda morte, manu ejus adjutus existimabatur.

15. Denique Flavianum Clementem patrelem suum contemptissimæ inertie, cujus filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat: & abolito priore nomine, alterum Vespasianum appellari jusserat, alterum Domitianum: repente ex tenuissima suspitione tantum non in ipso ejus Consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium, Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta, nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit, Feriat jam quem volet. Factum de cælo Capitolium

It was from the same principle of fear he refused a new honour never thought of before, that was offered him by the senate, tho' he was very fond of all such, which was, That as oft as he held the consulship, Roman knights chosen by lot should walk before him amongst his officers and serjeants, dressed in the Trabeæ with lances in their hands. As the time of the danger he apprehended approached, he grew daily more and more disturbed in mind; insomuch that he lined up and down the walls of the portico he used to walk in with the stone called Phengites, by the reflection whereof he could see what was a doing behind him. And he seldom gave any prisoners a hearing but in private and alone, holding their chains in his hand. And to convince his domesticks that the life of a patron was not to be attempted upon the most plausible pretence whatever, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his master of requests, because it was believed, that Nero in his forlorn condition had been assisted by his hand to kill himself.

15. Finally Flavius Clemens his cousin german, a person for his aversion to publick business perfectly despicable, whose sons then but very little he had professedly design'd for his successors, and taking from them their former names, had ordered one to be called Vespasian and the other Domitian, he suddenly put to death upon some very slight suspicion, almost before the father was well out of his consulship. By which action he very much hastened his own destruction. There was for eight months together so much lightning at Rome, and accounts of the like from other parts, that he cryed out at last, Let him now strike whom he will. templumque

templumque Flaviæ gentis : item domus Palatina, & cubiculum ipsius : atque etiam é basi statuae triumphalis titulus excussus, vi procellæ in monumentum proximum decidit. Arbor, quæ privato adhuc Vespasiano everfa surrexerat, tunc rursus repente corruit. Prænestina Fortuna, toto Imperii spatio annum novum commendant, lætam eandemque semper sortem dare assueta, extremo tristissimam reddidit, nec sine sanguinis mentione. Minervam, quam superstitiosè colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario, negantem ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset à Jove. Nulla tamen re perinde commotus est, quam responso, casuque Ascletrionis mathematici. Hunc delatum, nec infirmitatem jactasse se, quæ providisset ex arte, sciscitatus est, quis ipsum maneret exitus : & affirmantem fore ut brevi laceraretur à canibus, interfici quidem sine mora, sed ad coarguendam temeritatem artis, sepeliri quoque accuratissime imperavit. Quod cum fieret, evenit, ut repentina tempestate dejecto funere semiustum cadaver discernerent canes : idque ei cœnanti à mîmo Latino, qui præteriens forte animadverterat, inter cæteras diei fabulas referretur.

pass that way, he told the same amongst other passages of the day to the emperor at supper.

16. Pridie quam periret, cum oblatos tuberos servari jussisset in crastinum ; adjecit, *Si modo uti licuerit.* Et conversus ad proximos, affirmavit fore ut sequenti die, Luna se in Aquario cruentaret : factumque aliquod existeret, de quo loquerentur homines per terrarum orbem. Ac circa me-

The capitol was damaged by lightening, as also the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine house and his own bed-chamber. The title too upon the base of a triumphal statue of his was taken off by a storm, and fell upon a neighbouring monument. The tree too, that before the advancement of Vespasian had been overthrown and rose again, then all on a sudden fell quite down once more. The Goddess's Fortune at Præneste, that upon his imploring on the first of January her favour for the ensuing year, had been ever used to give him a very favourable answer, and always the same, at last return'd him a very dismal one not, without mention of blood. He dreamt that Minerva, whom he worshipped even to superstition, was withdrawing from her chapel, declaring she could protect him no longer, because she was disarmed by Jupiter. Yet nothing shock'd him more than an answer given him by Ascletrion the astrologer, and a disaster upon it. He had been informed against, and did not deny he had talked of some future events, which from his art he had a foresight of, whereupon he asked him what end he thought he should come to himself? to which he replying, that he should in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs, he ordered him immediately to be slain, and to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried ; but during the execution of this order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and his body half burnt was torn to pieces by dogs, which being taken notice of by the mimick Latinus, as he chanced to

16. The day before his death, he ordered some mushrooms served up at table to be kept till the next day, adding, *If I may be permitted to use them.* And turning to those that were next him, he said, That the next day the moon would be all bloody in Aquarius, and that an action would happen, which men would talk of all the world over. About mid-night

diam noctem ita est exterritus, ut ex strato profiliret. Dehinc mane haruspiciem ex Germania missum, qui consulens de fulgure mutationem rerum prædixerat, audiit condemnari. Ac dum exulceratam in fronte verrucam vehementius scalpit, profluente sanguine, *Utinam*, inquit, *hactenus*. Tunc horas requirenti, pro quinta, quam metuebat, sexta ex industria numerata est. His, velut transacto jam periculo lætum, festinantemque ad corporis curam, Parthenius cubiculo præpositus convertit: nuntians esse, qui magnum nescio quid afferret, nec differendum. Itaque summo moris omnibus, in cubiculum se recepit, atque ibi occisus est.

17. De insidiarum cædisque genere, hæc fere divulgata iunt. Cunctantibus conspiratis, quando & quomodo, id est, lavantemne, an cenantem aggredierentur, Stephanus Domitillæ procurator, & tunc interceptarum pecuniarum reus, consilium operamque obtulit. Ac sinistro brachio velut ægro, lanis fasciisque per aliquot dies ad avertendam suspicionem obvoluto, ad ipsam horam, dolum interjecit: professusque conspirationis indicium, & ob hoc admissus, legenti traditum à se libellum & attonito, suffodit inguina. Saucium ac repugnantem adorti Clodius cornicularius, & Maximus Parthenii libertus, & Saturnus decurio cubiculariorum, & quidam à gladiatorio ludo, vulneribus septem contrucidaverunt. Puer, qui curæ Larium cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit cædi, hoc amplius narrabat, se jussu à

he was so terrified that he jumped out of bed. The morning after he heard the cause of a sooth-sayer sent from Germany, who being consulted about the great lightening that had happened, pretended to predict from thence a change in the government, and passed sentence of death upon him. And the blood running down his face upon his scratching an ulcerous lump on his forehead, he said, Would this was all that was to befall me. Then upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five a clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they told him purposely it was six. Being rejoiced at these two circumstances, as if all danger was now over, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius who had the charge of his bed-chamber prevented him, by telling him that there was one come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, that would admit of no delay. Upon that ordering all people to withdraw, he retired into his bed-chamber, and was there slain.

17. As to the contrivance of his death and the execution of it, the common account is this. The conspirators being in some doubt when and how they should attack him, whether while he was at bath, or at supper, Stephanus a steward of Domitilla's, then under a prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance; and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and swatches for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the very hour appointed for the execution of the plot, he made use of this further stratagem. He pretended to make a discovery of a plot, and being for that reason admitted, he presented him a writing, which whilst he was reading with the appearance of one astonished, he stabbed him in the groin. But he making resistance after this wound, Clodius a cornicularian, Maximus a freed-man of Parthenius's, Saturnus a superintendent of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, with some gladiators, fell on him, and stabbed him in seven places. A boy that had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, then in attendance as usual, when the thing

Domitiano

Domitiano ad primum statim vulnus pugionem pulvino subditum porrigere, ac ministros vocare: neque ad caput quidquam excepto capulo, & præterea omnia clausa, reperisse: atque illum interim, correpto deductoque ad terram Stephano, collectatum diu, modo ferrum extorquere, modo quamquam lanaris digitis, oculos effodere conatum. Occisus est XIII. Kalend. Octobris, anno ætatis XLV. Imperii XV. Cadaver ejus populari sandapila per vespisiones exportatum. Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina via funeravit: sed reliquias templo Flavia gentis clam intulit, cineribusque Juliz Titi filiaz, quam & ipsam educaverat, commiscuit.

nian family, and mixed with whom she had likewise nursed.

18. Statura fuit procera, vultu modesto ruborisque pleno, grandibus oculis, verum acie hebetiore: præterea pulcher ac decens, maxime in juvenia, & quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus, quorum digitos restrictiores habebat: postea calvitio quoque deformis & obesitate ventris, & crurum gracilitate: quæ tamen ei valetudine longa remacruerant. Commendari se verecundia oris adeo sentiebat, ut apud Senatum sic quondam jactaverit, *Uſque adhuc certe animum meum probasti, & vulgum.* Calvitio ita offendebar, ut in contumeliam suam traheret, si cui alii joco, vel jurgio obiectaretur: quamvis libello quem *De cura capillorum* ad amicum edidit, hoc etiam illum simul seque consolans inseruerit.

was done, gave this further account, that he was order'd by Domitian upon his first wound to reach him a dagger that lay under his bolster, and call in his servants, but that he found nothing at the head's head but the hilt of a ponyard, and that all the doors were secured, that the emperor in the mean time got hold of Stephannus, and throwing him on the ground struggled a long time with him, one while endeavouring to wrench his sword from him, another while, tho' his fingers were miserably mangled, to pull his eyes out. He was slain upon the fourteenth of the calends of October, in the forty fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corps was carried out upon a common bier by the publick bearers, and buried by his nurse Phyllis in an estate of his by the latin way, not far from Rome but his relics she afterwards privately convey'd into the temple of the Flavian the ashes of Julia Titus's daughter,

18. He was of a tall stature, a modest countenance, and very ruddy, had large eyes, but dim-sighted: besides he was a comely graceful person, especially in his youth, and compleatly such, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward. He was at last disfigured by baldness, a fat belly, and the slenderness of his legs, which were reduced by a long illness. He was so sensible how much the modesty of his countenance recommended him, that he once made this boast to the senate, Thus far you have approved of my disposition and countenance too. He was so much concerned at his baldness, that he took it as an affront upon himself, if any one else was upbraided with it, either in jest or earnest; he in a small piece he published, addressed to a friend concerning the preservation of the hair, he has for their common consolation the words following.

ὃχ ὁραὶς οἷος καὶ γὰρ καλός τε μέγας τε !

See you not me a comely stately man !

eadem

Eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata. Et foris animo ferro comam in adolescentia senescentem. Scias nec gratius quidquam decore, nec brevius.

19. Laboris impatiens, per urbem pedibus non temere ambulavit: in expeditione, & agmine equo rarius, lectica assidue vectus est. Armorum nullo sagittarum vel præcipuo studio tenebatur. Centenas varii generis feras sæpe in Albano secessu conficientem spectare plerique, atque etiam ex industria ita quarundam capita figentem, ut duobus ictibus quasi cornua effingeret. Nonnunquam in pueri procul stantis, præbentisque pro scopulo dispersam dextræ manus palmam, sagittas tanta arte direxit, ut omnes per intervalla digitorum innocue evaderent.

20. Liberalia studia in initio Imperii neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime rapare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandriam, qui describerent, emendarentque. Nunquam tamen aut historiæ carminibusve cognoscendis operam ullam, aut stilo vel necessario dedit. Præter commentarios & acta Tiberii Cæsaris nihil læstibat. Epistolas orationesque & edicta alieno formabat ingenio, sermonis tamen nec inelegantis. Dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, *Vellum*, inquit, *tam formosus esse, quam Metius sibi videtur.* Et cuiusdam caput varietate capilli subrutilum & incanum, *perfusam nivem mulso* dixit.

21. Conditionem Principum miserissimam aiebat: quibus de conjuratione comperta non crederetur, nisi occisis. Quoties otium esset, alea se oblectabat,

And yet my hair has had the same fate; however I bear this early declining state of my hair bravely, considering that nothing is more agreeable than beauty, but nothing of shorter continuance.

19. He was not able to endure any thing of toyl or fatigue, insomuch that he hardly ever walked the city on foot. In his expeditions and on a march, he but rarely made use of a horse, riding generally in a chair. He had no inclination for the exercise of arms, but loved a bow mightily. A great many people have seen him kill a hundred wild beasts of various kinds at his seat near Alba, and designedly lodge his arrows in their heads in such a manner, that he would at two shoots plant as it were a pair of horns on them. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, which he held up expanded as a mark for him, with that dexterous art, that they all passed betwixt his fingers without hurting him.

20. In the beginning of his reign he laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, tho' he took care to restore at a vast expence the libraries that had been burnt down, by collecting copies from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria to take copies from or correct them, by those of the library there. He never applied himself to the reading of history or poetry, or to exercise his pen for his own necessary improvement. He read nothing but the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar. His letters, speeches and proclamations, were all drawn up for him by others, tho' he would talk handsomely, and had sometimes sayings remarkable enough. I could wish, said he once, that I was but as handsome as Metius fancys himself to be. And the head of one whose hair was part yellow and part grey, he said was snow sprinkled with mead.

21. He said the condition of princes was very miserable, who were never credited in the discovery of a plot, till they were murdered. As oft as he had no business, he diverted etiam

etiam profectis diebus, matutinisque horis: ac lavabat de die, prandebatque ad satietatem: ut non temere super coenam præter Matianum malum, & modicam in ampulla potiunculam fumeret. Convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed pæne raptim, certe non ultra Solis occasum, nec ut postea comessaretur. Nam ad horam somni nihil aliud, quam secreto solus deambulabat.

22. Libidinis nimie, assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus, clinopalen vocabat. Eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse divelleret, naretque inter vulgatissimas meretrices. Fratrís filiam adhuc virginem oblatam in matrimonium sibi, cum devinctus Domitiæ nuptiis pertinacissime recusasset, non multo post alii collocaram ultro corrupit, & quidem vivo etiam tum Tito: mox patre ac viro orbatam, ardentissime palam dilexit: ut etiam causa mortis exstiterit, coactæ conceptum à se abigere.

23. Occisum eum, populus indifferenter, miles gravissime tulit, statimque eum Deum appellare conatus est: paratus & ulcisci, nisi duces defuissent, quod quidem paullo post fecit, expostulatis ad poenam pertinacissime cædis auctoribus. Contra, Senatus adeo lætatus est, ut repleta certatim curia, non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo acclamationum genere laceraret: scalas etiam inferri clypeosque & imagines ejus coram detrahi, & ibidem solo affigi juberet: novissime eradendos ubique titulos, abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret. Ante paucos quam occideretur men-

himself at game, even upon days that were no festivals, and in the morning. He entered the bath too by noon, and took a plentiful dinner, insomuch that he rarely eat more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a small draught of wine out of a ronnd belied jug he used. He made frequent and splendid entertainments, but commonly in a hurry, for he never continued them beyond sun-set, and had no drinking repast after; for till bedtime he did nothing else but walk by himself in private.

22. He was very lewd. Frequent coition, as if it was a sort of exercise, he called bed-wrestling; and it was reported that he and swam amongst the vilest prostitutes. His brother's daughter was offered him in marriage when she was a virgin; but he being at that time engaged with Domitia, obstinately refused her; yet not long after, when she was disposed of to another, he debauched her, and whilst Titus was living too. But after she had lost both her father and her husband, he loved her most passionately and avowedly, insomuch that he was the occasion of her death; by obliging her to take things to make her miscarry of a child conceived by her late husband.

23. The people took his death very unconcernedly, but the soldiery most heinously, and immediately endeavoured to have him ranked amongst the Gods, being ready to have revenged his death, but that they wanted some to head them. Which however they did effect soon after, by resolutely demanding for punishment all those that had been concerned in his death. On the other hand, the senate was so overjoy'd, that they assembled in all haste, and in a full house reviled his memory in the most bitter abusive language, ordering ladders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be pulled down before their eyes, and dashed to pieces upon the spot against the ground, and finally passed a decree to raze his titles every where, and abolish all memory of him for ever. A few months before he was
fes,

set, cornix in Capitolio eloqu-
ta est, isas ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~crow~~.
Nec defuit qui ostentum sic
interpretaetur:

slain, a crow spoke in the capitol these
 words, All things will be well. Upon
 which prodigy some body put the fol-
 lowing construction.

*Nuper Tarpejo qua sedis culmine cornix,
Est bene, non potuit dicere; dixit, erit.*

The Crow, that lately perch'd on Tarpey's hill,
Could not say all was well, but said it will.

Ipsam etiam Domitianum se-
runt somniasse, gibbam sibi
pone cervicem auream ena-
ram: pro certoque habuisse,
beatorem post se, lætiorem-
que portendi reipublicæ sta-
tum. Sicut sane brevi eve-
nit abstinentia & moderatione
insequentium Principum.

They say too that Domitian dreamt he
had a golden hump grew out of the
back of his neck, which he took for a
certain sign of happy days for the em-
pire after him, as indeed it shortly af-
ter happened by the justice and mode-
ration of the following emperors.

F I N I S.





I N D E X

R E R U M Ordine ad IMPP. GESTARUM.

<p>JULIUS CÆSAR. Cap. 1 Prima Cæsaris militia. 2 Secunda militia, & ad urbem reditus. 3 Accusatio Dolabellæ. 4 Tribunatus militum, & alia per eum gesta. 5 Quæstura, & alia gesta. 6 Gemitus Cæsaris apud statuam Magni ALEXANDRI, & somnium de matris concubitu. 7 Gesta per eum in urbe. 8 Suspicio conjurationis initæ cum Crasso, & Sulla. 9 Ædilitas, & gesta in ea. 10 Gesta per eum in urbe. 11 De ejusdem gestis. 12 Pontificatus maximus. 13 Prætura, & gesta alia. 14 Gesta in officio Præturæ. 15 Privatio à Prætura, & item restitutio. 16 Actio ob conjurationem Carilinz. 17 Ulterior Hispania ei sorte data post Præturam. 18 Consulatus cum Bibulo. 19 Gesta per eum in Consulatu. 20 Calpurniam ducit uxorem, & Juliam suam Pompejo tradit. 21 Imperium Galliarum ei concessum post Consulatum. 22 Accusatio gestorum Consulatus ejus. 23 De Domitio minante Cæsari, & gestis per eum in Gallia. 24 Alia gesta per eum in Gallia. 25 Mors matris, filiz, & neptis, & alia per eum gesta. 26 Affinitas cum Pompejo renovata, & alia gesta. 27</p>	<p>Amicitia regum, & provinciarum allecta per eum, cum decreto Senatus contra eum facto. 28 Provisio contra decretum Senatus. 29 Causæ bellorum civilium. 30 Progressus a Ravenna ad Ruconem. 31 Ostentum factum apud Rubiconem Cæsari dubitanti. 32 Transitus Rubiconis, & ejus concilio. 33 Adventus in urbem, & alia gesta. 34 Victoria contra Pompejum, Prolemaum, & quosdam alios. 35 Cæsaris, & legatorum suorum clades. 36 Triumphus. 37 De præmiis veteranis, & liberalitate per eum populo exhibitis. 38 Varia spectacula per eum edita. 39 Ordinatio anni & Fastorum per eum facta. 40 Senatus, ac officiorum supplementum & ordinatio. 41 Sanctiones per eum editæ. 42 Labor in jure dicendo, & leges per eum editæ. 43 Destinatio de ornanda urbe, & Imperio ampliando. 44 Statua, & cultus corporis. 45 Habitatio, & structura villarum Cæsaris. 46 Cupiditas circa gemmas, margaritas, & signa operis antiqui. 47 Convivia & domestica disciplina suorum. 48</p>
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ERRATA.

PAGE 31, line 31, for, made a supplement to the Gallick war, but imperfect, read, made a supplement to the last book of the Gallick war, left unfinished. p. 174. l. 14. f. refrain, r. restrain. p. 218. l. 2. f. inconsiderable, r. inconsiderate. ib. l. 39. f. on proclamation of, r. some body crying out upon. p. 269. l. 21. who that of C. Cassius had, r. that of C. Cassius, who had. p. 305. l. 18. f. with one reason, r. without reason.